



UNIVERSITY OF
BATH

THE PROCEEDING OF
The Commemorative Academic Conference
for the 60th Anniversary of the 1955
Asian - African Conference in Bandung, Indonesia
4 - 6 June 2015

Remaking Bandung :
*Renewing Solidarity, Strengthening Education Cooperation and
Remaking Destinies for the Global South*



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BANDUNG

4 -6 June 2015



SCHOOL OF POSTGRADUATE
UNIVERSITAS PENDIDIKAN INDONESIA
AND
UNIVERSITY OF BATH, UNITED KINGDOM

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Welcome Message from Director of School of Post-Graduates Studies,
Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia 2011-2015



I am very excited with the commemorative academic conference for the 60th Anniversary of the 1955 Asian – African Conference in Bandung Indonesia because it implies the academic honesty and excitement to Strengthening Education Cooperation and Remaking Destinies for the Global South. Through a series of research with various perspectives. The researchers not only “market” their ideas but also emphasizes the importance of position the justice as a main principle for strengthening educational. Justine in the development process and the use of benefits is the nearest way to wealth and prosperity.

Right now. I am highly glad because I can also present the seminar pro-siding to all the readers. I hope that it is really advantageous and excels the next academic efforts. An effort that is not always easy, but God, The Most Gracious, will provide special rewards for it

Bandung, 6 June 2015
Director of School of Post-graduates
UPI, 2011 - 2015

Prof. Dr. Didi Suryadi. M.ED

Welcome Message from the Head of the Organizing Committee of
The Commemorative academic conference for the 60th anniversary of the 1955
Asian – African conference in Bandung, Indonesia



I applaud the conference committee for the organization of the commemorative academic conference for the 60th anniversary of the 1955 Asian – Africa conference in Bandung, Indonesia held on June, 4 – 5 2015, with speakers who are experts in their respective fields. I am sure this conference will enlighten us all, especially those who desire information and knowledge on various experiences pertaining to the theme taken by the conference, namely **“Renewing Solidarity, Strengthening Educational Cooperation, and Remaking Destinies for the Global South”**.

This Conference ultimately aims to provide a medium for educators, researchers, scholars, managers and graduate students from diverse cultural backgrounds to present and discuss their recent research, knowledge, and innovation. This conference also serves as an opportunity for the delegates to exchange new ideas and experiences, develop the scholarship or collaborate in research, and find global partners for future cooperation.

I personally express my gratitude to the whole committee members who have dedicated and committed their time to work hard hand in hand in organizing the conference. It is only natural that there will be imperfections for us to reflect on and to be made the drive for the betterment in the future.

I would also like to express my gratitude and deep appreciation to the whole participants who have joined this invaluable academic event. It is truly an honor for me to welcome all participants to our conference.

Let me close this by wishing you a wonderful conference.

Bandung, 6 June 2015
Head of Organizing Committee

Prof. Dr. Bunyamin Maftuh

Welcome Message from co-organizer of the Commemorative Academic Conference
for the 60th Anniversary of the 1955 Asian-African Conference in Bandung



As the co-organizer of the Commemorative Academic Conference for the 60th Anniversary of the 1955 Asian-African Conference in Bandung, on behalf of the University of Bath and *Bandung: Journal of the Global South*, I am very honoured to humbly contribute a preface to this prestigious conference proceeding. Under the excellent editorial leadership of Professor Bunyamin Maftuh, this proceeding publishes the very best of the international conference. Congratulations!

The conference was resultant of the international efforts jointly collaborated by a number of individuals and institutions. Without their generous financial and logistical supports, this conference would not have been such successfully. I would therefore like to take this opportunity to thank the following organizations and people for their relatively invisible but extremely important backstage supports:

- Indonesian Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education
- Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs
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- The Indonesia University of Education
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- Professor Ian Butler and the Dean's Office of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Bath, United Kingdom
- Professor Colin Grant and the Office of the Pro-Vice-Chancellor (Internationalization), University of Bath, United Kingdom.
- Professor Charles Lees, the former Head of the Department of Politics, Languages and International Studies, University of Bath, United Kingdom
- The Managing Editorial Team of of *Bandung: Journal of the Global South* (www.bandungjournal.com); especially Mr. Wing-lok Hung and Mr. Paul Khatani.

I sincerely wish the Bandung spirit will continue to guide our friendship and bring our collaboration to the next adventure of success!

University of Bath, United Kingdom
6 June 2015

Dr Bryan Pak-Nung WONG

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Radicalism and Islamic Educational Institution: A Study of Islamic Boarding School (*Pesantren*) in Indonesia

Aceng Kosasih, Cucu Surahman
Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia

Abstract

This article tries to describe educational system conducted in Islamic educational institution in Indonesia, namely pesantren (Islamic boarding school), particularly related to how pesantren deals with the issue of radicalism. The research question is whether pesantren teaches radicalism and how it nurtures the students to be able to live together in a pluralistic society. This research is motivated by the existing opinion stating that pesantren is the nest of terrorist. Many argue that pesantrens are “fundamentalist schools” and “universities of jihad.” This opinion is derived from the fact that some individuals involved in terrorist networks or in terror actions are graduates of pesantren. Based on a recent field and library research, the writers argue that pesantren does not teach radicalism. Like other educational institutions, pesantren is a place to educate the students to develop their potencies: cognitive, affective, and psychomotoric. The difference is that religious subject is given in most proportion in its curriculum. Ideology of radicalism, if exist in pesantren, is more because of political, social, and economic factors and foreign influences coming into the pesantren than the educational system in itself since there is no single teaching in pesantren which directs the students to assume radicalism. In sum, the writers argue against the views that pesantren is identical with radicalism or the hub of radicalist-terrorist. What happened with Pesantren Al-Islam, Lamongan and Al-Mukmin Ngruki, is exceptional and more as an individual case, therefore, it can not be generalized.

Keywords: Pesantren, Education, Radicalism

I. INTRODUCTION

Many observers point out that since the events of WTC bombing in September 11, 2001, Islamic educational institutions, especially pesantren (Islamic boarding schools), have received much attention. Pesantren, the oldest Islamic educational institution in Indonesia, has been accused of teaching radicalism and violence.¹ Since then, pesantren has been stigmatized as “fundamentalist schools,” “universities of *jihad*,” and suspected of fostering a medieval mind-set and violent militancy.²

The attention and accusation towards pesantren (Islamic boarding schools) results from the fact that some individuals involved in terror actions or terrorism networks, are related to pesantren. The Bali Bombers, Mukhlas, Amrozi, Ali Imron, and Ali Ghufron who are family of pesantren al-Islam, Lamongan are examples of the involvement of pesantren in the issue of radicalism. Recently, it is reported that elite of ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) movement in Indonesia is senior alumnus of al-Islam, Lamongan.³

Another example is Fathur Rohman al-Ghozi. Al-Ghazi, the bomb-making expert alleged to be a member of Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) arrested in the Philippines, studied at Pesantren Al-Mukmin in Ngruki, Solo, Central Java from 1982 to 1989. Thus, pesantren Al-Mukmin in Ngruki which was founded in the late 1970s by Abu Bakar Ba’asyir and Abdullah Sungkar, was suspected to serve as the training ground for suspected terrorists.⁴

International Crisis Group (ICG) in 2003 has even reported that Pesantren Al-Mukmin in Ngruki as the center for a network of militant Muslims in Indonesia. Pesantren Al-Mukmin was also suspected to have a link with International terrorist network, al-Qaeda and as a terrorist hub in South-East Asia.⁵ The Pesantren Al-Mukmin Ngruki director, Wahyudin, was mentioned as the ‘Head of JI School’. The network aims to establish an Islamic state in Indonesia.⁶

This phenomenon raises a question. If the above information is right, can we generalize that all pesantrens in Indonesia are teaching radicalism? In this article, the writers are interested in studying educational system of pesantren in contemporary Indonesia. Is it true that pesantren teaches radicalism and how pesantren nurtures the students to be able to live together in a pluralistic society? what curriculum does pesantren apply in its learning process? and how does pesantren deal with such issues as anti-radicalism, anti-violence, interfaith and inter-ethnic tolerance?

In doing so, in addition to applying library research, by consulting the nature of pesantren to several authoritative books and articles, the writers also conducted field research in two *pesantrens*, i.e. Pesantren Darussalam, Subang and Pesantren Darul Falah, Bandung, West Java. In the two pesantrens, the writers tried to see whether there are radical elements in their ideas, curricula, and activities.

¹Florian Pohl, “Islamic Education and Civil Society: Reflections on the *Pesantren* Tradition in contemporary Indonesia”, in *Comparative Education Review*, vol. 50, no. 3, 2006., p. 389

²Florian Pohl, “Islamic Education and Civil Society: Reflections on the *Pesantren* Tradition in contemporary Indonesia”, p. 390

³Badrus Sholeh, *ISIS Indonesia: Ideologi, Peta Jaringan, dan Antisipasi Masa Depan*, a Paper presented on June 11, 2015 at State Islamic University Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta, p. 3

⁴Angel Rabasa, *The military and democracy in Indonesia : challenges, politics, and power*, 2002, p. 83

⁵Florian Pohl, “Islamic Education and Civil Society: Reflections on the *Pesantren* Tradition in contemporary Indonesia”, p. 389

⁶Raihani, “Report on Multicultural Education in Pesantren”, in *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 42:4, 2012, p. 586

II. DISCUSSION

A. *What is (Islamic) Radicalism?*

To start with, the discussion about radicalism or Islamic radicalism is an important thing to do. The clarification to the terms will enable us to identify the nature of pesantren and its educational system, whether pesantren can be categorized as having taught, encouraged, or practiced radicalism or not.

In *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, the term 'radicalism' means belief in radical ideas and principle, while 'radical' concerns the most basic and important part of something; thorough and complete; new, different, and likely have a great effect.⁷ With regard to the religious radicalism, it might be understood as ideas or principle that drives religion's follower to do something. A radical person characteristically wants to pursue the ideal or complete form or great change of something in religious arena.

Tahir Abbas and friends, in the book, *Islamic Political Radicalism: A European Perspective*, try to scrutinize 'Islamic radicalism' and what motivates some Muslims, whether individually or collectively, to engage with the so-called 'extremist' activities, in local, national and global contexts. They argue that ideology of radicalism or what they call as radicalization of Islam, can be traced back to the Salafi ('early Islam') writings of Muslim ideologues such as Sayyid Qutb, Hassan al-Banna's *Ikhwan al-Muslimin*, Maulana Abu al-'la al-Maududi in the 1930s, 1940s or 1950s, actions of the Palestinian Liberation Organization and its wings, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and Fateh in the 1960s and 1970s, or through the Libyans, Iraqis, Iranians or Lebanese, such as Hamas or Hezbollah in the 1980s.⁸

From their study, radicalism is not only theological matter, but it more results from sociological, anthropological, psychological and political ones. Such factors as ethnicity, generation, social class, the effects of global consumerism, youth culture, deprivation, social exclusion and racism or Islam phobia, frequently constitute the main drives of radicalism.⁹

Religion, however, is frequently misused for political interest. Radicalists usually apply religious labels for violent ends. By giving their version of interpretations of holy text, they rationalize terrorism. Extremists hijacked religion and spread hate propaganda by categorizing the West as enemy, Islam under attack, and calling for jihad.¹⁰

The question is whether such occurs in Indonesia? In fact, Indonesia is also facing radicalism threats. Observers analyze that there are four sources of threats in Indonesia: i) cells of international terrorist networks operating in Indonesia; ii) domestic radical Islamic organizations; iii) religious and ethnic conflicts; and iv) separatist movements. The four threats are sometimes interconnected.¹¹

Indonesia, the most populous Muslim country in the world, is potential to be infiltrated by international terrorist networks because there are Muslim groups in the country that share the same ideological orientation.¹² In Indonesia, radical or militant Muslims emerged particularly since the fall of Soeharto in 2008. Before that, for political interest, Soeharto has actually approached and taken support among Muslims. Radicalism in Indonesia is resulted from regime change and open

⁷ A S Hornby, *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003, sixth edition, p. 1086

⁸ Tahir Abbas, Ed., *Islamic Political Radicalism: A European Perspective*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007, p. 4

⁹ Tahir Abbas, Ed., *Islamic Political Radicalism: A European Perspective*, p. 4

¹⁰ Tahir Abbas, Ed., *Islamic Political Radicalism: A European Perspective*, p. 4

¹¹ Angel Rabasa, *The military and democracy in Indonesia: challenges, politics, and power*, 2002, p. 81

¹² Angel Rabasa, *The military and democracy in Indonesia: challenges, politics, and power*, p. 81

public sphere which was absent before it.¹³ It means that radicalism in Indonesia is somehow political.

At that time, at the beginning of the reform era, some names emerged as leading figures of Islamic radicalism in Indonesia. To mention some: Habib Rizieq Shihab of Front of Defenders of Islam or *Front Pembela Islam* (FPI), Abu Bakar Baasyir of Islamic Congregation or *Jamaah Islamiyah* (JI) and The Indonesian Council of Jihad Fighters or *Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia*, Agus Dwi Karna of *Laskar Jundullah* which is the metamorphosis of *Darul Islam Tentara Islam Indonesia* (DI/TII), and Ja'far Umar Thalib of *Jihad Fighters* or *Laskar Jihad*.¹⁴

According to Azyumardi Azra, radical groups in Indonesia can be categorized into two: the first group includes radical groups that are basically home-grown, such as Laskar Jihad, FPI, and some other smaller groups. The second group includes Middle Eastern affiliated, or oriented group, like the JAMI (Jamaah Ikhwan al-Muslimin Indonesia) and HTI (Hizbu al-Tahrir Indonesia).¹⁵ JI (Islamic Congregation or *Jamaah Islamiyah*) and The Indonesian Council of Jihad Fighters or MMI (*Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia*) led by Abu Bakar Baasyir are also included into the second group.

Based on the above information, it is safe to say that there are radicalism potencies in Indonesia. Moreover, Indonesia has ever experienced several events of terror and conflict driven by religious sensitivity. To mention some are: ethnic and religious conflict in Maluku (1999-2002), Poso (1999-2001), West Borneo (1998-2000), Bali Bombing (2002 and 2005), Marriot Bombing (2003), Australian Embassy Bombing (2004), and recently harassment towards Ahmadiyah in Bogor (2010) and Syiah in Madura (2013). The next question is whether such incidents are related to pesantren as an Islamic educational institution in Indonesia.

B. What is Pesantren?

Pesantren is the oldest Islamic educational institution in Indonesia.¹⁶ It is originally a specific Islamic boarding school in Java and Madura, but it latter can be found in other islands in Indonesia. Pesantren can now be found in other parts of Indonesia as a branch of a pesantren in Java or because the leader or so-called *kyiai* is graduate of a pesantren in Java. In Aceh, the same institution is called as *ranggang* or *meunasah* and in West Sumatra *surau*.¹⁷

Scholars have studied the origin of the term of pesantren. Some argue that the term *pesantren* derives from the word *santri* with prefix *pe-* and suffix *-an*. It means a place where *santri* stay.¹⁸ The term *santri* itself comes from a word *sastri* (Sanskrit) that means literate. It can be understood since *santri* is literary class trying to obtain deep understanding of religion through

¹³ Noorhaidi Hasan, *Laskar Jihad: Militancy, and the Quest for Identity in Post-New Order Indonesia*, Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program Publications, 2006, p. 13-25.

¹⁴ Muhammad Sirozi, "The Intellectual Roots of Islamic Radicalism in Indonesia: Ja'far Umar Thalib of Laskar Jihad (Jihad Fighters) and His Educational Background", in *The Muslim World*, Volume 95, January 2005, p. 81

¹⁵ Azyumardi Azra, *Islam in Southeast Asia: Tolerance and Radicalism*, Paper presented at Miegunyah public lecture, Wednesday 6 April, at The University of Melbourne, p. 16

¹⁶ Ahmad Tafsir, *Ilmu Pendidikan dalam Perspektif Islam*, Bandung: Remaja Rosda Karya, 1994, p. 91. The oldest existing *pesantren* in Indonesia according to Martin van Bruinessen is Tegalsari in Ponorogo, East Java. It was established in the eighteenth century. Bruinessen even states that the *pesantren* as an institution of Islamic learning as we find it today does not go back much farther than the nineteenth century. See Martin van Bruinessen, "Pesantren and *Kitab Kuning*: Continuity and Change in a Tradition of Religious Learning," in *Texts from the Islands: Oral and Written Traditions of Indonesia and the Malay World*, ed. W. Marschall, Berne: University of Berne, 1994, p. 121-45.

¹⁷ Binti Maunah, Pesantren In The Perspective Social Change, *Jurnal Ushuluddin*, 2009, 30, 12, p. 256

¹⁸ Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren, Studi tentang Pandangan Hidup Kyai*, Jakarta: LP3ES, 1982, p. 18.

religious books written in Arabic.¹⁹ Other scholars stated that the word *santri* comes from Javanese, *cantrik*, which means someone who always follows his or her teacher wherever the teacher goes or stays.²⁰

Many researchers have already observed the nature of pesantren. The most important among them are: Zamakhsyari Dhofier, his book entitled *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Tentang Pandangan Hidup Kyai*,²¹ Karel A Steenbrink his book entitled *Pesantren, Madrasah, Sekolah-Sekolah Pendidikan Islam dalam Kurun Modern*,²² Marwan Saridjo, his book entitled *Sejarah Pondok Pesantren di Indonesia*,²³ and Mastuhu, his book entitled *Dinamika Sistem Pendidikan Pesantren*.²⁴

In his book *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Tentang Pandangan Hidup Kiai (Pesantren Tradition: a Study of Religious teacher's world view)*, Zamakhsyari studies many aspects of pesantren, including curriculum, educational model, books taught, and so on. Karel A Steenbrink in his book, *Pesantren, Madrasah, Sekolah-Sekolah Pendidikan Islam dalam Kurun Modern (Pesantren, madrasah, Islamic educational school in modern era)*, tried to describe some pesantrens and to seek the origin and the first pesantren established in the history. Although he did not firmly find when the term pesantren emerged at first, he agreed that pesantren is an indigenous Islamic educational institution of Indonesia.

In his book, *Sejarah Pondok Pesantren di Indonesia (The History of Pondok Pesantren in Indonesia)*, Marwan Saridjo described several big pesantrens in Indonesia, including the modern pesantren and salaf (*classic*) ones. Mastuhu in his book entitled *Dinamika Sistem Pendidikan Pesantren (The Dynamic of Educational System in Pesantren)*, based on his field research in six pesantrens (Pesantren An-Nuqoyah Guluk-guluk Sumenep Adura, Pesantren Salafiyah Ibrahimiyah Sukorejo Situbondo, Pesantren Blok Agung Banyuwangi, Pesantren Tebu Ireng Jombang, Pesantren Karangasem Uhammadiyah Paciran Lamongan, and Pesantren modern Darussalam Gontor Ponorogo), he studied all aspects of pesantren, started from the actors (*the Kyai and Santri*), the educational system, to the facilities there.

According to Manfred Ziemek, as quoted by Mastuhu, pesantren means a place where *santri* (student) stays and studies about Islam from a *kyai* (religion teacher or *ustadh*).²⁵ Educational system conducted in pesantren is in the form of dormitory or boarding. Pesantren is a simple community under the supervision of a *kyai* who is helped by several *ustadzs (junior teachers)*. They all live together with the students.²⁶

Like other educational institutions that have actors (teacher, staff, and student), system and facilities, pesantren has too. Zamakhsyari Dhofier describes some basic components of a traditional pesantren life, which are: the mosque (as its religious, social, and educational center), student dormitories (*pondok*), the students (called *santri*), the teacher and pesantren leader (called *kyai*), and the study of classical Islamic texts (*kitab kuning*).²⁷

¹⁹Nurcholish Madjid, *Bilik-bilik Pesantren, Sebuah Potret Perjalanan*, Jakarta; Paramadina, 1997, p. 19-20 and Yasmadi, *Modernisasi Pesantren Kritikan Nurcholish Madjid Terhadap Pendidikan Islam Tradisional*, Jakarta: Ciputat Pers, 2002, p. 61.

²⁰Yasmadi, *Modernisasi Pesantren Kritikan Nurcholish Madjid Terhadap Pendidikan Islam Tradisional*, p. 62.

²¹Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Tentang Pandangan Hidup Kyai*, Jakarta: LP3ES, 1982.

²²Karel A Steenbrink, *Pesantren, Madrasah, Sekolah-Sekolah Pendidikan Islam dalam Kurun Modern*, Jakarta: LP3ES, 1986.

²³ Marwan Saridjo, *Sejarah Pondok Pesantren di Indonesia*, Jakarta: Dharma Bhakti, 1983.

²⁴Mastuhu, *Dinamika Sistem Pendidikan Pesantren*, Jakarta, INIS; 1994.

²⁵Manfred Ziemek, *Pesantren dalam Perubahan Sosial*, Jakarta: P3M, 1986, p. 16.

²⁶Mastuhu, *Dinamika Sistem Pendidikan Pesantren*, p. 6

²⁷Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *The Pesantren Tradition: The Role of the Kyai in the Maintenance of Traditional Islam in Java* (Tempe, AZ: Program for Southeast Asian Studies, 1999), p. 23. See also Ahmad Tafsir, *Ilmu*

Throughout its history, pesantren has contributed to the advancement of society, both mentally and physically. Graduates of pesantren have filled almost all strategic positions in the structure of society. Particularly, according to Azyumardi Azra, there are at least, three functions of pesantren, which are: the transmission of Islamic knowledge, the maintenance of Islamic tradition, the reproduction of *ulama*.²⁸ *Ulamas* have taken a pivotal role, as leader, preacher, as well as patron of society.

III. EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN PESANTREN

In pesantren, the students are educated in order to have good personality based on Islamic teaching. Pesantren attempts to implant a proper understanding, reflection, and implementation of Islamic teaching (*tafaqquh fi al-din*) in daily life of the students.²⁹ The students are taught to believe in God, have good characters, devote themselves to society, be independent, and so on.³⁰ According to Mukti Ali, in pesantren, we will find such characters of pesantren as: close relation between *santri* (student) and teacher (*kyai*); students' obedience to their *kyai*; economical and simple life; helping each other; an emphasis on discipline; Islamic environment, and a good religious life.³¹

Pesantren is an Islamic boarding school in which the teacher teaches the students various Islamic subjects. Students (*santri*) stay and learn in pesantren during their education period. Their full day involvement in pesantren makes them have a huge amount of time to study. Pesantren provides a good environment to practice Islamic teachings. More than that, the *kyai* also supervises the students at almost all time of students' daily life.

Typologically, pesantren existing nowadays can be divided into three types, i.e.: traditional (*Salafiyah*), modern (*'Ashriyah*), and a mix of traditional and modern (combination). According to Raihani, *salafiyah* pesantren teaches only Islamic knowledge, with Arabic books called *kitab kuning* as its references. This type of pesantren does not adopt any elements of secular curriculum from the government. The *kyai* has his own curriculum. Different from the traditional one, *'Ashriyah* pesantrens adopt several general subjects, but do not fully follow the government curriculum. While the last is a combination of the two. Statistically, from 21,521 of the total number of pesantren in Indonesia, 37.2% are classified as *Salafiyah* pesantren, 18% *'Ashriyah* and 45% Combination.³²

With regard to the education system in pesantren, it actually has several unique characteristics. Binti Maunah mentions some characteristics of education system in pesantren, they are: theocentric, ready to serve, wise, modest, collective, guided freedom, independent, seeking knowledge and serving, applying religious teaching, without certificate, and in *kyai*'s blessing. The implementation of educational system in pesantren comprises three components; studying religious subjects; supervisory of a *kyai*; and practicing religious teachings.³³

In pesantren's life, especially in traditional pesantren, the role of *kyai* is pivotal.³⁴ *Kyai* plays an essential role. *Kyai* is the head of *pesantren*. He is a single leader with absolute power. He is the center of all policies who manages all pesantren resources. He is also recognized as an Islamic

Pendidikan dalam Perspektif Islam, p. 91 and A. Mukti Ali, *Peran Pondok Pesantren dalam Pembangunan*, Jakarta: Karya Berkah, 1980, p. 3.

²⁸Azyumardi Azra, "Pesantren: Kontinuitas dan Perubahan", in Nurcholish Madjid, *Bilik-bilik Pesantren: Sebuah Potret Perjalanan*, Jakarta: paramadina, 1997.

²⁹*Dinamika Pondok Pesantren di Indonesia*, Jakarta: Direktorat Kelembagaan Depag RI, 2003, p. 8-9.

³⁰Mastuhu, *Dinamika Sistem Pendidikan Pesantren*, p. 56.

³¹A. Mukti Ali, *Peran Pondok Pesantren dalam Pembangunan*, p. 17-18.

³²Raihani, "Report on multicultural education in pesantren", 42:4, p. 588

³³Binti Maunah, *Pesantren In The Perspective Social Change*, p. 266

³⁴Zamakhsari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi tentang Pandangan Hidup Kyai*, Jakarta: LP3ES, t.t, p. 55.

scholar, 'ulama, with expertise in the Qur'an, Hadith, Arabic and other sciences. In short, he is the only one who is responsible for leadership, knowledge, and pesantren missions.³⁵

Kyai in pesantren life is similar to the function of heart for human life.³⁶ He manages the development and the continuation of pesantren with his expertise, depth of knowledge, charisma, and skill.³⁷ *Akyai* even becomes a patron not only for the students but also for villagers living around him.³⁸

Beside *Kyai*, one other important thing in pesantren is *Kitab Kuning*. *Kitab Kuning* (Indonesian) means a yellowbook. It is a religious book written in Arabic. It is sometimes called *Kitab Gundul* (a bald religious book) because the alphabets do not have phonetic signs (*harakat, shakl*). *Kitab Kuning* functions in forming knowledge tradition. In pesantren life, it functions as a source of values and rules.³⁹ *Kitab Kuning* and pesantren cannot be separated. It is not only the source of knowledge but also of life.⁴⁰

According to Zamakhsyari Dhofier, as quoted by Binti Maunah, *Kitab Kuning* used in pesantren can be divided into: 1. *Nahw* and *Saraf*, 2. *fiqh*, 3. *Usul al-Fiqh*, 4. *Hadith*, 5. *Tafsir*, 6. *Tawhid*, 7. *Tasawwuf* and ethics, 8. other subjects such as *Tarikh*, and *Balaghah*.⁴¹ Based on his study, Martin van Bruinessen reports that from around 900 *Kitab Kuning* circulating in pesantrens in Indonesia, around 20% is *fiqh* book, 17% is *Aqidah (Usul al-Din)* book, 12% of Arabic language (*Nahw, Saraf, Balaghah*), 8% of *Hadith*, 7% of *Tasawwuf*, 6% of morals, prayer guidance, passage of al-Qur'an, 5% of *Mujabarat* and 6% related to the Prophet pbuh (*qisas al-anbiya', mawlid, manaqib*).⁴²

Pertinent to its subject content, *Kitab kuning* used in pesantren, particularly in East Java pesantrens, is mainly about two disciplines: *tawhid* and *fiqh*. With regard to *tauhid* (theology), the *Kitab Kuning* used is Asy'ari's theological thoughts. The books usually used are: *Al-'aqoid al-Shubra*, *'Aqidah al-Syamsyiah*, *Matn Al-Jauharat*, *Matn Al-Bajuri*, and *Al-Kharidat Al-Baliyat*. While, pertinent to *fiqh* (jurisprudence) discipline, the books usually used are: *Taqrib*, *Safinat Al-Shalat*, *Safinat Al-Najah*, *Masail As-Sittin*, *Minhajul Qowim*, *Al-Hawasyi al-Madaniyat*, *Fath Al-Qarib*, *Al-Iqna*, and *Fath Al-Muin*.⁴³ From the the four schools of Islamic jurisprudence in Sunni Islam, most of those books are Syafi'i school of thought. It can be understood since the majority of Indonesian Muslims are Syafi'iyah.

The writers could argue that *Kitab Kuning* read in pesantrens in Java is somewhat the same. At Pesantren Al-Muayyad Windan, Solo, Florian Pohl reports finding of his research that confirms this statement. That is, various Islamic disciplines taught include: the study of the Quran and the Prophetic traditions (*hadith*), Quranic recitation (*tajwid*), Quranic exegesis (*tafsir*), Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), principles and sources of Islamic law (*usul al-fiqh*), principles of

³⁵Mastuhu, "Kyai Tanpa Pesantren: KH. Ali Yafie dalam Peta Kekuatan Sosial Islam Indonesia", in Jamal D. Rahman et al. (eds.), *Wacana Baru Fiqh Sosial 70 Tahun KH. Ali Yafie*, Bandung: Mizan, 1997, p. 259.

³⁶Yasmadi, *Modernisasi Pesantren: Kritik Nurcholis Madjid Terhadap Pendidikan Islam Tradisional*, Jakarta: Ciputat Press, 2002, p. 63.

³⁷Hasbullah, *Kapita Selekta Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia, Lintasan Sejarah Pertumbuhan Dan Perkembangan*, Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 1996, p. 49.

³⁸Binti Maunah, "Pesantren In The Perspective Social Change", p. 256

³⁹Binti Maunah, "Pesantren In The Perspective Social Change", p. 269 and 271

⁴⁰Nasuha Chozin *Epistemologi Kitab Kuning Dalam Pesantren*, Jakarta: P3M, 1985, p. 2.

⁴¹Binti Maunah, "Pesantren In The Perspective Social Change", p. 269

⁴²Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat: Tradisi-tradisi Islam di Indonesia*, Bandung: Mizan, 1995, pp. 228-229.

⁴³Joko Sayono, "Perkembangan Pesantren di Jawa Timur (1900-1942)," *Bahasa Dan Seni*, Tahun 33, No. 1, February 2005, p. 59

religion (*usul al-din*), Islamic ethics (*akhlak*), history (*tarikh*), and Arabic grammar (*nahwu*). Later on, English language has also been taught.⁴⁴

In pesantren, *Kitab Kuning* is read and analyzed in traditional methods, such as: *sorogan* (the student is asked to recite *Kitab Kuning* in front of their kyai), *wetonan* (the kyai recites *Kitab Kuning* in front of students and the students listen), *bandongan* (the student recites *Kitab Kuning* and the kyai usually only reads and translates easy vocabularies), and discussion.⁴⁵ The educational and instructional process is held by using simple media, including mosque, simple classroom (or other place as long as it can be used), blackboard, pen, and ink.

To see the ultimate goal of a pesantren educational system, we can look at its vision and mission, because it will reflect the *Kyai's* big dreams. For instance, Pesantren Al-Muayyad Windan's missions are the development of intellectual aspects, character formation, and the acquisition of operative skills. In this pesantren, various formal and informal learning activities are all considered part of its educational program.⁴⁶

A number of research studies on pesantren related to the issue of radicalism have been conducted. They sought to know the educational system and instruction in pesantren. For example, Florian Pohl had conducted fieldwork in Pesantren Al-Muayyad Windan, Solo, in 2004 and 2005.⁴⁷ The aims of his study are relatively the same with this writing, that is, to know educational system conducted in pesantren and to see the relation between pesantren and radicalism.

In addition to studying the *Kitab Kuning*, at Al-Muayyad Windan pesantren, *santri* can actively search for knowledge, by participating in seminars, courses, training sessions, and informal learning groups. These activities are to obtain additional knowledge and skills. Pertinent to the pesantren's effort in responding to radicalism, at this pesantren, *santri* are encouraged to involve in such activities as peace building, conflict resolution, reconciliation, interfaith dialogue, crisis intervention, women's empowerment, economic empowerment, journalism, environmental protection, conservation of energy, and organic farming. In short, Pohl found that this pesantren has geared their educational activities, both thought and praxis, on supporting antiviolence, civility, justice, and pluralism.⁴⁸

Another research is conducted by Syarif Hidayatullah et al, who have studied three pesantrens in which radicalism or terrorism are usually alleged to, they are: *al-Mukmin* Ngruki, *Ihya al-Sunnah* Yogyakarta and *al-Islam* Lamongan. At last, they conclude that instead of religious factors, including curriculum and doctrines they learned, there are many other factors that make these pesantrens' alumnus decide to do *jihād* in such a terrorism way, those are: political interest, capitalism, economic unfairness, social disorder, the doctrines and experience that they find after they leave the *pesantren*, such as being *mujahidin* in Afghanistan and South Philippines wars.⁴⁹

IV. CASE STUDY

In order to know closely the educational system and activities held in pesantren, and how pesantren deals with the issue of radicalism, the writers conducted fieldwork in two pesantrens in

⁴⁴Florian Pohl, "Islamic Education and Civil Society: Reflections on the *Pesantren* Tradition in contemporary Indonesia", p. 402

⁴⁵Binti Maunah, "Pesantren In The Perspective Social Change", p. 263

⁴⁶Florian Pohl, "Islamic Education and Civil Society: Reflections on the *Pesantren* Tradition in contemporary Indonesia", p. 402

⁴⁷Florian Pohl, "Islamic Education and Civil Society: Reflections on the *Pesantren* Tradition in Contemporary Indonesia", in *Comparative Education Review*, vol. 50, no. 3, 2006.

⁴⁸Florian Pohl, "Islamic Education and Civil Society: Reflections on the *Pesantren* Tradition in contemporary Indonesia", p. 402

⁴⁹ Syarif Hidayatullah, *Pesantren and Religious Radicalism*, Work Paper, unpublished.

west Java, they are: Pesantren Darul Falah in Bandung and Pesantren Darussalam in Subang. Both are located in West Java, Indonesia.

Based on observation, participation, and interview, the writers conclude that these two pesantrens are sterile from radical elements. It is quite similar to pesantrens' mission alluded above, that the two pesantrens try to implant good character (*akhlaq al-karimah*) to the students as exemplified by Muhammad (pbuh) through a practice-based method. From its vision, mission, goal, strategy, and motto, the two pesantrens do not lead the students to radicalism. Based on its curriculum, method, media, and evaluation of learning of the two pesantrens, radicalism elements are not found.⁵⁰

In general, the subject matters taught in the two pesantrens can be divided into three: *aqidah* (faith), *fiqh* (jurisprudence), and the Quran. Activities in the two pesantrens are relatively the same—and the writers could argue that it also applies to other pesantrens in general; consisting of daily routine activity, weekly, monthly, and yearly. Daily activity starts from about 03.30 o'clock, started with getting up, praying together, yellow book (*kitab*) learning, daily extracurricular, reciting the Qur'an, *mudzakarah* (learning), until going to sleep at about 22.00 o'clock. Since the two pesantrens are of modern type, there is learning process in formal school where the schedule and curriculum follow the general school system.

Weekly, monthly, and yearly activities, among others: language course, exercise, *muhadlarah* (speech), art, pramuka (scout), weekly or monthly Islamic learning, *rihlah ilmiah* (study tour), *studi banding* (comparative study), and alumni gathering.

As educational institutions, these two pesantrens provide: formal education (madrasah, school, and higher education) and non-formal education that especially teaches religious-subjects strongly influenced by thoughts of *fiqh*, *hadits*, *tafsir*, *tauhid* and *tasawuf* scholars. All educational programs (curriculum) in the two pesantrens include method, goal, level, matter, and activities practiced in the process of learning to implant Islamic values.

As would be found in the other pesantrens, in the two pesantrens, the students are taught to become good Muslims, to be kind to everybody, including non-Muslims. In social affairs, a Muslim is allowed to make cooperation with them. Muslims are not allowed to express hostility, such as making destruction, harassment, and so on. Otherwise, in the case of faith, Muslim should be strict. "*For you your religion and for me my religion*".

In these pesantrens, the students are given a proper understanding about the term *jihad*. On the term of *Jihad*, it applies in a wide range of areas, including physical and nonphysical. *Jihad* in physical sense indeed has its specific regulations. The term *Jihad* which is sometimes used nowadays, in many cases is not as taught by religion (Islam).

V. CONCLUSION

Pesantren's learning process, especially in the two pesantrens studied, does not result in radicalism. Education in pesantren strongly emphasizes such values as affection, tolerance, and peace. Students are nurtured to live a simple life, to have a good behavior, and sincerity. These above characters are good and beneficial for inter-community or inter-faith relationship.

Ideology of radicalism, if ever exists in pesantren, emerges more because of political, social, and economic factors and foreign influence coming into the pesantren than the educational system in itself since no single teaching in pesantren directs the students to radicalism. Misuse or misunderstanding of religious text is frequently the cause of radicalism.

⁵⁰ See Appendix 1

In sum, the writers argue against the views that pesantren is identical with radicalism or the hub of radicalist-terrorist. What happened with Pesantren Al-Islam, Lamongan and Al-Mukmin Ngruki, is exceptional and more as an individual case, therefore, it cannot be generalized.

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Appendix 1

Visi, Misi, Strategi, dan Motto Pesantren Darul Falah Bandung

- **Visi**
Menjadi pesantren pusat pendidikan agama Islam berbasis pemahaman Islam ala Ahli Sunnah wal Jamaah.
- **Misi**
 1. Memperkuat pelaksanaan kajian kitab salafiah
 2. Menyelenggarakan pendidikan formal TK/RA
 3. Menyelenggarakan pendidikan formal SMP setarap SSN dan SNP
 4. Menyelenggarakan pendidikan SMA SSN
 5. Menyelenggarakan pendidikan perguruan tinggi STAI
 6. Menyelenggarakan pendidikan formal STKIP
 7. Menyelenggarakan majlis taklim bersifat umum
 8. Menyelenggarakan kajian lanjutan Salafi para Alumni
 9. Menyelenggarakan program ekonomi pemberdayaan Skill ummat
- **Strategi**
 1. Setiap tahun pengoptimalisasian kajian kitab salafi oleh seluruh santri Darul Falah
 2. Setiap tahun pendidikan TK/RA optimal dalam pengelolaan sesuai dengan aturan penyelenggaran TK/RA
 3. SMP Darul Falah melakukan optimalisasi kinerja yntyk menjadi sekolah SSN dan masuk menjadi SBP (sekolah berbasis pesantren) se Indonesia
 4. SMA Darul Falah mengoptimalkan kinerja untuk meraih SSN
 5. STAI Darul Falah pada setiap 2 tahun proses pendirian STKIP dapat terealisasi
 6. Setiap tahun proses kegiatan pengajian Selasaan bagi umum semakin optimal dan peserta pengajian semakin meningkat
 7. Proses kegiatan pengajian lanjutan para Ustad/Kyai/Alumni setiap Selasaan dan Syahriaan (bulanan) oleh seluruh alumni semakin optimal
 8. Proses pemberdayaan ekonomi dalam berbagai segi setiap tahun berkembang dengan pesat
- **Motto**
Memelihara nilai/sistem lama yang baik dan menggali nilai/sistem baru yang lebih baik.

Visi-Misi-Tujuan-Motto Pesantren Darussalam Subang

- **Visi**
Menjadi laboratorium lembaga pendidikan Islam kaderisasi umat yang berjiwakan panca jiwa “keikhlasan, kesederhanaan, berdikari, ukhuwwah Islamiyyah, dan kebebasan.”
- **Misi**
 1. Mencetak santri yang berilmu, beriman, dan bertaqwa
 2. Mencetak santri cerdas dan terampil
 3. Membangun lingkungan pendidikan yang berdisiplin dan kondusif
 4. Menyusun sistem, metodologi, dan materi pembelajaran standar PPD yang efektif, produktif, dan tepat kondisi.
 5. Mengadakan fasilitas saran-prasarana representatif sebagai prasyarat dan pelengkap pendukung proses pembelajaran.
 6. Mengusahakan kesejahteraan dan kaderisasi.

7. Membangun kerjasama saling mendukung dan saling menguntungkan dengan berbagai pihak tanpa melanggar syari'at dan peraturan perundang-undangan.

Tujuan dan Motto

- **Tujuan**

1. Mengembangkan dan melanjutkan risalah Rasulullah SAW dalam visi “Islam adalah agama yang benar dan sempurna membawa kebahagiaan lahir dan batin dunia dan akhirat, bisa diterapkan sepanjang masa dan rahmatan lil ‘alamin.
2. Mencetak kader muslim penerus risalah Islam yang berakhlak, berilmu, berwawasan, terampil, cerdas dan menjadi perekat ummat.
3. Berperan sekecil apapun dalam usaha pengembangan masyarakat menuju masyarakat madani yang Islami.

- **Motto**

Berbudi luhur, berbadan sehat, berpengetahuan luas, dan berpikiran bebas dalam perjuangan menjadi perekat ummat, pewaris dan penerus risalah Rasulullah Muhammad SAW.

Leadership and Conflict the Organization Sport Viewed from Cultural Perspective Maluku

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Abstract

Basically, conflict always occurs in every organization, including in Komite Olahraga Nasional Indonesia (KONI/Indonesia National Sport Committee) in Maluku Province. Conflict may affect negatively as well as positively upon organization. To overcome various organizational problems including conflict, appropriate pattern of leadership are needed to be applied in sport organization in Maluku in order that functional effects will result in the increase of sport achievement in Maluku. After the development of sport organization in Maluku and the contributions of achievement of Malukunese athletes in national events so far has been reviewed, the social situation setting determined as the research setting is KONI of Maluku Province focusing on Patterns of Leadership and Models of Conflict Management in Sport Organization in Maluku. Based on the review of the issues above, the research questions are formulated as follow: (1) Why does conflict occur in sport organization KONI in Maluku Province? (2) How should the models of Conflict Management be applied in the sport organization in Maluku in order that they will be functional in the strife for the increase of sport achievement in Maluku? The purposes of the research are: (1) To identify the characteristics of Malukunese culture in the context of sport organization so that they will provide contributions to the increase of sport achievement in Maluku (2) To seek for theories of leadership based on the characteristics of Malukunese culture (3) To find out models of conflict management based on the characteristics of Malukunese culture. The research method employed is naturalistic qualitative one. The data are collected by means of documentation study and interviews in depth to the informants consisting of the head/ex head of daily head of KONI in Maluku Province, the staff of KONI of Maluku Province, the province ones of sport division, the staff of Regency KONI, culturalists, tradition and society prominent figures, coaches as well as athletes. The research result in the facts that: (1) The conflicts occurring in the sport organization KONI in Maluku Province is caused by the egoistic attitude of the leaders employing authoritative style of leadership, assuming better knowledge and capabilities than others, by the lack of coordination and communication with the members or staff, possessing no team work, being very subjective, and applying monopoly in organizational tasks. The conflicts are created on purpose directed to the efforts of producing tense and incredulity among leaders, staff and members, so that the leaders will feel free in managing finance and organization (2) The appropriate patterns of leadership for sport organization in Maluku can be classified into two types: they are coaching axis and management axis. In the coaching axis concerning coaches and athletes, the appropriate pattern is “open autocracy”, whereas in the management axis dealing with staff and members, the suitable pattern is “closed autocracy”, with the following approaches. Towards the staff and

member possessing low maturity and high emotional state, the approach of 'Inviting' should be applied. The approach of "Commanding" must be applied to the staff and members having low maturity and emotional state. "Involving" is the right approach for the staff and members having high maturity but high emotional characteristic. The staff and members with high maturity but low emotional characteristic can be approached by "Delegating (3) The appropriate model of conflict management for the sport organization in Maluku is motivating the emotional sense of the staff and members including the athletes and coaches to the optimal level by manipulating the staff and members of the organization as the objects of conflict.

Keywords: leadership, conflict, sport organization (KONI) of Maluku, Maluku cultural characteristics.

I. INTRODUCTION

Basically, conflicts occur in all organizations, both small organizations and large organizations, the conflict can be positive but also negative impact on the performance of the organization, depending on the nature of the conflict and its management. Thus, there is no reason to eliminate all forms of conflict, except that hinder the achievement of organizational goals. The old view that considers the conflict within the organization as something negative and lead to a split of the organization, had to be abandoned because it inhibits optimal performance. Furthermore, the dispute is sometimes regarded as the existence of something wrong with the organization. And it means the rules of the organization is not functioning properly. The old view was always concerned about the existence of a conflict, it is the task of leadership is avoided and if necessary eliminate the conflict altogether. Yet according to Gibson, Ivancevich, Donnelly (1996): Conflict between individuals and between groups within the organization can not be circumvented, optimal organizational performance requires a moderate level of conflict, and they assume that no conflict means no change in the organization.

To overcome these problems an accurate pattern of leadership is one of the important solutions in organizational life. Organizational life is meant, not only for organizations like politics, religion, and other nonprofit organizations, but also include sports organizations like KONI.

When the conflict hit the Moluccas, the opposite is the athlete's performance has increased significantly. This condition attracted the attention of writers, because it is considered as an unusual happening in organizational life. In an author's note, PON achievement for Maluku obtained at the time of PON X, XI PON, PON XV, and PON XVII.

Of 4 times the acquisition of accomplishment PON, PON XV 2000 and 2008 was PON PON XVII in which the Moluccas are in conflict extraordinary atmosphere. However Maluku achieved spectacular achievements, and boost Maluku ranking of position 25 of the 30 provinces of South Sumatra PON participants, into the position 20 of the 33 provinces of participants PON. Based on empirical findings presented, the authors suspect that there are close linkages between patterns of leadership, conflict management models associated with the cultural characteristics of the people of Maluku in improving performance in sports in Maluku.

After observing the development of the organization and contribute pretestasi Maluku in national events then setting social situation is defined as a place to study KONI Maluku province, with a focus on Patterns of Leadership and Conflict Management Model. Further research raised some questions as follows: (1) Why conflicts in Maluku province KONI sports organizations? (2) What is the pattern of leadership that should be applied to the organization of sport in Maluku that functional impact on the improvement of sports performance Maluku? (3) How Conflict Management Model that should be applied to the organization of sport in the Moluccas in order to be functional to the improvement of sports performance Maluku?

The purpose of this study was to: (1) Identify the cultural characteristics of the people of Maluku in the context of the organization of sport so as to contribute to the improvement of sports performance Maluku. (2) Finding leadership theory Moluccan community-based cultural characteristics. (3) Menemukan konflik management model of community-based cultural characteristics of Maluku.

II. BASIC THEORY

1. Nature of Leadership

In the face of a changing environment, organizations need leaders who are responsive, critical and dare to take the strategic decision to achieve a competitive organization. A leader has a strategy to direct and motivate subordinates to consciously engage in cooperation to achieve the goal. Leadership behavior that is displayed in the managerial process is consistently referred to as a style (style) leadership. Leadership style was intended as a way of behaving that are typical of a leader of the group members.

Style authoritarian or autocratic style of leadership is built on the basis of power. Followers often motivated by fear. With this style, the leader commanding his followers to do the job and is expected to finish without having to wonder. This style only know very little delegation of authority and leaders do not provide an explanation of what to do. Authoritarian leaders are usually very much to do with his followers and style of leadership was often create hatred against the leader. In practice, things that happen are: (1) All events are determined by the leader (2) All activities are dictated by the leader and this will make followers feel do not know about the next steps and even the loss of confidence, (3) Followers directed at each stage in terms of what to do, how to do it, and with whom he will do it, and (4) Although the leaders tend to give personal criticism in any tasks assigned to each of his followers, he is still far from the participation of the group, unless he's right -Right to work in the group.

In general, there are three approaches or styles of leadership, namely: (1) leadership approach according to the nature (traits model), (2) leadership approach is based on a theory of behavior (behavioral model), (3) leadership contingency theory (contingency model). The approach is based on assessing the nature of temperament and abilities that mark the characteristics of a successful leader and unsuccessful. Behavior-based approach focusing on actions taken in implementing the leader in managerial jobs. Furthermore, the contingency approach to assess the fit between the behavior of leaders with situational characteristics, especially the level of maturity of subordinates.

Each style of leadership shown by the level of maturity takes into account all the employees. according to Hersey, Blanchard (1986) is divided into four categories and each level is denoted with the letter M (maturity). Employees who have the ability and maturity is low and not sure would succeed denoted by M1, employees who have the ability to moderate and low willingness denoted by M2, employees who have high ability but a low willingness denoted by M3, while employees have the ability and willingness of high and sure success in performing the task denoted by M4.

Leadership style based on the maturity level of employees represented by a curve that moves through four squares leadership. The bell-shaped curve is called "Swing perspective" mentioned sebaai variety of leadership styles based on the level of maturity of the employees. Employees maturity levels can be identified into four categories namely; low level, medium level, middle level, and high.

Instructive style (telling) is applied to the subordinate low maturity level (M1). Instructive style applied to a subordinate who can not afford and do not dare to take responsibility, when duty requires clarification, the setting / direction and supervision in particular. Leadership style is instructive (G1) the right to apply to subordinates who are unable and unwilling to accept responsibility. Leaders carry out strict supervision, thus the degree of human relationship in the low category but high attention to the organization.

Consultative style (consultative) subordinates who have applied for low-medium maturity. Bottoms this type is not able to carry out tasks independently but want to take responsibility. They still need the guidance of behavior because it has not been able to accept full responsibility. Leaders still need to conduct a briefing via two-way communication and explanations that focus on the tasks that need to be implemented. Leaders continually provide supporting that subordinates used to do the work properly and train subordinates to give suggestions to the discretion of the organization. Consultative leadership style (G2) the right to apply to such a situation. Leaders show a high task behavior and relationship behavior is high.

Participative style (participating) suitable to be applied to a subordinate who has the maturity high medium, because it has the ability to perform the duties that will be imposed but the implementation is still happening doubt. The subordinates on the level of development like this has the ability but does not have the will to carry out the task (M3). In carrying out the style of participation, leadership must open itself to the implementation of

constructive dialogue and active attention to efforts that support the ability of subordinates. G3 called the participative style as a leader and subordinates have contributed to the decision making process. Key to the success of leadership is actively listen and provide motivation to the subordinates.

Delegative style (delegating) is applied to the subordinates who have a high maturity. At the high maturity level, the subordinate has the ability and willingness (M4). Few leaders have given direction, because the employees can describe programs and institutions perform well. Decide the best solution for the sake of success in achieving organizational goals. Participative style include low task behavior and relationship behavior Low (G4).

From the foregoing, it can be said that, the application of leadership style variations need to be adjusted to the level of ability and willingness of subordinates in carrying out the duties and responsibilities given. The description of the leadership contingency theory that gave birth to the situational leadership style can be used as consideration for the leaders of the organization in directing and influencing subordinates in the achievement of organizational goals.

2. Nature of Conflict

One of the problems that often arise during the course of the changes in the organization is a conflict between members or between groups. Conflict does not only have to be accepted and managed properly, but also to be encouraged, because of the conflict is the power to bring about change and progress within the organization (Hardjana, 1994). Conflicts between individuals within the organization was inevitable, but can be used towards productive if managed well (Cummings, 1980). Similarly, Edelman in Wahyudi (2006) asserted that, if the conflict can be managed systematically positive impact namely, strengthening cooperative relations, increase confidence and self-esteem, enhances creativity and productivity, and improve job satisfaction. But on the contrary, ineffective conflict management is to apply heavy sanctions for opponents, and trying to suppress subordinates who oppose the policy that organizational climate is getting worse and increase the properties want to ruin (Owens, 1991).

Conflicts between individuals or between groups can be beneficial or detrimental to the survival of the organization. Therefore, the leadership of the organization are required to have the capability of conflict management in order to take advantage of the conflict to improve the performance and productivity of the organization.

Similarly, Winardi (1994) found, conflict management includes activities; (1) Stimulating the conflict, (2) reduce or suppress the conflict, and (3) Resolve conflicts. Stimulation of conflict is required when the work unit decreased productivity or there are groups that do not meet the specified standard work.

The method is performed in stimulating the conflict, namely; (A) include members who have the attitude, the behavior of different views fibers with prevailing norms, (b) restructure the organization, especially rotation of office and a new division of tasks, (c) communicate information that is contrary to the habits of experienced, (d) increase competition by offering incentives, promotions or other awards, (e) elect new leadership more democratic. Measures to reduce conflict conducted if high levels of conflict and lead to destructive acts with decreased work productivity in each unit / section. Methods to reduce conflict by way of substitute objectives that can be accepted by groups in conflict, posing new challenges to both sides in order to be dealt with together, and giving work to do together so that the resulting attitude of friendship between members of the group. While the resolution of conflicts (conflict resolution) is an action taken leadership of the organization in the face of the parties in conflict.

Each different organizational leadership in responding / response conflict. Theories about the conduct of the conflict (conflict behavior) concluded by Tosi, et al., (1990) there are five different ways that people respond to conflict; avoidance, accommodation, competition, compromise, and cooperation.

Evade is a reaction to the conflict, namely one or both sides tried not to get involved with issues that may cause a difference or conflict. Most people like to shy away from conflict, painful experience I've ever experienced by individuals and groups to make them want to

withdraw from the conflict. The tendency to avoid conflict can also be based on a view that conflicts can be detrimental and is considered disrespectful. Avoiding conflict is a wise move when the issue of conflict is not critical and negative impacts outweigh the benefits / advantages. To change the attitudes of other people is not easy, then from conflict avoidance techniques can give the other party an opportunity to think / refresh memories and seek more information about the disputed issues.

Accommodate means succumbing to a variety will / wishes of others. Accommodation may mean melihara a relationship with another party, or an effort to combine those separate. Leaving the decision to the other party felt better than taking the risk of alienating others. Values are believed by akomodator that conflict significantly negative and harmful. Techniques accommodation is a good gesture if one party feels wrong and allow others to carry out his wishes. Accommodation used as an alternative to respond to conflict if it wants to maintain good relations.

Competition or rivalry is a form of peaceful struggle that occurred when the two parties competing or fighting to achieve a common goal. Competition can be detrimental if the struggle of individuals or groups in pursuit of various desires at the expense of others. Conflict is seen as a game to be won. Victory, success, and fulfillment of the objectives of competition, if it fails means a weakness, and loss of status. Each party felt that there should be winners and defeated in a conflict. Competing parties use a variety of strategies to win the competition in the form of threats, arguments, or persuasion. Competition can be run regularly and honestly if both parties recognize the norms to conduct a fair competition. Without clear rules, the competition easily evolve into a conflict that is not controlled.

Collaboration is the willingness to accept the other side's needs. In collaboration there is an opportunity to meet the interests of both sides in the conflict. Cooperation / collaboration is very useful if each party to the conflict have different objectives and compromise is not possible. Way collaboration enables both parties to the conflict to work together and find solutions to problems completely and satisfactorily. The purpose of the collaboration is to get the desire of each group, so that both sides win and nothing is defeated. Because it can strengthen relationships and creates a feeling of mutual respect on both sides.

Methods of cooperation (cooperation) can be used when the parties involved in the conflict wants to satisfy all the parties involved in the conflict and the search for mutually beneficial results. Method of cooperation applied if each party interdependence in the work, and the goal can not be achieved individually or group. In addition, technical co-operation to achieve the commitments by inserting various interests into a consensus.

With different explanations, Leavitt (1986) noted that to resolve the conflict can be approached as follows; (1) confrontation, (2) negotiating and bargaining (bargaining), (3) the absorption (absorption).

Confrontation techniques are troubleshooting to reduce tensions through face to face meetings between groups in conflict. The purpose of the meeting is to identify problems and solve them. Groups in conflict are given the opportunity to argue openly about various topics and discuss all relevant issues until a decision is reached. Techniques of negotiation and bargaining is negotiations bring together two parties with different interests to reach an agreement. Each party brings a series of proposals which are then discussed and implemented. Each member is then discussed and implemented. Each member is aware of the importance of bargaining to settle the debate, each lowered demand so as to achieve optimal meeting point. In the negotiations, nothing is defeated, all parties to avoid the feeling of winning demands. Optimally so as to achieve common ground. In the negotiations, there is nothing that reached the point of course. Mechanical absorption (absorption), namely how to manage organizational

conflict between large groups with small groups. The small group that wants to get the majority, but as a consequence have to take responsibility for its implementation.

The use of any method of controlling conflict would pose a risk and impact for the survival of the organization. Hardjana in Wahyudi (2006) states, is the ideal management objectives can be achieved and the relationship between the parties to the conflict remain good. Each approach has the uniqueness of each and the ability to recognize the various methods of conflict resolution could provide an important basis to deal with any conflicts that arise.

Good conflict management is preceded by the identification of sources konflik and other types of conflict, knowing the conflict, the classification of the conflict based on the advantages and disadvantages for the survival of the organization, choose the appropriate approach to the problem and the objectives to be achieved.

3. Nature of Culture and Sports Maluku

Tylor in 1871 once gave the definition of culture as follows: "Culture is a whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, science, law, customs and other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society". While Selosoemardjan, Soelaeman, Soemardi in Setiadi, Hakam, Efendi (2007) defines culture as all the work, a sense of community and creativity.

Culture as described above, is owned by each community; the difference is that the culture of the society which is more advanced than the cultures of other people, in its development to meet all the needs of society. Kluckohn in Soekanto (1987) in a work entitled *Universal Categories of Culture*, outlines scholars review the seven elements of culture, among others: social systems (kinship system, political organizations, the legal system, marriage system) and Religion (belief system)

Related to the above universal culture, which attracted the attention of the author for further investigation is the social and religious systems. The second element of this culture enough to contribute to the community characteristics, physical activity and sports organizations in the Moluccas. The activity takes place in a social interaction which according to experts are generally divided into three types of interaction, namely; cooperation, competition and conflict. If the explanation used in the description of the Moluccan community in general, the Cooley (1987), said that the cooperation and conflict most prominent, while the relatively weak competition. There are some phrases in Ambon Malay language to describe the symptoms of the conflict, among others; "Raw slices (fights with machetes)" fisticuffs "(fight / fist fights) and others.

In the case of religious groups sometimes happens that a group or a "sect" appeared in the village as resistance to a particular congregation. Conflicts can occur, sometimes it can be controlled but not infrequently is open, causing damage and casualties. Discord and strife that is the concern of the church and the village as a communion of life. Sometimes leaders are forced to act hard to stop these things. Herein lies one of the points of weakness or danger in Maluku society. The breadth of the range and seriousness of proving that the Maluku conflict characterized by strong patrilineal family. The whole will be involved on the basis of the assumption that the good name and honor fam (family name) has been spotted.

So, in addition to strong centripetal tendencies manifested in the same pattern of the Moluccas, seemed equally strong trifugal tendency that manifested itself in a pattern of conflict found in the region. This situation can be called a state of the forked (bifurcation) or "dualism".

Competition as a third function of social interaction, existed only in the form of relatively weak. Some forms of social interaction that is said often leading to splits, can be classed as a

competition and not a contradiction. Here are some characteristics of people Maluku adopted from some of the literature are as follows:

a. **Feature Globalita (Nature universality) and lokalita (Image Human Culture)**

Maluku human beings are a species with such characteristics (sweet black and curly hair broken Mayang) distinctive and different from our fellow human beings from other tribes. Nonetheless, empirical distinctiveness in evidential have the same validity and equal with fellow human beings on this earth. The fact is telling the people of Maluku a truly fundamental feature of globality and rooted in the history of world sports stage. Maluku child always considers himself as a typical human (specifically) with the characteristics of human lokalitanya as cultured and dignified in a social context kemasyarakatannya typical. Some characteristics lokalita Moluccan example; religious, live in an attitude of togetherness, love unity (collectiveness) fair and open, deliberation and consensus, jovial, aggressive, good at singing but also brave in upholding truth and channeled through sport fist fights (boxing) and the like, have self-esteem and pro life stance (pro-life and pro-existence).

b. **Maluku people who Adatis**

Maluku customary form a kind of outlook on life (way of live) in the joint educate and establish themselves. Indigenous Moluccan not only binds the individual but the totality of social life in a social order that adatis. Maluku people's behavior that deviates from the basic orientation of the customs value would be condemned as: "the child does not know the customary" Tanamal in Watloly (1985).

Further said Moluccan not the kind of man who likes to play the skewer from behind. Had he challenged then he always deal with it openly, face to face. Maluku child is brave man, he dared to fight (Raw pm) but soon also want to live in harmony, carefree feeling, resentment, or betrayal when it has been solved by custom. They quickly heat and emotion (jumawa), but quickly cold and emotional feelings will soon disappear. They are emotional but sincere and honest so that when approached then immediately willing to negotiate. In fact he wants direct settlement of the rights and sense of justice. Consequently, if there are problems of life are not ignored so he can be reckless and fighting. They also have a high loyalty and can even be handed over body and soul when they are given full trust. There is a sort of mix between the character of the brave and the battering ram with a high sense of human sympathy.

c. **Maluku people who live together and Honest Love**

Since long the Moluccas had many bitter taste bitter struggle for survival with the traditional order and distinctive kinship. It requires them to always live in togetherness. Feature like to live with them in addition to the real in relation to religious life and living together (kinship) which adatis, is also evident in the disclosure to build a life together, so that when faced with the sports event, they always start and end with the tradition of customary title.

d. **Maluku people who love Unity and Integrity**

Religious characteristics and togetherness logical correlation indicates very clearly that the people of Maluku has a great soul and a strong tolerance. The attitude and character of life can thus awakened by human Maluku will love the unity of life. Maluku people in this case is always open and spontaneous without hypocrisy or duplicity in expressing the sake of keeping and maintaining the unity and integrity of life. They also will be steadfast and sturdy defending and maintaining the unity and oneness.

e. **Maluku people who open and Mau deliberation**

Basically the attitude of deliberation and consensus is one essential element of the democratic people of Maluku. Feature Maluku people are open and willing to discuss to reach a consensus turned out to bequeath local wisdom (local wisdom) in managing the diversity of life that is shared. Characteristics of people Maluku open to deliberation is also a "vital legacy" which has shown in building social consensus that are methodical hypotheses to handle distorted reality of conflict.

f. **Ale Rasa Rasa Beta**

According Ruhlesin (2007), Ale (you) taste beta (i) the taste is a cultural sociological concept implies that in the Moluccas. More than a concept "beta ale flavor taste" has become a notion that gives inspiration to people of Maluku on a model of life, a model of social relations between people in society, relations across individuals, across groups, village cross-country, cross subetnis even interfaith.

As a cultural understanding ale flavor beta sense is a system of meaning that gives motivation and understanding why a person or group of people to do something. Meaning (Sinn) is everything that exists in every person, who is understood by the person concerned as that gives a point of departure, content and direction for the whole life. Beta ale flavor taste as a cultural sense as well give shape and meaning to the behavior of human relationships in society. The man who conceived through his behavior, and what it does. Behavior that seemed just beyond the disclosure of something deeper, that is called "system of meaning".

As a system of meaning " ale flavor beta flavor " gives motivation , contents of both forms to human behavior and relationships across individu , across groups , cross the village , cross subetnis , interfaith which is based on a sense and awareness of kinship , sepenanggungan , solidarity , solidarity , mutual help , Masohi / mutual cooperation . Local culture is further inspired into sports that are identical to the characteristics of team sports and individual sports . Look at the dominant culture of antagonism or conflict rather than cooperation and competition result in munculah interest in individual sports branches competitive as the top-seeded five sports KONI Maluku Province namely ; Athletics , Boxing , Taekwondo , Fencing and Paddle . While on the branches of team sports such as football , volleyball , basketball and other positions II and III sports featured in KONI body Maluku Province

III. METHODS

1. Approach and Types of Research

Approaches and types of research used in this research is qualitative Naturalistic. This was pointed out by Lincon and Guba (1985) that qualitative research not as a method but as an approach. means a qualitative or naturalistic inquiry research is research conducted in a natural setting or natural.

2. Data Sources and Data Collection Techniques

a. Data Source

To obtain data about why there is a conflict, leadership and conflict management model that should be applied to the organization of sport in the Moluccas, in order to be functional, data source is the chairman and former chairman of KONI daily Maluku, chairman and former executive director / general KONI district / city , KONI Maluku, and KONI district / city, cultural, traditional leaders, community leaders, coaches and athletes. Data collection techniques used is to study the documentation, and in-depth interviews.

b. Data Collection Technique

In this study, data collection is done in natural conditions (natural setting) as proposed by Sugiyono (2008) that the collection technique can be done by observation (observation), interview (interview), and documentation.

1) Observation

Observations by Marshal (1995) that "observation trough the researcher learn about behavior and the meaning attached to Reviews those behavior" Through observation, researchers are learning about the behavior and the meaning of such behavior. Similarly, in Sugiyono Spradley (2008), divides into four, namely observation achievement; passive participation, moderate participation, active participation and complete participation.

Of sorts above observations, the authors used observations patisipasi. This is because as the Maluku province KONI KONI is general secretary of Maluku province Period 2004-2008 and 2008-2012 Bakti always directly involved in the activities of the organization.

2) In-depth Interviews

Esterberg (2002) suggests some kind of interview that is: (1) a structured interview (Structured interview) (2) semi-structured interview (semistructure interview) and (3) unstructured interviews (unstructured interview).

Referring to the three kinds of the interview, the author of the collection of data refers to a type of unstructured interviews. This is to allow the question to grow and obtain as much information. In conducting the study, researchers used tools in the form of data collection; tape recorder to record the data, and camera to capture the moment or the object of research. All done with the first consultation and approved by the informant.

3) Documentation

The document is a record of events that have been passed. Documents can be in the form of writing, pictures or monumental works of a person. The results of the observations and interviews will be more credible / trustworthy if it is supported by photographs or works of academic writing ever.

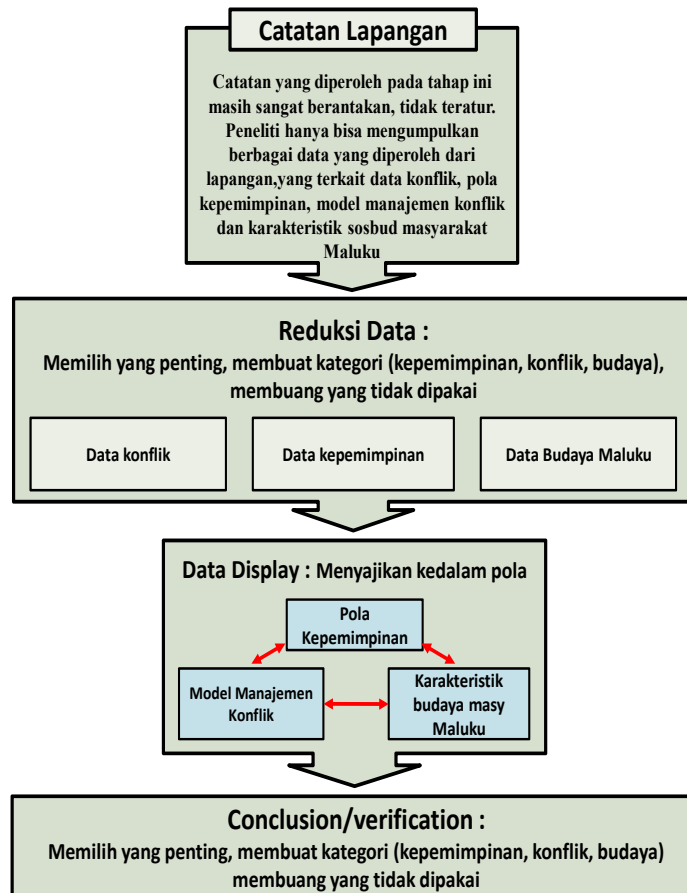
Associated with the documentation as mentioned above, in this study the authors used handycamp to record events, and use camera to take images of the results of interviews with informants consisting of daily KONI chairman Maluku province, the daily KONI chairman of the district / city, board KONI KONI provincial and district / city, coaches and athletes, as well as the cultural and academics from the University of Pattimura Ambon.

3. Research Instruments

In this research, primary research tool is the researchers themselves. Therefore, the researcher as instrument should also be "validated" how far researcher are ready to conduct further research went into the field. This was conveyed by RJ (1996) that in qualitative research, researchers in addition to acting as manager of research also can not be replaced by other instruments such as questionnaires.

4. Data Analysis Techniques

Data analysis techniques used in this study is qualitative data analysis followed the concept of Lacey, Luff (2001) form; data reduction, a data display, and conclusion drawing / verification, as described in the following chart:



Gambar 2. Ilustrasi Reduksi Data, Display Data dan conclusion

5. Validity of Data

a. The degree of confidence (Credibility)

In order for the process and the results can be accepted or believed that some qualitative criteria in assessing the need to do that; long study, detailed observation, triangulation, per debriefing, negative case analysis, comparing with the results of other studies, and member check.

1) Extend the period of observation (Prolonged engagement)

For the sake of the validity of a data, the authors have observed three times until researchers find the desired data has been enough. From the study time limit set by the Agency and Linmas Kesbangpol Maluku province, namely that for two months starting from June 12 up to August 11, 2009. The time is two months after used by researchers to seek and find informants for subsequent interviewing, it turns out data obtained felt was not enough time to do research for the extension of the second phase for three months, ie from September 24 until November 11, 2009. The three-month time it is still not able to meet the demands of the desired data by researchers so that a third extension do. The extension starting from December 9 until the date of July 9, 2010.

2) Continuous observations (Persistent Observation)

Testing credibility with continuous observations have been conducted by researchers with the means to hear back the results of the interview recording, read back the entire record of the results of the research are carefully until it can be seen various faults and shortcomings.

Likewise, the continuous observation of the researchers have been able to provide accurate descriptions and systematic data about why the conflict can occur in the KONI Maluku province, how the pattern of

leadership and conflict management model that is applied to the functional nature of the sporting achievements of Maluku.

3) Triangulation

Triangulation is done by triangulation techniques, data sources and time. Triangulation techniques researchers did by asking the same thing but with different techniques, namely the interview, observation and documentation. Triangulation researchers did by asking the same thing through different sources. While Triangulation time conducted by researchers with data collection on various occasions, morning, noon and evening.

By doing this, the triangulation of various data obtained from informants have been able to be aligned with what is desired by the researchers and the resource itself.

4) Case Analysis Negative (Negative case analysis)

Perform analysis of negative cases means that researchers are looking for different data or conflicting with the data that has been found. And this much is obtained from informants related to the time training camp area (Pelatda), a transition time of exercise, the history of the formation of KONI Maluku province, causes of conflict, the term of office of leadership and KONI, pattern and strategy. Once confirmed by the resource, then the negative data got a deal that turned into data that is no different. However, there are some very extreme cases the difference is, until it is a matter for researchers to plunge again into the field, for example regarding conflict management model adopted by the leaders of the service period 2004-2008 KONI. Unfortunately, until this study is completed the data are yet to be confirmed by the former Chief Executive of the KONI Maluku service period 2004-2008.

5) Checking Member (Member Check)

Testing the credibility of the data with the member check, conducted by researchers with the means to discuss research results to the data sources that have provided data through discussion. The sources still exist which contradict or add data, and desires there are some data that should be eliminated. It then clarified again to obtain certainty as expected.

b. Keteralihan (transferability)

Transferability an external validity in qualitative research. Transferability with regard to the question to what extent these results can be applied or used in other situations. Therefore, so that others can understand the results of this study, researchers need to spell out in detail, clear, systematic and credible so that it can be applied in other social situations.

c. Addiction (Dependability)

Dependability testing has been carried out by an audit of the whole process of research. The audit was performed by an independent auditor as well as by the overall supervisor of the research activities, ranging from when determining the problem / research focus, entered the field, specify the data source, perform data analysis, to test the validity of the data to make a conclusion. Because according to Faisal Sanafiah (1990) if the researcher does not have and can not show "traces of its field activities", the dependability study is dubious.

d. Confirmability (confirmability)

In this study confirmability test has been carried out in conjunction with the test because the test confirmability dependability means test the results of research, associated with the process. because the research results is a function of the research conducted, the research has met the standards confirmability. It is also expected by Sugiyono (2004) that in the research process should not be there but the results are there.

IV. DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH

1. Focus 1: Why conflicts in Maluku province KONI leadership

Internal conflicts that plagued province KONI 2004-2008 tenure, involving many components of sports and sports attract people in Maluku. This conflict does not occur suddenly without any cause and the process, but through certain stages as proposed by Hendricks, (1992) that the process of the conflict through three stages: First, daily events, both, the challenges, and the third, the emergence of opposition.

Everyday events that led to the conflict, as officers and members feel dissatisfied and irritated the work environment led by the Chief Executive of Drs. August Rich. Some informants say that the conflict exists and happens because of a lack of coordination and communication with KONI

members. Whereas a leader should have a strategy to direct and motivate subordinates to consciously engage in cooperation to achieve organizational goals it has set. This, according Handoko (1992) is a dysfunctional impact of the conflict in which the difficulties of coordination in achieving the goals, cooperation between individuals or groups become damaged, and job performance and job performance becomes low.

On the other side of the board and members agreed that the management KONI was piled on the one hand (single fighter) is the Chief Executive of the Sports Committee of Maluku province, so he was free to do anything. These conditions continue to be observed by the board and members of KONI KONI consisting of district / city, Pengprov sports and Functional Sport Agency. Feeling disgruntled officers and members sometimes go away, but it can reappear when the management and members feel this condition never changes, so it ended up being a nuisance to the performance of individuals in the organization. When this has been regarded as a nuisance by the board and members that there is a kind of sense of dissatisfaction which ended with a protest against the performance and attitude of the leadership.

Leaders with authoritarian attitudes and selfish can not receive input and corrections so that both the leadership and management and members each hold opinions and to blame the other party. Each member considers their actions are in accordance with the standards and rules of the organization. This is where the interests of individuals and groups are more prominent than the interests of the organization. When each individual or group aiming to win and beat the other group then there is conflict. Developing small factions and group cohesiveness is considered more important than the unity of the organization. This can be seen from their group KONI, the task force group Pelatda PON XVII, KONI is joining the group members in the petition 21, which requires the resignation of executive director of the office, and a group of coaches and athletes.

Another thing which is considered as the cause of the conflict is because the leadership considered to be highly subjective and a monopoly over all activities. Some sports that feel as diisolirkan sport by KONI leadership, assume the leadership of KONI already highly subjective act, discriminating sports and favoritism. This means that there is the impression of a group of people or in part, a coach who thinks that there are sports that favor and there are also sports that are not favored. It would be very disappointing group of people who can have an impact dysfunctional in the process of coaching and togetherness athletes and coaches. Yet according to MG Lailosa, SH., A former Chief Executive of the KONI Maluku Bakti period 1996-2000 and Former Chairman of Taekwondo Pengprov 4 (four) period, that: "For a leader both on the level of KONI and pengprov, we must apply truly as a father who has all the children and share the love as well as possible and do not see that this is a sport that often gets a medal so it must be considered while others do not. If this is the case and consider all projects then Destroyed sport "(Interview Monday, May 21, 2010).

Based on the discussion to focus 1 above, it can be affirmed that: (1) there is a conflict in the organization of sport in Maluku that KONI Maluku province. Conflict is multidimensional conflict sara nuances that reach all the people of Maluku and components under KONI sports organizations Maluku province. (2) The conflict in the leadership from 2004 to 2008 occurred because of the attitude of selfish leaders with authoritarian leadership style, consider themselves smarter and know better than anyone else, the lack of coordination and communication with members, do not have a building of cooperation, it is very subjective, and a monopoly on organizational tasks. (3) The conflict in Maluku province KONI organization happened because it was created by the leader of KONI, with the aim to create tension and mutual distrust antarpimpinan, administrators, and members, so that the leaders more flexibility in financial management and organization KONI Maluku province.

2. Focus 2: What is the pattern of leadership that should be applied to the organization of sport in Maluku that functional impact on the improvement of sports performance Maluku.

In the face of environmental changes and the characteristics of the people of Maluku harsh and emotional, sports organizations such as the KONI Maluku requires firm leadership, responsiveness, critical and dare to take strategic decisions to achieve a competitive organization and achievement.

KONI has a sports organization such as a subordinate or administrators and members of the organization were separated and consists of important figures of a region or country. At the central level, central KONI composed of state officials. Say Commander, Chief of Police, and a number of Ministers were involved as a board member and member of KONI. At the provincial and district / city also has a number of local officials who take charge of the organization and members of KONI regions or counties and cities. Governor, Vice Governor, Regent, head of the Office and a number of the officials, for example, is the local KONI chairman and board. As such, they are members KONI Maluku province.

Sports organizations such as the KONI should Maluku province has enough maturity, resulting in an effort to apply the pattern of leadership by the leader Moluccan KONI will have no difficulty. Reality says another, because the leadership pattern applied by KONI leader Moluccan when it (tenure 2004-2008) is a pattern of leadership that accentuates the distinctive difference because many reap controversy and protests from officials and members of KONI. Leadership patterns highlighted by a number of informants is a pattern of authoritarian leadership, want to win themselves, consider themselves smarter than the other, and is very subjective and closed.

Related to the above, Paul Lewerissa, S.Pd., saying that "KONI leader when it does not have building good cooperation, so pengprov disadvantaged in terms of financial realization, and the costs of development of each pengprov. (Interview Tuesday, June 23, 2009). Meanwhile, regarding the consistency, Alexander Supusepa, S.Pd., berpen-can that "the Chief Executive at the time the person is not consistent, because it could be another conversation on today, tomorrow it is another. So he was never consistent ". (Interview Tuesday, June 23, 2009). As with the Max Apono, KONI term of office 2004-2008 and 2008-2012, he said that "When the leader KONI between words and deeds were never in sync. Sometimes invited to sit together but the decision is contrary to the agreement "(Interview Tuesday, July 7th, 2009).

Similarly, Drs. January P. Mailoa revealed that at the time Mr. August occurred many management turnover whose purpose is not clear. "The beta look at that, who matched deng zinc antua antua definitely changing. It is biking a lot pengprov that mangamo ". (I see it, anyone who does not fit in with him, he definitely changed. This is what makes many pengprov are not happy). And this is proven by the number of petitions calling itself pengprov 21. Their demand was for a pack of August Kaya immediately resign from the post of executive director KONI Maluku "(Interview Tuesday, June 30, 2009)

It is identical to the results of Frank Coole in his book "The pulpit and the Throne" to the cultural characteristics of the people of Maluku, namely "Ose Sapa ism". Which in Ambon Malay language is "Ale sapa kong want parintah beta" or what do you who really want my command. This means that there is a kind of feeling do not want to care about other people, do not want to hear the opinions of others, or indifferent. While still in power, I was the only determinant of policy and decision makers. Here it is clear that individual characteristics as expressed by key informants very prominent in the Moluccas. This is known as an individual culture.

Results of the applied pattern of leadership, achievement of the athlete's performance increases. However, the impact of all it is the downfall of the leader KONI next Maluku province of positions. This is because the leadership style which is less effective in the eyes of members. It's certainly a concern that the true author of Maluku cultural characteristics relative has settled is a phenomenon that can not be ignored because it can affect the functional but also dysfunctional to the organization.

From the discussion above fokus 2 can already be stated that: Maluku KONI sports organizations have administrators and members of the level of maturity varies so the pattern matching approach to be applied refers to the maturity of subordinates which consists of four (4) types namely: Type one (T1) is a member of the board and

lower the level of maturity and high emotional characteristics. Suitable approach used is "Inviting". Type two (T2) is a management and members of the lower level of maturity and emotional characteristics are also lower, matching approach used was "Reign". Type three (T3) is a management and members who have a high level of maturity and emotional characteristics are also high. Suitable approach used is "Engage". Type four (T4) is a management and members who have a high level of maturity and low emotional characteristics, suitable approaches used is "Bestow". Patterns of leadership that should be applied to the organization of sport in Maluku is closed and autocratic leadership patterns autocrats open. At the level of management leadership pattern that should be applied is closed while the pattern of autocratic leadership at the level of coaching that is made up of athletes and coaches, a pattern of leadership that should be applied is the pattern of autocratic leadership open.

3. Focus 3. How conflict management model that should be applied to the organization of sport in the Moluccas in order to be functional to the improvement of sports performance Maluku.

One of the problems that often arise in the organization as a result of social processes is the presence of interpersonal and intergroup conflict. The conflict occurred because of many factors, both internal and external. Internal factors affecting another conflict between selfish attitudes and patterns of leadership, organization's limited resources, control system malfunction, and the haziness in the field of tasks (job descriptions). While external factors that cause conflict, namely social and cultural characteristics of the people of Maluku harsh and emotional, sports science and technology development, regulation and government policy area. It all certainly will adversely impact the achievement of organizational goals, so a leader must understand the situation at hand. How else to conflict management must be done. Good conflict management need to be preceded by the identification of sources and types of conflict, knowing the conflict, the conflict classification based on the advantages and disadvantages for the survival of the organization, and choose the appropriate approach to the problem and the objectives to be achieved. Of these conditions is considered one of the factors that affect the productivity of the organization in the form of achievement athlete is characteristic of Moluccan culture which is considered loud and emotional. It is recognized by Otis Manuputi former general secretary KONI Maluku I, Former Chief Executive KONI II Maluku, Maluku and sports figures that: "The nature of the Moluccas very hard accordance with the surrounding nature and the lifestyles and livelihoods of people who are always in danger Maluku like crashing dilautan waves while fishing, and when hunting in the forest, where the physical formation naturally fit with the surrounding natural state "(Interview Tuesday, May 4th, 2010).

Look at the characteristics of the Maluku people are saying that it is hard in a society where conflicts in Maluku and organizations may not be able to be avoided. Thus, its existence must be accepted even driven and professionally managed by leaders, in order to become a force to bring about change and progress in society and sports organizations in the Moluccas. However, the opposite is true for a variety act KONI leader when it has created a situation of instability in the organization.

Various administrative reprimand performed continuously both oral and written, is a sanction which some members regarded as intervention in the internal organization of their respective sports. The following statement Luhulima Ade Secretary Pengprov Taekwondo Indonesia Maluku that: "It is mediocre but he still wore the letter. There is a little less or a little late only he had corresponded. Though he is the bias kordinasikan or communicate well with us? I love examples. Coach Maluku Build program created by KONI itukan coach should be proposed from pengprov, he is resolved themselves. Whereas in taekwondo own pengprov no rules, man already know? (Question addressed to researchers because researchers are also one of the board and senior trainer at taekwondo) "(Interview, Monday, May 21, 2010).

The foregoing impact on communication and coordination are built with officers and members KONI Maluku province. The existence of conflicts in the organization of sport in Maluku known to be caused by various factors, among others, because of the attitude of selfish leaders, inconsistent, highly subjective and authoritarian organization members. Another thing that is disappointing is because the daily involvement KONI chairman of Maluku in various polemics that involve various parties, officials, members pengprov sports and athletes and coaches. This actually makes a lot of officers and members became restless and disappointed that affects the motion of no confidence 21 Pengprov which requires the resignation of the chairman of the Sports Committee of the office daily. This is unfortunate joined by Prof. Dr. Tonny Pariela, MA., Chairman of the Sports Committee of Ambon city that participated commented that: "Beta (I) know little about the patterns of conflict management. the actual source is the leadership of Mr. August KONI Rich, he did figure that leadership conflict tinged with conflict. He conflicted with pengprov, he conflicted with its own task force and with KONI too, so in principle it is the source of the August this Rich "(Interview Friday, July 3rd, 2009).

This is justified by Max Apono, KONI Maluku period of 2004 until now. According Apono that conflicts throughout the beta (I) know it occurs daily between KONI chairman with his staff and then before PON XVII to Samarinda it also conflicts between these Kaya August with the task force, and with pengprov sports KONI member

Maluku so the result is conflict everywhere in the organization of sport in Maluku, especially with daily KONI chairman Maluku. This is justified by Piet Manuputty KONI secretary pengprov Ambon and Maluku PBVSI that: "What if we do not get angry? he regarded us in this pengprov same as his servants in the Department of Education. Never good communication with us, he always hit us with letters. The letter, a reply had not yet had time to overtake another letter. Already then he never invite us to discuss, he considers in Maluku there is no more intelligent than he, only he alone "(Interview Saturday, June 5th, 2010). Given the failure to manage conflict could hamper the achievement of the organization, then it should be the choice of control techniques of conflict to the attention of the leader of the organization in the Moluccas.

Stimulation of the conflict is necessary if work units within the organization is too slow in carrying out the work as a low-level conflict. This is evident in the achievement of a low Maluku contingent on the number of times of participation in the PON is also low-level conflict. From the search results the authors, it appears that since participation contingent on PON II Maluku in Jakarta in 1952 until the PON XVII in East Kalimantan in 2008. PON is a low-level conflict in the PON II, up to the IX PON, PON PON XII to XIV and PON XVI.

Activities stimulate conflict by KONI leader when it actually existed, but not directed so bias and conflict actually widened. Of data held by KONI Maluku province, shows that in the period of 2004-2008 has happened several times reorganizing the management KONI Maluku province. The first reorganization carried out on October 15, 2004 by the Decree of the Chairman of the Sports Committee of Maluku Province Number 09 Year 2004 concerning the appointment of Mr. Drs. Jan. P. Mailoa as General Secretary replaces Br. Drs. August Rich. The second reorganization was done on March 27, 2006 by the Decree of the Chairman of the Sports Committee of Maluku Province, Number 03 Year 2006 regarding the Dismissal With regards some board KONI Maluku province Bakti period 2004-2008, followed by the issuance of the Decree of the Chairman of KONI Number: 54 2006 dated May 4, 2006 on Conservation Amendment KONI Board Inter Time Period Bakti Maluku province from 2004 to 2008. Furthermore, the third reorganization conducted on January 4, 2008 by the Decree of the Chairman of the Central Sports Committee No. 044 of 2008 on the Ratification of the Inter Change Time KONI Board of Maluku Province term of office 2004-2008. re-organization of the decision of the management, there has been a new board promotion and relegation old board, rolling positions and restructuring the composition of the management KONI Maluku province. (Doc, SK. KONI attached).

In the core management KONI has occurred rotation and restructuring of leadership positions. The data documentation is in KONI Maluku province proves there are some changes from the first deputy chairman and deputy chairman II. Vice chairman I were first held by MG Lailosa, SH, deputy chairman II chaired by Drs. August Kaya also serves as executive director KONI. For some reason, M.G. Lailossa, SH, later replaced by Drs. Taher Hanubun. In the course of time Drs. Taher Hanubun replaced by Drs. Jan. P. Mailoa, while the Vice Chairman II is still held by Drs. August Rich. This position does not last long because then there was the restructuring of the post of deputy chairperson so that I, Drs. Jan, the P. Mailoa rotated to a new position is deputy chairman II replace Drs. August Rich. While Drs. August Kaya positioned itself as the first deputy chairman as well as chairman of KONI daily. (Doc, SK. KONI attached).

Policies to restructure, reorganize and rotational position so many in Maluku KONI management service period 2004-2008, should have been in accordance with the opinion of Handoko (1992), which says that: "The activities of conflict stimulation consists of; (A) include members who have the attitude, behavior and views that are different from the norm, (b) restructure the organization, especially rotation of office and a new division of tasks, (c) communicate information that is contrary to the habits of experienced, (d) increase competition by offering incentives, promotions or other awards, (e) elect new leadership more democratic".

However, the opposite is true because of conflict within the organization have increased and rise to polemics and conflicts everywhere and ended up with a no-confidence motion on 21 pengprov sports, the task force loud protests Pelatda PON Kaltim XVII and komplein the athletes and coaches of the condition Pelatda and KONI organization Maluku Province.

Collaboration or cooperation is how to resolve the conflict that allows both parties to the conflict to work together and find solutions to problems completely and satisfactorily. Conflict resolution techniques have been conducted and facilitated by the Governor of Maluku who is the chairman of the Sports Committee of Maluku province. In his wisdom, the two sides finally warring facilitated to resolve the problem in Jakarta in November 2009. The meeting then ended with the reorganization of the management of KONI Maluku. Nevertheless, the conflict situation can not be ended because the demands of the petition 21 about the resignation of Drs. Rich August daily from the post of chairman of KONI Maluku were not met. Thus the purpose of collaboration so that each group wins and no defeat was also not achieved.

Similarly, cooperative effort, confrontation, compromise, the use of power, dodge, through a third party, and rotational positions has actually done, but with a closed and self-centered attitude KONI leader when it results in what is expected has not been achieved.

From the discussion focus 3 above, it can be affirmed that: conflict management model that is suitable to be applied to the organization of sport in Maluku is to stimulate the emotional instinct officers and members including the athletes and coaches to the optimal level by making emotional as motivation to excel.

Culture famous Maluku society with harsh and emotional individual, suitable to be developed to pursue individual sport branch and hard like; boxing, athletics, fencing, rowing, taekwondo, karate and other individual sports

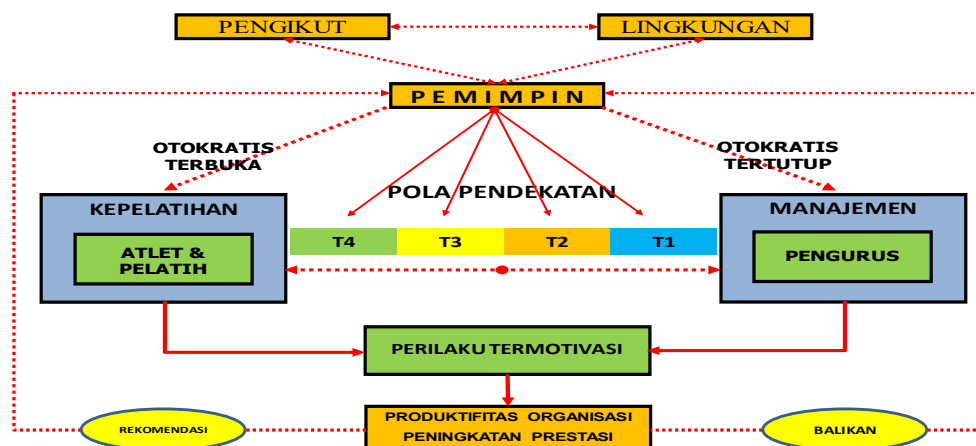
V. RESEARCH FINDINGS

1. Pattern Maluku Culture-Based Leadership

The general pattern of leadership in the organization of sport in Maluku need to be classified into two parts, namely at the level of management and coaching level. at the level of coaching that is made up of coaches and athletes, leadership style that is applied is the "autocratic open". While at the level of the board of management comprising the organization, leadership style applied is "autocratic closed".

When referring to the level of maturity and emotional characteristics of followers or members, Maluku KONI sports organizations have administrators and members of the level of maturity and emotional characteristics varied so that a pattern of leadership that will be applied should refer to the level of maturity and emotional Characteristics. According to the results of the research identifying the level of maturity and emotional characteristics of the board and members, there are four (4) level of maturity and emotional characteristics, namely: Type one (T1), type two (T2), type three (T3), and Type four (T4) , T1 is the management and members of the lower maturity levels but high emotional characteristics, suitable approaches used is "Inviting". T2 is the management and members of the lower level of maturity and emotional characteristics are also low, a suitable approach used is "command". T3 is the management and members who have a high level of maturity but also high emotional characteristics, suitable approaches used is "Engage". While T4 is the management and members who have a high level of maturity and low emotional characteristics, suitable approach was "Delegate"

POLA KEPEMIMPINAN BERBASIS BUDAYA MALUKU



Gambar 3. Hubungan Pola Kepemimpinan berbasis Budaya Maluku dengan kontribusi Prestasi olahraga Maluku.

2. Conflict Management Model based Maluku Culture

Maluku known as thousand island has a background of different cultures from other regions in the country. These differences by some regions it as something that is not normally, because certainly different from the habits experienced in family and community life.

The impact of the conflict in Maluku province KONI sports organizations can be both functional and dysfunctional. Functional nature of the conflict resulted in an attitude of competition, creative work, group dynamics, and motivation. While the impact of dysfunctional conflict produces low work motivation, just running errands, the result was not optimal, and the target is not reached. The impact of functional and dysfunctional conflict is further through the appropriate approach to the problems encountered, it will have an impact on the organization's productivity and increase the athlete's performance as a whole. Learning from the experience of participation

contingent on PON-PON Maluku previously, which when struck Maluku conflict but achievement increases, it can be said that when the conflict does not arise in the activities of the organization, then the conflict is at a very low level and the organization is not ready to compete.

Intensity conflict at a low level is usually characterized by low motivation also, emerged apathy, the result was not optimal, and the activities carried out was merely carrying out the task, the target is not reached, does not mean it and even each member mutually intolerant of errors that happened. Responding to like this then the leader should take action to raise the initiative and creativity of members. Selection of appropriate conflict management approach is a model of organizational conflict stimulation. Conflict stimulation approach taken should be directed to stimulate emotional and behavioral members in accordance with the target of improving the emotional at the optimum level so that in the end will improve individual performance and productivity of the organization.

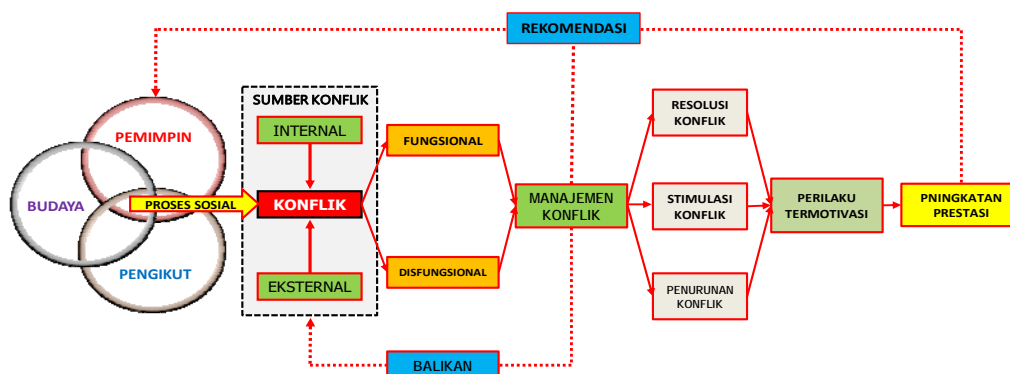
If the condition of high intensity conflicts and tend to harm the organization, then the right choice is to perform actions that could defuse the conflict. Degradation method is an act appropriately. Efforts to rebuild the performance to be optimized in ways that minimize adverse effects and exploit the conflict is at a favorable level is at an optimal level.

Some degradation of the conflict over strategy is expected to guide the behavior of members in accordance with the objectives of the organization so that the athletes be motivated and will ultimately improve the productivity of organizations such as the achievement of maximum performance of athletes. Achievement achievements as a result of conflict management in the form of stimulation of conflict, conflict resolution and conflict resulted in a recommendation degradation and revert to the leaders to re-evaluate the performance of the organization toward the achievement of the following objectives. While the recommendation is given to leaders to be held on the next time.

Model-based conflict management culture of Maluku findings of this study is the result of interpretation and reconstruction of theoretical studies by observing the phenomena that occur in the organization of sport in Maluku, Maluku community characteristics and contemporary theories. Efforts to design a culturally based conflict management model based on the idea that the people of Maluku conflict is unavoidable events in the life of society or any organization that needs to be managed in Maluku. The existence of a conflict as an indication of the growth dynamics of individual or groups competing for achievement.

Model-based management culture of Maluku conflict that should be applied to the organization of sport in Maluku is as shown in the following figure:

MODEL MANAJEMEN KONFLIK BERBASIS KARAKTERISTIK BUDAYA MALUKU



Gambar 4. Model Manajemen Konflik Berbasis Budaya Maluku dan Peningkatan Prestasi Olahraga Maluku

VI. P E N U T U P

1. Conclusion

- a. That the conflict in Maluku province KONI sports organizations is due to the attitude of selfish leaders with authoritarian leadership style, consider themselves smarter and know better than anyone else, the lack of coordination and communication with members, do not have a building of cooperation, it is very subjective, and a monopoly on organizational tasks. The conflict was deliberately created with the aim to create tension and mutual distrust antarpimpinan, administrators, and members, so that the leaders more flexibility in financial management and organization.
- b. Leadership pattern matching to apply to the organization of sport in Maluku are classified into two parts, namely at the level of coaching and management Aras. At the level of coaching that is made up of coaches and athletes pattern suitable to be applied is "Autocratic Open", while at the level of management that consists of officers and members, the pattern matching to be applied is "Autocratic Closed", with the following approach. Officers and members of the maturity level is low but high emotional characteristics, suitable approach was "Invite". Officers and members of the lower level of maturity and emotional characteristics are also low. Suitable approach used is "command". Officers and members of the high level of maturity but also high emotional characteristics. Suitable approach used is "Engage". And Officers and members of the high level of maturity and low emotional characteristics. Suitable approach used is "Delegate".
- c. Conflict management model that is suitable to be applied to the organization of sport in Maluku is to stimulate the emotional instinct officers and members including athletes and coaches to the optimal level by utilizing the management and members of the organization as an object of conflict.

2. Suggestions

From the above conclusion some suggestions submitted as follows:

- a. This research has made a real classification between the level of maturity and emotional characteristics of subordinates. For that to the leaders and potential leaders of sports organizations in the Moluccas and the eastern region of Indonesia in general that has the same cultural characteristics in order to make the results of this study as a reference in the process of leadership in order to increase organizational productivity and performance in sports.
- b. Social conflicts that occur in the organization of sport in Maluku is a dynamic organization that can not be avoided as a result of the characteristics of the people of Maluku were loud and emotional. Thus the leaders and potential leaders of sports organizations in the Moluccas in order to design and implement a model of conflict management by utilizing emotional characteristics as part of the development strategy for improving performance in sports.

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60 years after Theory and Practice of the Bandung Principles Past and Present

Ambassador Jerzy Bayer
Poland

Official evaluations of *The Ten Principles* formulated at the 1955 Bandung conference glorify and exhilarate those measures as they QUOTE "inherited the Charter of the United Nations, becoming the standards which are widely recognized in international relations, and were followed in operating principles of the Non-Aligned Movement as well as the source of strength to help Asian and African countries overcome many challenges." "The principles of Bandung Conference remain relevant in the modern world, becoming a solid foundation in adjusting behaviour among countries, helping prevent and resolve tensions and conflicts in international relations, and nurturing a stronger solidarity among Asian and African countries". END QUOTE.

Indeed, if we apprehend the commanding *Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence* as an initial stimulus for *The Ten Principles* we are sure to find very lofty ideas which were supposed to permeate bilateral and multilateral relations ever since and create universal standards of civilized international behaviour:

Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty.

- 1) *Mutual non-aggression.*
- 2) *Mutual non-interference in other countries' internal affairs.*
- 3) *Equality and cooperation for mutual benefit.*
- 4) *Peaceful co-existence.*

Those principles have not lost their theoretical attractiveness over the 60 years that have passed since the Bandung conference but they have neither been properly implemented nor even respected and observed. The principles have been violated one by one and there are numerous examples of that behaviour. Moreover, due to then unpredictable developments and course of events in many countries and in the international area in general, at least one of those principles – the third one - has evidently lost its original meaning and relevance as it was formulated with idealistic premises of its time and has not corresponded with subsequent political reality and specific situations. Over the recent year's international relations have experienced a number of phenomena which could not be predicted in mid-50-ies and could not be reflected in the then formulated principles but have come to be of immense significance and relevance for us today – like international terrorism, climate changes, spread of nuclear weapons, energy supply and shrinking resources, economic crises, overpopulation, new epidemic diseases. Problems faced by 29 participating countries in 1955 are not the problems we face at present all over the world with its globalization. When reviewing the *Ten Principles* we may arrive at some unwelcome conclusions:

I. RESPECT FOR FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS AND FOR THE PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Many UN missions have been initiated and completed or continuing till now because of disrespect for human rights, their misperception in relations between states and within the boundaries of some states as well – civil wars, repressions, oppression of minorities, coups d'état, revolutions and the like. Only few of those missions have been successful – I had a pleasure to participate in a one – in Cambodia which has been a success story. In fact, the lofty ideal of 'respect for human rights' in most cases remains an empty word uttered by governments or fighting parties in their propaganda parleys and their lip service. But it was a remarkable feat that the concept of human rights was so eagerly included into the set of Bandung Principles.

II. RESPECT FOR THE SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF ALL NATIONS

The history of previous 60 years has provided numerous examples of aggression (China v. India, October/November 1962), attempts of annexation (e. g. India v. Sikkim, April 1975, Iraq versus Kuwait, August 1990), violations of sovereignty, invasions, economic blockades, imposing international ostracism (US against Cuba, April 1961), coups d'état in favour of big powers (Iran, 1953, Guatemala, Brazil, 1954, Brazil again and Bolivia, 1964, Afghanistan 1978 and onward) etc., under pretexts of defence of national interests (Grenada, October/December 1983, Panama, December 1989), teaching another country a lesson (China v. Vietnam, February/March 1979), removing inconvenient governments (Grenada, 1983), redressing "unjust" border lines (India-Pakistani wars) and claiming territories inhabited by ethnically different nations (Western Papua, Tibet, East Turkestan) or claimed other states (South China Sea) etc. On the other hand, there are positive examples of civilized divisions of national territories and splitting them into separate states in form of referendums or political decisions (Singapore, Ethiopia – Eritrea, Sudan – Southern Sudan) that change our perception of sovereignty and integrity.

III. RECOGNITION OF THE EQUALITY OF ALL RACES AND OF THE EQUALITY OF ALL NATIONS LARGE AND SMALL

Violations tend to prevail within the boundaries rather than without. We still have to do with cases of minorities being cruelly oppressed by a majority due to their race, religion, different social fabric, customs and habits or their way of life (China v. Tibet, East Turkestan, Myanmar v. Rohingya, Hutu v. Tutsi and the other way round in Rwanda). Waves of refugees escaping political, religious and/or racial persecution have been growing in the past 6 decades on unprecedented scale (Vietnam, Laos, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, Iran, Eritrea, Somalia, and Cuba). Equality of all nations remains at least disputable as big powers tend to dictate and impose their will on small nations in disregard and disrespect of their dignity (South China Sea).

IV. ABSTENTION FROM INTERVENTION OR INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ANOTHER COUNTRY

At the time of the Bandung conference, with much less communication and contact among people than it is the case today, many developments may have occurred completely unnoticed. Today it is another story: each and every case of injustice, persecution, repression, humiliation of individuals and groups in the name of alleged law and order, so called justice and regulations

issued by dictatorial authorities sooner than later is known to the public opinion and referred to in the media. The question to that effect arose a long time ago: in the event of blatant violations of human rights, war crimes, extermination, governments committing atrocities and the like, is an intervention – and an armed intervention in particular – conceivable, substantiated, justified and simply legal? Many people say it is. If I quote the example of my favourite Cambodia again then I also say it surely is. If there no other way to get rid of dictators and ideological hardliners who oppress their own nation I think it is absolutely justified – if not for the 1979 Vietnamese intervention what would Cambodia be today - under the Khmer Rouge regime ? And Uganda – under Idi Amin and his cohorts if not for the Tanzanian intervention? And Central Africa under Bokassa? And Liberia and Sierra Leone in the 90-ies? And Afghanistan in 2001? And Mali in 2014? And Somalia now? This principle should rather be treated flexibly according to specific circumstances and not mercilessly and automatically applied as a sacrosanct commandment.

V. RESPECT FOR THE RIGHT OF EACH NATION TO DEFEND ITSELF, SINGLY OR COLLECTIVELY, IN CONFORMITY WITH THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS

This principle is fully understandable but for some remarks and namely a precondition that the defence does not mean protecting a dictatorial authority to stay in power and/or expanding a military potential that is incompatible with needs and circumstances and in fact provokes anxiety, menace and danger for neighbouring countries (North Korea).

a) Abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defence to serve any particular interests of the big powers

The invasion of Iraq in 2003 under a false pretext provides the most glaring and blatant example of disrespect for that rule on the part of many countries. Removing a murderous dictator from power was one question and pushing the whole country to the brink of an abyss was a completely different and unnecessary one.

b) Abstention by any country from exerting pressures on other countries

This rule seems to have been long forgotten now. We have time and again to deal with threats and other actions by big and powerful countries trying to intimidate the small and weaker ones (the latest example being the case of China v. Vietnam and the Philippines).

VI. REFRAINING FROM ACTS OR THREATS OF AGGRESSION OR THE USE OF FORCE AGAINST THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OR POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF ANY COUNTRY

Here in Asia we have countries that do not refrain from such threats. Cases of provocative military drills, premeditated missile launching over another country's territory, demonstrative occupation of internationally disputed territories accompanied by flamboyant statements and self-proclaimed usurpatory allegations, encroaching upon sovereignty of other nations have not at all disappeared nor even dwindled in numbers but on the contrary – tend to be increasing and intensifying to the detriment of regional relations.

VII. SETTLEMENT OF ALL INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES BY PEACEFUL MEANS, SUCH AS NEGOTIATION, CONCILIATION, ARBITRATION OR JUDICIAL SETTLEMENT AS WELL AS OTHER PEACEFUL MEANS OF THE PARTIES OWN CHOICE, IN CONFORMITY WITH THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Unfortunately, a specific rule seems to be taking shape here: the bigger the country, the less inclined it becomes to rely on conciliation, international arbitration, judicial arbitration (e. g. at the

Permanent Court of Arbitration in The Hague) and other peaceful means trying to impose its will on weaker partners or adversaries. This way the United Nations Charter with its stipulations is reduced to a smokescreen or an empty slogan.

VIII. PROMOTION OF MUTUAL INTERESTS AND COOPERATION

Under present circumstances this principle tastes bitter. Originally it was spearheaded at colonial powers and their capitalist economic domination over conquered lands. The very principle was absolutely understandable and justified on the part of newly independent countries or independence movements. Nowadays, however, lines of divide have tangled and intertwined so that it is hardly possible to define who is who – a developing country or a colonial power? An independent state or a semi-colony? There are developing countries which in fact comfortably fit into the category of developed countries and colonial masters, at least in some areas while other developing countries seem to have changed their masters only. Economic cooperation plans, models, suggestions, proposals and the like are so deftly constructed that in fact they mean nothing else but exploitation of another country's resources in the name of friendly ties, assistance, cooperation, common projects etc. And no traditional capitalist power may be involved here as this type of conduct remains within the realm of developing nations only. In this respect the 1955 Conference perfectly addressed the problem condemning "colonialism in all of its manifestations".

IX. RESPECT FOR JUSTICE AND INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS.

More has been achieved in the area of international obligations as understanding for common efforts for the sake of rights, law and mutual assistance has increased remarkably. But justice remains an ambiguous word in practice: there are still numerous examples of justice and its institutions being treated as in some countries political tools serving their authorities and not as independent bodies.

Two points seem to be missing in the overall summary of the 1955 conference: democracy and education.

As for the first one, an extended equation may be articulated here: democracy = transparency = openness = predictability = tranquillity = rule of law = peace. Maybe democracy is not an ideal system but so far there is nothing better anyway. If based on genuine election – and not an artificial performance of an engineered ballot casting tantamount to a robotic approval for the ruling class, elite or echelon as it is practiced in some countries – real democracy is the only mechanism of power that provides guarantees for the rule of law and peace both inside and outside any country. It is not an accident that real democracies do not constitute any danger to other countries while non-democratic countries remain a source of intimidation and threat as history has been demonstrating to us.

On the other hand the worst possible seems to be a system of dictatorial power – one-man or one-family or unilateral rule – compounded with restrictions on its population, oppressive regime, dysfunctional, inefficient economy, army dominance and belligerent, war-mongering policies. Countries like that are sure to be primary sources of tensions, dangers and violation of basic coexistence principles including the Bandung Declaration spirit.

As for education, it is evident that not any ideology and brainwashing but education and intellectual development bring progress and prosperity. Economic cooperation between countries representing the same development level may at the most play a complementary role but not lead

to any genuine progress. This may be attained by investing in education and contacts with developed countries.

In view of all above the legacy and vitality of the Bandung Principles are more and more at stake as it seems that they need an urgent update in accordance with present and expected developments.

The Role of Social Studies Education at School to Guard against Hedonistic Life Style in the Global Era

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Abstract

Hedonistic cannot be separated from the life style of global humans that uniquely put forward a new life style to learning people; in this case, students of basic, intermediate, and high level of education. To cope with it, a strong filter is needed to anticipate undesirable things, as responses to this life style. This paper discusses the role of social studies education at school which is able to provide students with a deep understanding about hedonistic life style; thus, the phenomenon seen and accepted in their real life are not directly believed to be something good and right. The method used was a literature review of social science education and hedonistic life style. Hedonism should indeed be studied as a life phenomenon that needs to be put on the alert and be observed. This condition can be used as a lesson for students in order to strengthen their faith and obedience to the norms of life, which in turn, enables them to become better global people in the future.

Keywords: social studies education, hedonistic, global era

I. INTRODUCTION

Global problems nowadays are related to material elements and behavior resulted from people living in the era. The changes that happen every time are the characters of life. Global meaning itself are: the process of world various aspects of life; global flow of life with high acceleration; The process of a world without borders; The process of creation of life for the world's global; Mobility flows are very high in almost all aspects of life (study of Globalization) Basically, people keep developing or changing due to their experience or learning in their lifetime. All aspects of their development are affected each other, as stated by Yusuf (2005): "Every aspect of individual development, that is: physical, emotional, and intelligent as well as social development, are affected each other." Furthermore, it is said that there is a positive relationship among those aspects. It means that if a child's physical development is disturbed, he/she may have a standstill in other aspects. Global character is: The loss of the confines of the state, national, social, cultural, etc.; The loss of the barriers of time, place and distance; Creation of communication flows fast, easy, inexpensive and accurate; Opening up access to information throughout the world. And we can see about the impact of globalization: Changes in various aspects of life; The clash of values;

The creation of dominance is strong against the weak; The creation of an infinite variety of opportunities; The loss of remoteness; The occurrence of sharp competition; The creation of the Global Economy; The creation of free trade; The emergence of protectionism; The emergence of anti-globalization movement; The creation of the new imperialism; The emergence of the power of Science and Technology in the global life.

Human development comprises of several stages. The stages of human life are: *birth, growth, exploration, establishment, maintenance, decline, and death*. Every stage has its uniqueness. For example, in psychological term, the development of teenagers is full of crisis and anxiety (*strength and drunk*). In this stage, teenagers might waste their time, live a hedonistic life style and take life as part of enjoyment. In their development, children and adolescents require full attention and guidance from various parties, especially parents and teachers who are at the forefront of education. Should parents and teachers as well as the environment be unaware of the development of his soul, feared things happen that are not desirable, since they tend to imitate the adults around them.

Culture is a very important element influence on the political and economic dynamics. The conviction was affirmed by Lawrence E. Harrison in the introduction by quoting Jared Diamond (1997) book *Guns, Germs and Steel* :

“Factors and cultural influences greatly overshadow the character of human cultures worldwide. Undoubtedly, some variation of this culture is a product of environmental variation.... but there is an important issue with respect to the meaning • factors that may have local cultural factors unrelated to the environment. Small cultural factors may arise due to local reasons temporary and trivial, then this factor into something permanent and then led a society toward choices that culture is more important.... meaning of these choices bring important questions unanswered”,

Hedonism becomes a life style or pattern that is so close with society nowadays. Beside its materialistic character emerges as the token of globalization, hedonism seems to be a response to the materialistic feature. Its problems will get complicated if this life style is followed by the parents or society in which the teenagers live. So, what should teachers do to cope with this condition? It is, of course, not easy for them to guide their students. Along with insufficient time length, which is not more than that of parents, teachers relatively have a short time to interact with their students. It is not fair to say that students' success depends on teachers. But in fact, if students fail, teachers are blamed as being incompetent and unprofessional.

Ideally, parents, teachers, government, private parties, and society, and also other stakeholders are synergized to solve any complex problem related to young generation. The role of government as the highest decision maker is urgently needed to respond to it. Parents as authority holders of the family should be able to make firm rules in their territory. As the saying goes: “Home is the first school for all children.” Unavoidably, parents must be able provide their children with a complete education guidance. Schools and their apparatus should comprehensively cope with problems found in their surroundings.

Time changes. Modernism is altered by post-modernism that creates a new phenomenon; globalization becomes something unavoidable. To live the life in this global era becomes a must. The logical consequence of this changing era is the changing behavior/attitude. However, change is a nature of life. We can see the forces of globalization that are before the eyes namely: technology, money, and management. These three forces would be an asset in the running life

when done properly and according to the rules. However, this power will be a disaster, if it is done by human beings who are not responsible. And of course this is a big disaster for a nation.

Looking back to the condition of our country, we know that after the reformation act emerged (1997), the funnel of freedom as the real form of democracy has been so highly proposed. Mass media, both printed and electronic, have thrived without paying attention to ethics held within society. Norms religion, law, politeness, as well as morality, have been ignored. And then, such complicated problems emerge; hedonistic life style is one of them.

Then, who should be blamed in this case, in which children, students, and teenagers as a generation of nation continuers tend to adopt hedonistic life style? What happens? What is the cause of the problem? Why do they do it? Teenagers' imitating behavior does not always mean something bad; but if what is imitated is a bad thing, this becomes a problem. Today's phenomenon shows teenagers' behavior supporting hedonism. Mass media is one of those who have to be responsible for it continuously exposes the hedonistic life style.

II. DISCUSSION

A. *Social Studies Education*

Education is expected to be able to produce qualified human resources for life in the future. One of education forms experienced by students is through learning at school. School plays a role in guiding students based on their ability and interest, as stated by Pratt (1948), Munif (2011:85), and Blakely in Abdulhak, (1998: 75) that the biggest value of a school is that it should produce humans who are able to think effectively and work constructively; who are at the same time are able to create a better world than today for them to live in..

Social studies education as a school subject has two moduses, that is, as a complete integration of social studies discipline essential concepts for the education objectives (*integrated social studies*), and as simplified disciplinary learning materials of each social study discipline (*disciplinary social studies*). For elementary schools, social studies education, in fact, is a complete integration of social studies and other discipline which are relevant with the objectives of education (citizenship education) as stated by Barr et al.

In the teaching context of social studies, a sufficient insight of the body of knowledge is developed in each social study discipline, covering: structure, fundamental idea, mode of inquiry, methods used, and the concept of each discipline, so that the students are able to become smart social actors (Bank, 1977).

In conceptual and practical level, as stated by Barr et al. (1977;1978), social studies are divided into three pedagogical traditions, that is, it is taught as 1) Citizenship transmission, 2) Social Science, and 3) Reflective inquiry. It was then added by Michael (1980) with: 4) Social studies as a social criticism, and 5) Social studies as personal development of the individual.

Whereas by the Board of Directors of the National Council for the Social Studies, (in Somantri, 2005: 1) Social Studies redefined its definition in 1992 as follows:

Social studies is the integrated study of the social sciences and humanities to promote civic competence. Within the school program, social studies Provides coordinated, systematic study drawing upon such disciplines as anthropology, archeology, economics, geography, history, law, philosophy, political science, psychology, religion, and sociology, as well as Appropriate content from the humanities, mathematics, and natural sciences. The primary purpose of social studies is to help young people develop the ability to a make informed and

reasoned decisions for the public good SD citizens of a culturally diverse, democratic society in an interdependent world.

On the basis of the above, it appears that the Social Education directed the students to be able to have a spectrum of learning experiences and extensive life experience to become competent citizens of a democratic society and culturally different in a world that is interdependent. Social Education (Social Studies) to be addressed as a combination of social sciences and humanities for learning purposes in the framework of education of citizens (Citizenship Education). Blend is a deliberate attempt to use data from the social sciences and the insights of the humanities in an effort to prepare citizens in democratic life. Through IPS, human social life can be studied comprehensively. Expected later that learners can understand the various aspects of life, so as to overcome the problem and can help overcome the problems of others, or is able to establish itself and build a community, become a good citizen. In addition to the new paradigm that puts IPS Transmission Citizenship or civics as one of its tradition, the essence of the IPS overall, Citizenship independently Transmission has actually grown as a field of study and a solid democracy program.

Citizenship transmission is the oldest tradition of social studies stressing on the essential that: adult teachers process a particular conception of citizenship that they wish all students to share, meaning that students need to gain knowledge as self-evident truth, that is, the truth believed by themselves. The task of teachers here is to share the trusted knowledge with students by means of maintaining the life of society.

Social studies as Social Science is a tradition driven by historians and social science experts which is aimed at developing students in order to master knowledge, skills, and methods of social science, as a way to be effective citizens. The supporters of this tradition believe that they can train students to think and see the world just the way it is. This tradition does not stress on the factual mastery but on the working methods of social science experts as an effort to strengthen their roles of citizens.

Social studies as reflective inquiry, basically, puts a stress on the effort of training students in order to be able to make decisions. In the social context, democracy always demands the citizens to actively take part in the process of decision making.

Social studies as social criticism tradition is the ability of self-familiarity of being sensitive, responsive, and adaptive to the neighborhood in order to make use the natural resources and develop a prosperous, harmonious life within heterogenism.

Social studies as personal development of individual tradition is the ability of analyzing completely to reach an awareness that there is an inter-dependence between phenomena and ideas at the time of both facing any problem and establishing a peaceful, dynamic, and harmonious society.

Based on the discussion, it is seen that social studies education is directed to make students be able to have wide learning and life experiences, so that they become competent citizens created from democratic society who are culturally different but live in the same dependent world.

Social Studies is responded as a combination of social sciences and humaniora which is used for learning target in Citizenship Education. This combination is an intended effort to use data of social sciences and insights of humaniora as a means of preparing citizens for a democratic life.

Through social studies, human social life can be comprehensively and completely studied. It is expected that students are then be able to understand different aspects of their life, so that they can cope with their problems and help others to solve theirs, or they are able to develop themselves and society; and therefore, they become good citizens.

B. Hedonistic Life Style

Hedonistic life style, which nowadays is becoming a trend, has a unique stress on getting pleasure or enjoyment as the main objective of human life. It is stated in *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* or Indonesian Great Dictionary, that hedonistic is “a view of life assuming that pleasure and enjoyment is the main objective in life”. Indeed, it is different from the other views related to the objective. Every view has its own objective, such as liberalism –proposing liberty, materialism – supporting materials, etc.

The word hedonism is taken from the Greek root word *hēdonismos* of *Hedone*, meaning “pleasure “. In general hedonism is a view of life which assumes that people will be happy with the search for happiness as much as possible and where possible avoid painful feelings. Hedonism is the doctrine or the view that pleasure or enjoyment is the purpose of life and human action. Hedonism want to answer the philosophical question "what is the best thing for humans?" It begins with Socrates who asked about what exactly the final destination of man. Then Aristippos of Kyrene (433-355 BC) said that the best thing for man is a pleasure . In this era of globalization and modernization , hedonistic view of life has become a trend for most people. They have an understanding of the importance of joy and luxuries in life, regardless of religious prohibitions and deontology. Pleasure, joy, and luxury era of globalization and modernization is symbolized by money .

Information and technology media, along with their excellent programs, strongly contribute to spread the hedonistic life style to young people. Infotainment, mysticism, prized quiz programs, and electronic cinemas showing luxury are events that attract society’s high enthusiasm. The financial problems, limited job vacancies, minimum skills, and education low level create pessimism in living the life. Instead of studying hard to reach the ideal or working hard to fulfill their life needs, some people take a shortcut. Getting anything instantly without working hard gives high effect on society life. They wish to be their idols, want to look perfect and have lots of wealth. Since they are not materially able to fulfill their wishes, they will do anything, without considering lawful or lawless, for the sake of their life enjoyment.

To get pleasure or enjoyment in life is not a fault, but it becomes the main objective of life, it might affect the society itself. It is alarmed that society, especially learning people, will do all any activity merely to get pleasure and life enjoyment without paying attention to the norms or values of life that have become a guidance within the society.

It is alarming that the phenomenon is becoming a symptom in society meaning that moral degradation and ethics erosion exist because of the decrease of obedience to the rules of life. The excess of this condition is not something that we want. The outdated of society’s obedience to the norms of religion, law, politeness, and morality indicates the decreasing hope of being a civil society as an ideal order of a nation.

C. Global Era

In this global era, in which inter-nation rivalry is really strong, the emergence of free trade policy creates a high competition that be obligatorily matched by human resource’s competence.

It is not resulted from instant culture but by truthfulness to become people who have high competence and who are able to compete in the global era. It is in line with the meaning of global, that is: 1) the coming into existence of varied aspects of life, 2) the globalization of life with high acceleration, 3) the ongoing process of the world without limit, 4) the process of *global life* existence for the whole world, and 5) the very high current of mobility in all aspects of life. This condition should be responded better by decision makers. However, instead of providing society with comfort to make a much better condition, they become hedonists themselves. It is very worrying.

Apart from that, globalization erases the borders of nations, nationalities, socio-cultures, etc. The limit of time, places, and distances are eliminated. Communication gets faster, cheaper, and more accurate. Life seems to be borderless; gaps are nowhere. Therefore, it has a great impact to human life since there many aspects of life change. Conflicts of life values, domination the strong over the weak, unlimited chances, lost isolation, sharp rivalry, global economy, free trade, protectionism action, anti-global action, new imperialism, power of and technology in the global life are features that should positively be coped with and should motivate all components of society to solve the existing problems.

The upheaval found in society is a character of a dynamic nation; a sign of heterogeneous society which have a variety of differences, such as race, tribe, religions, culture, etc. It is expected that the pluralism of the dynamic nation does not become a threat for the nation disintegration; instead, it is able to produce a feel of high nationality within the souls of society without arguing about the differences.

III. CONCLUSION

Global era cannot be avoided from human life. It has both positive and negative impacts. Being wisdom and matured are needed to respond to it, so that there is no conflict. The changing attitude because of certain condition is really humane, but if we hold tightly onto the rules of life, which has become our life reference, unexpected problems can be avoided.

The values of life should be obeyed by all society, without any exception. Norms of religion, law, politeness, and morality should be maintained and kept well. One of education roles is giving knowledge, training, and improving students' self-potency, and also giving a variety of learning experience (self-experience) in line with its substantial target or teaching-learning activity. The ideal and cognitively expected process of substantial provisioning is not the form of memorized lessons but being able to create a self-concept developing in the form of moral values. The values exist as believed principles, so that they become norms. Besides, there should be self-affection and life-affection sensitivity to achieve the level of standard behavioral or cultural skillfulness.

Hedonism is an impact of the global life that has a unique character and is followed by half of society. Hedonistic is not a good school of thought to be exemplified by students. Prioritizing pleasure without thinking about other things is a selfish act to do and disadvantageous. Competence, a God's bless, if it is not maximally explored, it will only push everybody into a negative life. Legalizing any way to get pleasure with ignoring the norms of life will make life undirected.

Social studies education has a task in the intellectual, emotional, cultural, and social developments of students. The accomplishment of the task is expected to be a foundation for growing students' ways of thinking, speaking, behaving, and acting responsibly as an individual, a member of society, a citizen, and a member of the world. It should be realized that the future is owned by young generation, that is, the students. They are the continuers of nowadays and the

product of the past. In this relationship, the establishment and development of students' potential is explored maximally to make progress in the global era, without putting aside the life values which have long been adopted to be the life guidance in living within society, nation, and country; so that in this global era, students are able to show their nation identity and able to take part internationally.

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Remaking Bandung Sixty Years On

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Abstract

This short Concept Paper proposes that if the Bandung Spirit is to be revived in the twenty-first century, then this will necessitate an appreciation in the first instance of how different the world is today to conditions sixty years ago – both across the Global South but also, more particularly, in the West. The key shift may have been one from an assertive imposition of rule based on a clarity of vision and purpose, to a more insecure and reactive form of engagement that lacks direction and seeks to compensate for this behind forms of procedural risk management. It will be the ability of the former colonies to put forward a direction that captivates all, based on transcending the past and presenting coherent human values rather than its mere economic might that will determine the future.

Key words: Bandung; Global South; West; Development; Risk; Insecurity; Values.

I. INTRODUCTION

A. *The post-Cold War context*

The Bandung Conference sixty years ago was the first significant gathering of leaders of Asian and African states with a view to their formulating an agenda for the world to meet their own needs, as opposed to those of their former colonial masters. On the occasion of this anniversary others – no doubt – will reflect upon their consequent declaration, actions and legacy. My purpose here is somewhat different – it is to highlight the extent to which the context for any renewed solidarities has altered – as to only understand those nations directly concerned is to appreciate little of the broader circumstances and potential for change today.

Sixty years is on a par with a human life – it appears eminently comprehensible. But, as the novelist L.P. Hartley wrote in the opening line to his novel *'The Go-Between'* (1953) – a work published just two years prior to the Bandung Conference – which also reminisces about mediating the relations of others over a similar period: *'The past is a foreign country: they do things differently there'*. It is maybe this that we should note the most as we examine the opportunities to strengthen cooperation and reshape destinies for the Global South.

In 1955, many of the senior statesmen who attended the Bandung Conference represented newly independent and, accordingly, optimistic and confident nations. These were great leaders – irrespective of their outlooks and impacts – simply through their having been forged by the process of the struggle for independence. The list of those in attendance – that included; Sukarno, Nehru, Nkrumah, Nasser, Zhou Enlai and Ho Chi Minh – is sufficient to confirm this and ought to command a modicum of respect to this day.

But these aspirational and inspirational figures also faced an assertive and confident West that was waging a global war against communism, even if many of those it tarred with the label were nothing of the sort. The United States in particular had been propelled to the position of world hegemony as the old European powers had effectively destroyed each other through the Second World War (Kemp 1990). Its authority on the world stage went from being incidental to instrumental, but it was also increasingly shaped through Cold War paranoia.

There is an old African proverb that proposes that; ‘*When two elephants fight it is the grass that suffers*’¹ – and the young, hopeful grass of the Global South certainly did suffer as a consequence of these circumstances that it found itself in. Leaders across the world were co-opted by the West to fight the Cold War on its behalf or they were brutally rejected and opposed. Some sought to insulate themselves from the establishing effects of such external political pressures by aligning themselves accordingly to anti-communism (Jones 2012).

So, despite the fine words expressed at that original Bandung Conference, many nations soon found themselves on a long and bloody detour that some of their leaders today might prefer to forget. That is why we continue to refer above-all to the ‘Bandung Spirit’ rather than to the specificities of the associated declaration and its impact. It is an implicit recognition that this moment represented an unmet set of ambitions. Youthful optimism had failed to make its mark, and there may accordingly be some unfinished business to revisit.

But – ‘*the past is another country*’ – and we must start by recognizing how different the situation is in the world today. The Cold War ended in the period between 1989 and 1991 – between the dismantling of the Berlin Wall and the eventual implosion of the Soviet Union. It is the impact and legacy of this that we need to understand – and particularly its effects upon the Western imagination – if we are truly to appreciate the potential opportunities and challenges presenting themselves today to any who might hope to reconstitute a united alternative.

B. A confused West

The Cold War provided a degree of moral purpose and direction to the West. Among many other elements, this period witnessed relatively large sums of capital being directed to and invested in the Global South as part of a concerted propaganda campaign designed to show that the market system worked. Some of this coincided with the West’s own optimism in this period – such as efforts in development and healthcare to build infrastructure and fight disease (Pupavac 2008).

Hospitals were built and some scourges – like smallpox and polio – were eradicated, although the failure to wipe-out malaria, coinciding with an economic slow-down in the West and a concomitantly more pessimistic period, also led to suggestions that problems would not be solved simply by throwing money at them. Accordingly, the 1980s emerged as a ‘lost decade’ for development and this evolved accordingly into the supposedly ‘sustainable’ focus of the 1990s that also witnessed the rise of less tangible (and fungible) indicators, such as ‘well-being’ (Ong and Durodié 2011).

Once the Cold War ended, interest in the development of the Global South appeared to stop suddenly. In many ways this was just as disruptive as the earlier period of intervention. Most extant leaders lost their authority as relations of patronage came to an end. Many had effectively been compromised by these. But a new – domestic – form of dependency now emerged. One that

¹ See, for instance, <http://www.afriprov.org/index.php/african-proverb-of-the-month/27-2001proverbs/172-nov2001.html>

was beholden to the needs of capital, rather than anti-communism (Jones 2012). As the focus shifted from politics to business, so the potential for corruption increased through the pursuit of government largesse in the form of contracts, permits and licences.

Interest in these regions from the West only began to be renewed subsequent to the events of 9/11 ... and then largely on a piecemeal basis, lacking strategic direction and coordination (McCormack 2011). And, as some commentators have noted, aside from being highly reactive, much of this could be argued to be more about allowing Westerners to feel good about themselves than about their resolving any actual problems elsewhere (O'Neill 2012).

It is a moot point to ask whether the Global South was better served by overly-confident and assertive powers, such as the United States, who tried to shape the world in their own image or, as is the case now, by confused and uncertain actors that react nervously to world events, without having a clear sense of purpose or direction. Either way, one might presume, the 'grass' of the Global South might continue to suffer.

The end of the Cold War was portrayed as a period of opportunity for the West (Fukuyama 1989). However, it was also to generate new problems too as the then British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, understood full-well when she briefed President Gorbachev in private meetings that the lifting of the Iron Curtain and German reunification would; '*undermine the stability of the whole international situation and could endanger our security*'.²

For over forty years the world had largely been divided between two competing ideologies – a socialist East and a free-market West. The division extended beyond the protagonists themselves to include their satellite states and supporters in Eastern Europe and across the rest of the globe. It was also reflected internally in a split between broadly left-leaning parties and a more centrist or conservative right. Accordingly, it was a division that also shaped and defined identities and culture (McLaughlin 2011).

Those who disputed the state of affairs in the West were often advised to go and live in Moscow. Elsewhere they might be met with a more violent riposte. But what impact would it have on the protagonists once Moscow also became part of the capitalist system? Fukuyama's '*end of history*' thesis and Thatcher's dictum that '*there is no alternative*' were hardly uplifting or inspiring. Where were those who still believed in progress to go?

The market might add value. But it has little to say about values – in the moral sense. It is this more human dimension that appears to have been by-passed or elided in recent times. And yet it is precisely the pursuit of what it is that provides our lives with meaning that remains at issue. The old right may seem to have won the economic wars, but the old left would continue to wage the culture wars in pursuit of something more to life than mere existence.

At the same time there was a need, most acutely felt by the elites, to establish a new basis for authority in the period ahead (Furedi 2013). In many instances, this took the form of identifying new enemies to replace the gap left by the former Soviet Union. These have included, the Contras in Nicaragua, Saddam Hussein in Iraq (twice), General Aidid in Somalia, Slobodan Milosevic in the former Yugoslavia, the Taliban in Afghanistan, as well as Al-Qa'ida, both there and in Iraq, together with the so-called Islamic State Group,³ to name just a few.

² Cited in Mr. Gorbachev, keep this wall up! *The Economist*, 11 September 2009

http://www.economist.com/blogs/democracyinamerica/2009/09/mr_gorbachev_keep_this_wall_up

³ The moniker attributed to the organisation variously going under the names Islamic State of Iraq and Syria – ISIS, Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant – ISIL, and their Arabic variations, by AFP (Agence France Presse), with a view to repudiating their claims to geography and statehood.

We should recognise that this process is primarily an unconscious one. Few officials or politicians wake up each day to reflect upon what new enemies they might find to assist them in galvanising their populations around a shared project. Rather, it is simply something that emerges because it appears to work in a period lacking more principled political discourse and debate. Even Bill Clinton – famously elected with his domestically focused mnemonic ‘*It’s the economy, stupid*’⁴ – was, in his turn, rapidly side-tracked into a futile conflict in Somalia.

It may indeed appear easier to leaders, who need to maintain their domestic legitimacy, to jet around the world stage purporting to solve problems there in the full glare of the world’s media, than it is for them to address more material issues pertaining to industrial and moral decline at home through poorly attended meetings in rust belt towns on cold, rainy nights in the autumn. It is also the case that the media glare on their foreign interventions soon dies down and few are ever held accountable for conditions there years after they have moved on – unlike at home, where any claims to efficacy would be scrutinised more closely and on a more protracted basis.

C. Lessons for the South?

The loss of ideology heralded by the end of the Cold War has led to a search for meaning amongst the general population and the identification of new threats by the elites (Laidi 1994). The latter need not always be external. The war on drugs also takes on an internal dimension and there are an increasing number of problems identified that are primarily domestic – such as the so-called war on obesity, as well as attempts to challenge anti-social behaviour (Waiton 2008).

These latter rely on assuming and projecting a population of vulnerable individuals needing advice or protection from a benign and enlightened state. But, in that regards, this shift from focusing on security towards insecurity, or to managing behaviour may be self-defeating in the long run as the state itself is a product of assuming people to be rational agents, not imminent victims (Ramsay 2012). The search for new forms of affiliation has also enhanced the scope of identity politics which – in its turn – could also become a race to the bottom as groups and individuals compete to identify themselves as the most victimised (Malik 2014).

Nationalism – itself a defensive posture in its historical genesis – also stands widely discredited, particularly in the West, through its association with racism and the causes of the Second World War (Heartfield 2012). Accordingly, many have looked either to supra-national bodies – such as the UN, EU (or ASEAN and the AU in the Southeast Asian and African contexts) – or sub-national entities – like non-governmental organisations or civil society groups – as new sources of authority in the contemporary context.

The problem with these is that they seem remote and unaccountable to ordinary people (Furedi 1999). They are indulged by governments wishing to appear radical and a media that relies on presenting a counter to the dominant narrative. But they are readily co-opted to the agendas of others too (Heartfield 2003). The EU in particular is the recipient of considerable attention in this regards. And, as one Cambridge-based academic has noted, it reflects a shift away from the nation state that emerged as representative of and accountable to the people, to member states that pursue moral agendas determined elsewhere and view their domestic populations as potential problems needing to be controlled (Bickerton 2012).

Some in the Global South have noted the interventionist tendencies unleashed by these elements, associated with a supposedly liberal internationalist outlook. But it would be wrong for them to presume the counter to this to be a renewed nationalism of their own that, in its turn,

⁴ See, for instance, <https://fwcon.wordpress.com/its-the-economy-stupid/>

would serve to encourage and foment a divisive form of identity politics. The South will certainly need to look to itself to solve its own problems. But we should not confuse autonomy and agency with difference and separation. Rather, there may be a need to be both rooted and to promote a more human-oriented outlook – one that the West abandoned through its failure to see through the logic of the Enlightenment project.

Of course, throughout this period many nations in the Global South emerged economically through their own efforts too – even if the ‘*swamps to skyscrapers*’ narrative of some can be shown to have been a bit of a myth.⁵ We should not be downbeat about the past, but nor should we seek to rewrite its history. It is simply untrue that the British, French, Dutch, Portuguese, Spanish, Germans and Italians left nothing in their wake. They left systems of law and democracy, as well as considerable infrastructure that were adopted and adapted to meet local needs. The spirit of freedom is innate to all human beings even if, through historical accident many social, scientific and political transformations emerged from the West.

It would also be a mistake to confuse the Global South taking-off with any imminent desire or potential by the various parties concerned to take-over. It is easier to make significant advances once others have opened up the way. GDP growth rates reflect this. Putting flushing toilets into every home and even building high-speed rail lines is relatively straightforward. These also improve the quality of life. But the question remains whether the nations that benefit accordingly can transcend the envelope of human achievement rather than merely emulate it. That may require something else.

In his case for ‘*The New Asian Hemisphere*’, the former Permanent Secretary and Ambassador to the UN turned Dean of the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy at the National University of Singapore, Kishore Mahbubani (2008), points to Asia already having the biggest and most of everything – the fastest growth rates, the largest exporters, the most foreign exchange reserves, the biggest cities, the tallest buildings, the largest infrastructure projects, the most PhDs in science and engineering and, of course, the most people.

But size – as Singapore more than most states knows – is not everything. Indeed, it can even hold some countries back as – confronted by various problems, throwing labour at these can become a means by which to avoid innovative solutions. More significantly, the most remarkable aspect of Britain and America’s domination of the world in each of the preceding centuries was that this was achieved with remarkably small populations – the US having less than 80 million people at the turn of the twentieth century, by which time it had already assumed the lead in the production of many commodities (Kemp 1990).

What the US had – and what the Global South most needs to achieve – is a vision. America, as famously immortalised by the poet Francis Scott Key in 1814 and subsequently embedded into its national anthem, was the ‘*land of the free*’. It was not the land of the safe or secure as some would appear to prioritise today. These latter were understood to emerge from being free first – free to pursue one’s own project in a free market, free to believe in and worship whoever one liked and free to speak about anything. It was an inspirational value that drove it forwards and that others bought into too.

⁵ See <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-31626174> and responses such as <https://sg.news.yahoo.com/blogs/singaporescene/singapore-more-than-swamp-more-than-skyscrapers-031017205.html>

Not for no reason was the Bandung Conference held in Gedung Merdeka.⁶ And even after the Second World War it had been the assumed neutrality of the US and its offer of liberation to the colonies that had bought it considerable good will and time there.

Sadly, it is its own confusion over the significance of its founding values that most holds the US back today (Durodié 2013). But that is a challenge that can only be addressed and resolved there. For the Global South it behoves it to pick up the baton dropped by the West – to pursue the human-centred project of freedom and development for all that was either abandoned or is now merely spoken of rhetorically by those who once advocated for and projected it (Fanon 1961).

II. CONCLUSION

A. *Whither Bandung?*

To pursue projects that promote humanity rather than national identity is the gap that needs to be filled today by any purporting to recreate a Bandung Spirit. The pride of the Chinese people (and many others besides) at the opening of the Beijing Olympics in 2008 was based as much on its universal appeal as on any supposed nationalism. In a similar way, whilst India continues to face profound social and economic problems today, every village schoolchild knows that it has its own space programme – unlike Britain. Indeed, far from being a diversion of resources, such ambitions – 40 years since the Americans last left the moon – both exemplify the spirit of humanity and can galvanise people into action.

The West's problems in this regards are profound. It suffers not so much from a decline as from a sense of insecurity, which it projects onto its own populations and others. It would be wrong therefore to read its actions in many instances as being narrowly cynical or hypocritical. That would be to impute too much. Rather, it is better to understand the West as being confused as to its own trajectory, history and legacy. Its own fears of freedom and progress are then attributed to external causes.

So China becomes a problem for the West, not because of China per se or old-fashioned racial ideology as would have been the case in the past, but because development and even people are problematized in general. When there are problems in China – such as a high-speed rail crash – Western commentators are quick to question the wisdom of advancing technology there. China, we are told, is doing too much, too quickly, without the necessary checks.

It would be better for China not to react in a hostile or even insecure way to such accusations. Rather, it might benefit it considerably more to be circumspect in its response – to thank Westerners for their interest and to advise them that, when they finally get around to developing and building such systems of their own, then China will always be there to offer advice when they encounter problems.

The challenge today is that – having colonised much of the Global South a hundred and fifty years ago – the West would now like to recolonise its mind with presumed and projected fears about growth, the environment, lack of natural resources, and there being too many people. Notably, in this view, people are presented as problems rather than as problem-solvers. Everything is presented as a risk. And the West needs others to buy-into this agenda too – if only to hold them back and reduce whatever threat they might pose in the future.

The task for a new Bandung Spirit is to not fall for this agenda. It is to develop and promote its own narrative, based on its own needs and ambitions. To argue not about what it fears or what

⁶ Literally 'Freedom Building' in Bahasa.

it is against, but for what it seeks to achieve and what it is for. This is a story that ought to be for, and appeal to, the whole of humanity – and not be exclusive to particular nations or the Global South. The trick will be to build on and transcend the limitations of the past – both technical and social.

One character who would have made a welcome addition to the original Bandung Conference but was not there was the great Caribbean writer C.L.R. James – best known for his writings on cricket, and that other – forgotten – revolution of the 18th Century – the Haitian Revolution (1938) – the only successful slave uprising in history that went on to keep the colonial powers at bay – but also a friend and biographer of Nkrumah (1977), who did come to Bandung.

James was well aware of the problems and limitations of Empire but he was also reluctant to throw out the baby with the bath water. '*I denounce European colonialism*' he wrote, '*but I respect the learning and profound discoveries of Western civilisation*', adding, '*I, a man of the Caribbean, have found that it is in the study of Western literature, Western philosophy and Western history that I have found out the things that I have found out, even about the underdeveloped countries*'.⁷

A true Bandung Spirit for the 21st Century would pick up the pieces nervously dropped by those who now fear change in the West and become a new beacon for all of humanity to follow. It is human civilisation, human literature, human philosophy and human history that really matters. And, in that regards, our focus ought not to be whether we are for the West or the South – but simply to know what it is we are for – to establish a new humanism through Merdeka.

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⁷ Cited at; <https://kenanmalik.wordpress.com/2012/04/16/clr-james-frantz-fanon-and-the-meaning-of-liberation/>

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Social Studies Education and Global Citizenship for the 21st Century

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Abstract

The current globalisation era has various impacts, including increases in cross-cultural interactions. To live peacefully, diverse communities are faced with the challenge of facilitating inter-dependence. In Indonesia, Social Studies Education is considered an important tool to develop the national goal of 'unity in diversity' in citizens. Towards this goal, policy documents direct schools and teachers to develop learning that fosters cultural expression. Also university education subjects in ethno-pedagogy have been initiated to work towards peaceful inter-cultural interaction and understanding. Concurrently further opportunities arise to incorporate other phenomenon of globalisation – increased digital technologies and connectivity – in working towards this goal. The focus of this paper is to present activities undertaken to support student learning of ethno-pedagogy with social media technology. This paper reports on data collected in the subject of *Ethno-pedagogy For Civic Education* at Indonesia University of Education, for Civic Education Masters students. A social media class group was set up with sharing of weekly class homework tasks within the group. Class interactions and student reflections on the use of this social media group were collected and analysed to study the student's learning related to the university subject themes: 1. Personal, local, national, global identities for intercultural understandings; 2. Cooperation Values; and 3: Links between Theory and Practice. The results suggest that social media was a beneficial tool to facilitate sharing of activities relating to cultural identities and helpful for students to process their thoughts on national and global identities, while mutually extending intercultural understanding. Cooperative values were enacted while students developed links between theory and practice. Inter-dependence was initiated with sharing of class-developed resources implemented in classroom practice by some of the members, along with some peer mentoring given. Application of social media offerings including a variety of sharing tools and easy forum for discussion, assisted in student engagement and motivation to enlarge knowledge and experiences for intercultural interactions and understandings. The study concluded that social media activities and methodology supported learning of subject themes and goals. These findings are relevant to social studies education for global citizenship in both Indonesian and International contexts, in the 21st Century.

Keywords: ethno-pedagogy; cultural unity in diversity; inter-dependence; social media class use

I. BACKGROUND

A. Globalisation challenges and Educational Response

Globalisation is a term widely used to describe the current state of the world, involving interactions of economy, immigration, information and ideas, technology and social relations (Reich, 1998). The increased intensity and acceleration of exchange over the last few decades (Doku and Oppong-Asante, 2011) has brought about both general and broad impacts and challenges to society, that are not homogenous or uniform in phenomena (Shome and Hedge, 2002). There is a growing consciousness that globalisation presents taxing challenges to the human psyche (Doku and Oppong Asante, 2011). In order to pursue equitable quality education, governments, education departments and researchers internationally struggle to understand our changing society and ways of learning (Cheng, 2004). Accordingly, numerous studies of pedagogy, curriculum content, educational structures and the role of schooling have been undertaken to explore and consider educational activities appropriate to changing social conditions and needs (e.g. Fazekas and Burns, 2012; Kärkkäinen, 2012; Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), 2013; Kress, 2008; Luke, 2004; Aman, 2013; Cazden, Cope, Fairclough, Gee, et al., 1996). Catering for diverse learners and developing local and global identities are common themes that arise in many papers (e.g. Schachter and Rich, 2011; Delors Report, Delors, as cited in UNESCO, 2002; Doku and Oppong Asante, 2011; Hofstede and Hofstede, 2005; Meijer, 1996; Cheng, 2004; Nelson & Guerra, 2012).

Similarly, the Asia and Pacific Network for International Education and Values Education (APNIEVE), identifies a potential benefit of globalisation as being an increase in understanding through closer links and communication between peoples and cultures (UNESCO, 2002). They suggest that maximising the 'good' elements of globalisation, by keeping education and activities human centred, will bring about empowered, full participation. They argue that this could forge greater interdependence, harmony and international cooperation. They encourage the emergence of a globalisation process that is adapted to people's needs and aspirations, using increased interaction to respond to persistent and emerging problems.

These papers and reports, along with other sector wide influence including moving away from neo-liberal politics (Keddie, Mills and Pendergast, 2011) and market focus changes (Sawyer, 2005). And growing bodies of research have seen educational shifts in policy directing change in teaching practice to move away from focus on commonality to being more student centred, appropriate to changing society and more innovative. (E.g. Vientiane Seminar Report, UNESCO, 2003; Olson, James and Lang, 1999 - reporting on 13 OECD countries).

B. Indonesian Context

Indonesia, like other countries, has both persistent and emerging problems (Jones, 2007). Various academics outline factors contributing to the initiation of Local Content Initiatives and decentralisation as being: problems of unity, Javanese political dominance no longer being accepted by outlying regions, economic crisis, transformation from agrarian to industrial society, an increase in urban population, regional leaders contesting for autonomy, students fighting for democracy, and international lenders wanting to see good governance (Yamashita, 2003; Kristiansen and Pratikno, 2006; Young, 2010). Accordingly In Indonesia change has ensued, shifting from commonality based curricula to education law provisions of local content via delegation of the design of curriculum to provinces, districts and schools (Kristiansen and Pratikno, 2006; Sari, Fitriana and Susilowati, 2010; Firman and Tola, 2008). Commitment to realising this vast task continues in development and training being pursued in *Kurikulum 2013* initiatives.

Along with working towards local content being developed at schools across Indonesia, Ethno-pedagogy has been recognised as an important field of educational study. Ethno-pedagogy was coined with aim to equip educators in 'cultural sensitivity, with techniques for improving cross-cultural teaching by fitting ethnic patterns' (Burger, 1968). Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia (UPI) or Indonesia's Education University is Indonesia's largest university that focuses on Schooling Education. UPI is committed to developing ethno-pedagogic paradigms in their pre-service teachers (Surnayo, cited in Alwasilah 2009) with several initiatives working toward this goal. This includes ethno-pedagogy within curriculum subjects areas are being undertaken since 2010.

C. Globalisation Technology Opportunities

Analogously, to globalisation intercultural social and educational impacts (local content initiatives and the field of ethno-pedagogy gaining attention) the New London Group (NLG) in 1996, was one of the earliest groups to consider the challenges and opportunities of 'local diversity and global connectivity' in regard to education. They assert that 'to be relevant, learning processes need to recruit, rather than attempt to ignore and erase, the different subjectivities ...' (The New London Group, 1996, p.9). The NLG argue that traditional programs, which are limiting, usually with monolingual and monoculture forms, can perpetuate educational outcome disparities. They argue that 'issues of differences become critically important in reaching objectives to create learning conditions for full social participation' and that 'the proliferation of communications channels and media supports and extends cultural and sub-cultural diversity' (The New London Group, 1996, p.1).

Furthermore, Murray (1997) asserted that development of technology is in response to needs: 'like every human medium of communication, digital media have been developed to perform tasks that were too difficult to do without them' (p.90). Further application of digital technologies to meet collective education goals, is asserted by the World Education Forum:

Information and communication technologies (ICT) must be harnessed to support Education for All goals at an affordable cost. These technologies have great potential ... This potential will not be realized unless the new technologies serve rather than drive the implementation of education strategies. (2000, p.21)

Subsequently researchers and practitioners discuss social media as a constructive tool for teachers and students to gather, author and reflect collaboratively (Yamamoto and Karaman, 2011; Herrera and Peters, 2011; Bryer and Zavatarro, 2011). Moreover, Nycyk asserts social media tools are 'now becoming indispensable for learning and acquiring information and knowledge' (2011). Concurrently emerging social media technologies are being used in education practices all around the world in order to respond to variety of educational challenges (e.g. Wenger, White, and Smith, 2009; Callaghan and Bower, 2012; Wang's, 2012; Hughes, 2007; Merchant, 2011; Hull and Stornaiuolo, 2010; Hart and Steinbrecher, 2011; Herrera, and Peters, 2011). The studies in classrooms show motivation and

engagement in class can benefit from social media implementation. This benefit was shown to be critically dependent on the teacher/s in fulfilling their facilitating role, to influence behaviour and learning.

As lecturers of the subject *Ethno-pedagogy for Civic Education* in 2014 (Civic Education is compulsory subject delivered across all levels of Education in Indonesia) we sought to further develop the presentation of the subject this year to foster learners' critical engagement by utilising social media to support face-to-face activities. Before commencing, we sought to strategies to develop our professional practice from other's experiences. In our professional reading we found that most studies of social media have been conducted within developed world contexts. Also in our readings we became aware of Hofstede and Hofstede's (2005) cross culture research shows that national cultures differ and that these differences have implications in behaviour relating to organisational and management strategies; and Choi and Chung (2013) studies, that emphasising technology acceptance of social network sites as being largely dependent upon inter-relationships in the group. Therefore we combined learning from the readings with our personal teaching experience and local cultural knowledge to shape our class communications. This paper reports on our class social media interactions and student reflections on these. We hope our studies can be beneficial to understanding learners in our context and lead to better ethno-pedagogy practice.

II. METHODS

The purpose of this study was to explore the use of social media tools to support face-to-face teaching and learning activities, in the university subject of Ethno-pedagogy for Civic Education. This subject is offered in the postgraduate course of Civic Education at Indonesia's Education University (UPI). Before the start of the semester, we, the course lecturers were provided with the syllabus content areas of the registered university course. Usually subjects in this course are delivered through face-to-face classes on campus. We however decided to trial use of social media to support and extend these face-to-face classes.

In developing our lesson plans and weekly activities, we developed themes and goals from the prescribed syllabus content areas. We sought to pair face-to-face class activities, based on these themes and goals, to capabilities available in digital social media. A summary of the syllabus content, with lesson themes/goals; and digital capacities and strategies are presented in Table 1:

Appropriate class behaviours for both face-to-face and online interactions were developed in week 1 of Semester course, as a class. This included the setup of a class-closed group Facebook page, administration starting the page and 'inviting' members was handled by a student volunteer. Also student worked together on developing an informal code of conduct on what 'a good learning community would look like, sound like and feel like' as well as what 'a bad learning community would look like, sound lie and feel like'. This enable us to revisit when we we're quite meeting these shared hopes.

Specific weekly content of the course was based on subject texts as prescribed in subject syllabus document and students were assigned to read the portions that corresponding with themes. Homework tasks were assigned to develop ideas discussed in class. Posting of these ideas to the class Facebook page was directed to facilitate sharing to lead to both self-awareness and a sense of being known, as well as development of intercultural understandings. It was hoped too that the joint undertaking of mutually informing and learning from one another would lead to a sense of community, inter-dependence, and a cooperation paradigm in the common goal of professional competency. Through participation and immersion in learning activities, synchronisation of the above themes and syllabus content activities, we set out to enable the forming and consolidation of links between theory and practice, also a course goal and theme.

In order to study the use of the social media to support these course themes and goals, we considered that three research areas would be necessary. Firstly, class membership and interactions, secondly, student social media experiences and thirdly, student development of lesson themes. We developed subgroups for exploration and data collection methods. These are presented with the purpose of collecting data in each research area, in table 2.

We developed a survey instrument, including open and closed questions, for students to make reflections about the use of the social media activities. Davis' technology acceptance model was consulted in initial development of the survey instrument as it has been noted in high validity (1989). However it is also noted the model doesn't consider the variability of individual practice and study of the community is needed (McFarland and Hamilton,2006). Therefore the model's factors of 'perceived usefulness' and 'perceived ease of use' along with lesson themes were used to develop questions within the survey instrument.

In studying class Facebook interactions and student survey responses relating to Facebook use, the study employed both quantitative and qualitative methods to analyse the strategies and activities we developed and trailed with our class.

This collection and analysis of data allowed the various social media strategies/activities and interaction to be utilised to measure/assess whether social media is beneficial in supporting teaching of Ethno-pedagogy for Civics

Education. This data puts the key learners at the centre of the study. Through studying their interactions and responses we are able document the students 'voices' and experiences and student perspective on whether social media supported their learning.

Data Collection and Analysis

Data collection of the class social media interactions took place simultaneously to subject being taught within the Facebook group page. Data collection of the survey instrument took place after the subject was completed and grades already assigned and received in order to eliminate competing interests (student pressure to provide answers that they thought would affect their grade). Data analysis of both sets of data was undertaken together and organised according to the research areas set and overviewed in Table 2.

Collected data from the online survey tool was automatically loaded into a spreadsheet through the use of Google drives. This was undertaken to provide easy access to the survey to student who had already dispersed during semester break, as well as enable the qualitative data to easily be made into statistical representations.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In exploring the use of social media to support student learning in Ethno-pedagogy for Civic Education, the findings are integrated and used to develop an understanding of the students' perceived receipt of support. Demographic details about the class are presented with numerical data of class Facebook page interactions, are followed by qualitative responses and interactions related to class themes. The key findings are summarised, accompanied by tables, charts and quotations from students.

A. Class Demographics (collected from both survey and class data) and Statistics related to Class interactions on Facebook:

- The class consisted of 18 members, 16 of these were postgraduate students and 2 were lecturers. Of the two lecturers, one was the overall course convenor and the other took a more active role in the class Facebook interactions.
- The gender composition of the class included 6 Females and 10 Males and 2 female lecturers.
- The ethnic composition of the class included: students: 2 Banjar; 1 Dayak; 1 Flores; 1 Gayo; 1 listing general ethnicity of Indonesian; 2 Java; 1 Melayu; 1 Minang; 6 Sunda; Lecturers: 1 Australian; 1 Sunda. Along with ethnicity students also provided their home district of where they had spent most of their lives, for several students was a significantly different region that the 'home' area of the ethnic groups.
- The mean student age was 27 (range: 23- 42 years)
- The number of Facebook interactions was 1001; this comprised of a total number of student interactions as 661; making the average number of student interactions as 41 (student range of interactions: 12 – 119). The total number of lecturer interactions was 340; Total Lecturer to total student interactions: 52.3% of interactions made by lecturers; 47.6% made by total number of students.
- Period of Interactions: 110 days or 16 weeks – duration: 1 Semester of University.
- Average interactions: 9 per day or 62.5 per week. (Interactions include: "Posts"; "Comments" and "Likes"; broken down below)
- Total number of class posts: 222; number of student posts: 177; average of student posts: 11; range of student posts: 8 -17; number of lecturer posts: 45; 20% of posts by lecturers; 80% by students
- Content of class posts: community building; identity descriptions; variety of reflections, including comic; lesson plans; some reflections prompted by lecturer; others informally shared; class information; greater community notices/ information/resources related to course content; questions; photos and videos. Both students and lecturers contributed to posts from each of these content areas.
- Total number of class comments: 380; number of student comments: 181; number of lecturer comments: 199; average number of student comments: 11; Range of number of student comments: 2 – 28; Content of class comments: feedback – both peer and from lecturer; responses to feedback; responses to posts

- Total number of class “likes”:399; total number of student likes: 303; average student liked: 18.9 times; range of student ‘likes’: 0 - 67
- 35 photos shared; 5 videos; 151 files (uploaded office documents, including student responses to class tasks and lesson plans)
- 93% response rate of students completing online survey post semester.

Key points of these statistics are that the highest Student Interaction was via “likes”. Lecturers however provided more interaction via “comments”. Reasons for variations in number of student interactions may include: interest; personality; assisting member by uploading posts as member joined Facebook within course; uploading of group work did not require all members to make separate upload. From those that responded to the survey, fourteen out of fifteen (93%) already had a Facebook account. Subsequently at the start of the semester, the student without a Facebook account employed the assistance of one of his classmates to upload class tasks. By week 3, all students were functional as independent members of the group. However challenges with Internet network may also have impacted student interactions and contributions.

B. Student responses related to use of social media in course

After completing the course, students were requested via social media to complete an online survey. Fifteen of the sixteen students provided responses to questions about benefit, challenges. Questions and responses are presented and summarised below:

- In the question relating to specific hardware used to interact on social media, 11 student responses were combination of laptop and hand phone (73%); 2 respondents (13%) use laptop and 2 respondents (13%) use hand phone, with one explaining that the hand phone is much more transportable.
- When asked “Would you use Facebook in future for leading learning?” 13 respondents said “yes” (86%), with explanations: it is very useful for helping students be active (2), creative and innovative (3); makes it easier to disperse materials; removes distance between learners and makes it easier to complete work (2); this is what today’s students are all already using (2). The 2 “no” respondents (14%) shared that network is an issue or that they are not yet sure on how to best undertake this.
- When asking students what benefits they received, a multi-choice selection was provided with option to create “other” and instructions that students could select multiple responses if they were appropriate. Their responses are presented in Figure
- Student responses to 5 point Likert scale of level of benefit were 9/15 (60%) Extremely Beneficial; 4/15 Highly Beneficial (26%); and 2/15 (13%) Beneficial.
- Students were asked ‘What is needed to use social media in learning?’ In response most mentioned technical needs such Internet connection, devices and a Facebook account. Also mentioned was active member participation; active facilitator (lecturer); strong sense of membership and creative ideas; good content; stimulating questions and enthusiasm.
- In final survey response opportunity students open comments indicate very positive perspective to use of social media:

“Hopefully the ethno pedagogy learning and social media activities will continue even though we have all successfully completed subject requirements.”

“it would be great if social media for learning was utilised for learning within schools.”

“Social media is too distracting if used in class time but for homework tasks it is highly suited.”

“Hopefully the university subject Ethno pedagogy always incorporates new innovations.”

“Hopefully in the future this media can be further maximised for extending communication channels and finding solutions.”

“My suggestion is firstly that learning that puts social media to use must be supported and secondly, Wi-Fi network at the campus has to be improved.”

“My suggestion to manage more effectively: provide more examples and schedules for uploading work.”

“It was an extremely great learning opportunity in Ethno pedagogy with using Facebook to extend the wealth of knowledge of ethnic cultures from many areas.”

Key results of this research area show most students used combination of laptop and phone to interact on the Facebook page. Students noted multiple benefits from using the Facebook with most assigning the tool and interactions to be ‘extremely beneficial’. Students recognised various factors as contributing to this benefit including active participation of both students and facilitator and stimulating foci. In the survey suggestions and further comments opportunity, most students gave responses related to hopeful future application, relating to either school and campus implementation and some students contributed ideas to further improve the professional support.

C. Student interactions and responses in relation to course themes and goals

As described above, three subject themes and goals were assigned and these were also used to study the support experienced and offered via use of Facebook group. Data related to this sub-group of research exploration was collected from student Facebook posts and comments as well as survey responses. An overview of data collected from each theme with related Facebook posts are presented, with some use of student quotes or photos from the Facebook page as appropriate. It is noted that there is some overlap between themes within tasks, please note tasks are recounted according to the dominant theme. Following this, student reflections on the use of this strategy and application or interaction with the content are provided from survey data.

Theme 1: Development of personal, local, national and global identities; self-awareness, sense of community; intercultural understandings.

Several class Facebook tasks assigned related to this theme. These are listed with an overview of responses and included:

- A start of semester posting responding task of ‘describe your cultural identity’. Many of the initial postings for this task were very factual geographic or encyclopaedia type entries of a cultural region and customs. With class discussions and prompting, students uploaded revisions that gave a more personal perspective of how the regional environment and customs shaped how they viewed their culture. The content posted by one student especially demonstrated strong person identity awareness, as he mentioned various family members as key in shaping who he is.
- In ensuing weeks students were asked to share specifically key personal and cultural values. The responses to these showed real depth of inspection and often brutally honesty.
- Progressing from personal and cultural identities, students were asked to consider issues of national identity. Posts one week were for students to make a question for that could lead future investigation of unity in diversity, noted as Indonesia’s national goal. The majority of questions developed began with “how” and relayed a keen sense of desire to learn how to connect to the national goal.
- The following week post required students to develop an avatar (personal comic representation) and put themselves into a comic frame with speech bubbles and titles to present their progressive learning on national and cultural identities. The comics were keenly developed (and later more were contributed without prompting) and conveyed two main themes. These included a sense of grappling and challenge in how to bring these identities together; a sense of wonder or delight in new ideas they were considering/embracing. Please see figure 2 for a snapshot collection of some of these comics.
- As class readings and discussions pursued, students were asked to post a venn diagram of friendship, cooperation and unity in diversity as interrelated concepts. In survey responses some students volunteered that this post and sharing of significantly helped them integrate their various identities.
- The reflective comments (provided in survey open ended question) relating to this identity tasks clearly show that the sharing of the stories within the group had great impact in developing personal, local, national and global identities as well as growth in self-awareness, sense of community and intercultural understanding. As the student responses so clearly describe this, their quotations are included:

“Through the stories I remembered who I am!”

“I became more open minded to other cultures”

"I received great benefit through the stories in knowledge, inspiration and reading others stories helped me to reflect on my own identity"

"The stories helped me know myself personally and my culture"

"The stories were very beneficial, through them all I now more fully know Indonesian culture from Aceh province all the way to Flores Island!"

"I got to know a lot about regions that I knew nothing about before." (3 similar responses)

"The stories were very beneficial to integrate understanding of ethnic groups for mutual respect and cooperation."

"The stories from my friends about each of their regions are extremely beneficial. We mutually got to know each other's regions. I even got to know more about my own region. And I have used these stories for my own students to know other regions and cultures. Now when I talk with friends I am able to share real knowledge about many regions."

"Extremely beneficial, the stories that we read gave us knowledge of each area, even know the specific cultural characteristics of each area. Besides this I now have gained friends from other regions and I am aware that Indonesia is extremely diverse in traditions and culture."

"I got to know meanings underlying to the culture of other people"

"I got great benefit – as I read the results of my friend's efforts, this made me realise and know that culture of every area is extensive and that Indonesia is indeed diverse, this was new revelation to me."

"Yes great benefit. We were able to make comparisons and share experiences of our own regions. In this I also got ideas to progress in my own area."

"Highly beneficial because we exchanged personal perspectives and feelings, including our unique strengths and weaknesses."

"Being able to post the stories on the Facebook page gave us time to develop and present our stories (rather than have to do a rush class presentation). We felt unrushed in being about to share as well as consider what we learning"

- Accordingly it is not surprising that in the survey question asking about the level of helpfulness the Facebook group facilitated in developing a sense of unity, responses were 53.3% extremely beneficial; 40% highly beneficial and 6% beneficial, with no negative beneficial levels recorded.
- Another class post was to develop a reflection of learning in a local type of poetry known as a "Pantun". These were inspired some very creative and well enjoyed work, evidenced in positive peer mentoring comments and likes.

Theme 2: Cooperation Values

Several Facebook posts and survey questions related to this developing understanding, active Engagement and Practicing of Cooperation and Values. These are summarised with quotes included as pertinent.

- In looking deeper into cultural customs (related to cultural identity) students were directed to make and post to Facebook group a table of a specific cultural custom of their choice and how this custom developed cooperative values
- Another class task post relating cooperation prompted students to make personal statements for determination to further develop their attitudes, actions or interactions to be more cooperative, listing specific behaviours and goals in working towards these. Students noted in survey items that sharing of this posts promoted humility and inspiration.
- Beyond postings, interaction in the group as cognitive contributors was considered immersion in professional cooperation, students were encouraged to provide peer mentoring via interaction. As evident in the above statistical analysis of interaction, 'likes' were the predominant mode of Facebook interaction. A few students contributed video links and implementation photos of activities related to class themes which deepened all participants understandings and delight in seeing broader application. Some peer comments to class task posts were contributed however with consideration of Hofstede and Hofstede's(2005) study of cultural difference, hierarchical tendencies of Indonesian culture not to make comments on others activities unless in a senior position and age may have inhibited greater use of this opportunity.

- Also social cooperation was manifest in class members asking for assistance and responding helpfully.
- Desire for continuation of professional cooperation was shared by a couple of students in final survey response option as recounted above in section on: Student responses related to use of social media in course.

Theme 3: Links between Theory and Practice

There were 2 directly linked posts related to this theme. These include:

- posting of prose of relating ethno pedagogy learning to *Kurikulum 2013* (*Kurikulum 2013* is the current National education practical implementation strategy recently being initiated)
- Posting of lesson plan.

Post responses to these directives yielded some very thoughtful work that evidenced incorporation of concepts delivered through class set readings and discussions. Quality of work and efforts evident in developing these pieces reflected both student learning and sense of professional community. The sense of professional community was evident in acknowledging content of peers in class face-to-face interactions and the essence captured in peer Facebook postings.

The student survey responses related to the use social media in developing professional competencies and making theory and practice links indicate student received diverse facets of support. Their comments are included below:

“Learning ethno-pedagogy is very important to teaching because it builds positive values that can be applied to our activities.”

“This (social media) really helped students by not over saturating learning within class.”

“My professional competency was increased via use of social media group, I gained more inspiration and knowledge, and learnt a more integrated way to view life.”

“It was helpful for acquiring new information.”

“My professionalism was greatly increased.”

“Up till now it's good, but not yet to its maximum capacity.”

“My understanding of links between theory and practice increased with implementation of media and resources.”

“Using social media enabled me to be opened minded to outside world.”

“Yes, Apart from enriching knowledge, we also were introduced to writing ethics. Gaining of resources. Respect friends' customs and each other. I've learnt to reference other's materials. In this I benefit also, I don't lose the source of the materials.”

“Yes, because social media can develop this era in many positive potentials.”

“Yes, we got to process ideas creatively within learning activities.”

“Social Media makes undertaking everyday tasks easier, firstly in university task by communication with friends to discuss course materials.”

“Until now, it can't yet be seen, maybe because I haven't implemented it in the field.”

“With use of social media, we can add knowledge that we didn't receive from the lecturer.”

“I feel my professional competence is greatly increased because with social media I can try to find and study later (at my own pace at a time that suits me). In sharing resources and learning materials with friends my professionalism as an educator increased.”

“Yes, I now have more new ideas from the learning experience.”

“Yes, because this is one media of learning that is outside of class and very helpful because we can do wherever and whenever.”

Student interactions and responses relating to this theme demonstrate strong links between theory and practice. These demonstrations are expressed and experienced in diverse approaches, offering insights into aspects of their personal and professional learning styles and interests.

The summary of the data collected relating to themes suggests that social media capacities paired well to the subject. Through social media postings and class activities a professional community was established where individuals flourished in being about to convey identities and share their cognitive journey in embracing Ethno pedagogy themes.

D. Culminated Summary of Research Areas

All data collected in this study documents an interactive sharing of knowledge, self, attitudes, values, thinking processes and application. Being able to easily access peer content was considered beneficial, helpful and enriching.

IV. CONCLUSION

The focus of this paper was to present activities undertaken to support student learning of ethno-pedagogy with social media technology. We utilised social media offerings including a variety of sharing tools and easy forum for discussion, to assist student engagement and motivation. This engagement was shown to enlarge knowledge and experiences in intercultural interactions and understandings. Data collected from class interactions and student responses, has enabled an analysis of student experiences and perspectives.

The core themes of the university subject of *Ethno-pedagogy For Civic Education* at Indonesia University of Education were successfully matched with social media capacities and strategies. These themes were: 1. Personal, local, national, global identities for intercultural understandings; 2. Cooperation Values; and 3: Links between Theory and Practice. Through active class participation in developing posts and accessing, mutual learning and interacting with one another's posts, personal, cultural, national and global identities were presented and further developed. Cooperative values were enacted while students developed links between theory and practice. Inter-dependence was initiated with sharing of class-developed resources implemented in classroom practice by some of the members, along with some peer mentoring given.

The results suggest that social media was a beneficial tool to facilitate sharing of activities relating to cultural identities and helpful for students to process their thoughts on national and global identities, while mutually extending intercultural understanding. The study concluded that social media activities and interactive methodology supported learning. We utilised the social media tools to foster relational networks to create a cohesive community where learning and healthy inclusive identities flourished. Through incorporation of social media we were able to facilitate learning inclusive of students backgrounds. This inclusion is considered necessary by intercultural education researchers (Nelson and Guerra, 2012).

We hope our studies can be beneficial firstly to our students in their future careers to understanding their learners and providing learning that is inclusive of their students backgrounds. We also hope sharing our activities and study will facilitate greater understanding and promote innovation in Social Studies Education in the 21st Century, both in the our context of University subject of Ethno-pedagogy for Civic Education and beyond. In future it is hoped that the use of social media will be further developed and maximised, especially to be harnessed for greater cooperation in global citizenship. In studying our class interactions and student comments we ourselves look forward to continue in our life long professionally development journey.

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Figure 1: Benefits Students received from Social Media Class Group

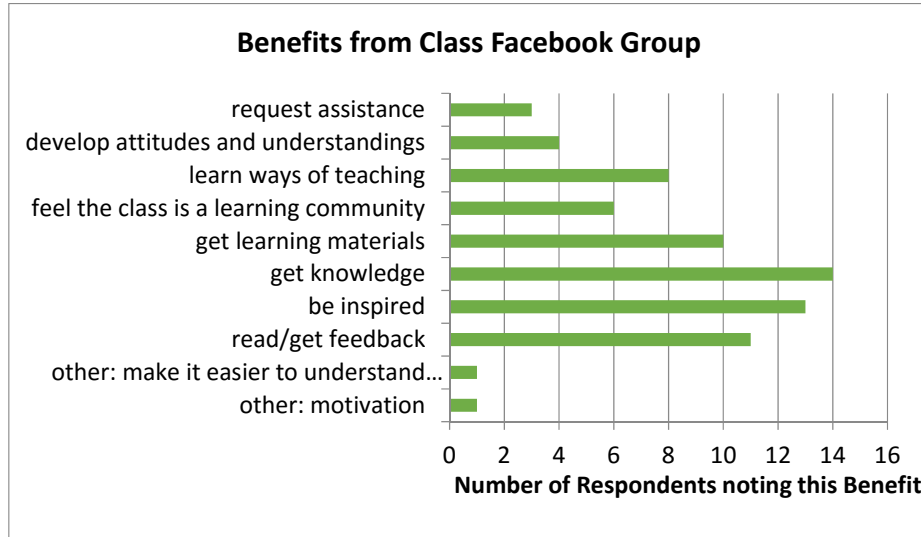


Figure 2



Figure 2: Snapshot of student comic postings

Table 1: Development of Ethno pedagogy Themes and Social Media Strategies

Syllabus Study	Lesson Themes/Goals	Social Media Capacities and Class Strategies
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Education and Culture - Identifying core values - Indonesian national and regional culture - Identifying dynamic challenges and social cultural changes - Community values as foundation and practice for social cultural national education - Analysis foundations of social cultural national education - Ethno-pedagogy within sociology - Ethno-pedagogic Leadership qualities - Analyse development of core community values in sociology learning - Education and cultural techniques 	Personal, Cultural, National and Global IDENTITIES <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sense of community - Self-awareness, - Facilitate Intercultural Understanding 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Forum to share class task of writing about ‘who I am culturally’ (upload docs) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – convey own cultural identity; - learn others class members identity; and use these as foundational to developing national and global identities - Posting and Sharing of Analysis Tasks (and revisions) - Creating cartoons of self about intercultural understandings - inclusive recording of class moments (upload photos, videos, make posts or comments)
	Understanding, Active Engagement and Practicing of Cooperation and Values; relating Cooperation to social issues	Posting/Commenting; Giving feedback to one another (peer mentoring) Learning from each other Facilitating each other’s learning Requesting and Providing Assistance (physical, knowledge, ideas)
	Links between practice and theory, developing understandings of curriculum as vehicle for culture, develop lesson plans and teaching experiences; peer mentoring	Focusing/Re-centring on Course Vision/Requirements Posting lesson plans and lesson videos to use in providing feedback on peer teaching activities Sharing and posting digital resources including links, videos, Post reflections – various types via document attaching, sentences, questions, words, comics, poems

Table 2: Development of Research Plan and Areas of Study

Research Area	Sub-groups of Research Exploration	Data Collection	Purpose
Class membership & interactions on Facebook (Statistical data)	- Student Background: Age, Gender, Student Ethnicities; Facebook use - Number of Interactions; types of interaction	Survey: 3 items; Study of Class Facebook page (quantitative)	- Understand group - Measure interaction - Analysis of interactions
Student Experience using Social Media	Benefits Enjoyment Challenges Strengthening Identity Elements needed for social media group function Likelihood of Personal Future use for learning Sense of connection with learning	Survey and Facebook page content (qualitative and quantitative)	- Understand challenges and contributing factors to interaction - Awareness of students experiences and benefit
Student responses relating to Course themes and goals	1. Development of personal, cultural, national and global identities; self-awareness, sense of community; intercultural understandings 2. Cooperation Values 3. Links between Theory and Practice	Survey and Facebook interactions (qualitative)	- Examination of activities/interactions to achievement of subject themes and goals

CLASSROOM DEVELOPING OF CIVIC EDUCATION AS LABORATORY OF DEMOCRACY EDUCATION

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Abstract

The immature and unwise attitudes of citizens in embracing the democratic climate of a country are closely related with the academic practices of infusing the values of democracy in classrooms. The classroom no longer depicts a small society which represents the socio-cultural reality, but has become a room for indoctrination which eradicates students' liberty and creativity. In implementing their roles and functions, teachers no longer rely on the principles of liberty, equality, and equality; which are the foundation of democracy. Instead, they tend to position themselves as the central figure in the learning process. They tend to be the single player who makes every decision in the classroom. In other words, teachers are still incapable of using the classroom as a laboratory of democracy education. This research shows that teacher plays significant role in developing, and gives strong influence to, the students' democratic skills. This verifies the notion that teachers are one of the important player in developing the students' democratic character at school and teachers' role in the classroom is a game-keeper. Utilizing classroom as a laboratory of democracy has a strong influence for students' democratic skills development. The laboratory of democracy education as a miniature of democracy serves as an ideal place to develop students' critical reasoning; especially concerning the development of democracy in Indonesia. It is so that the democracy will not develop into an anarchy.

Keyword: Civic Education, Laboratory of Democracy, and Classroom

I. INTRODUCTION

Democracy for the people and nation of Indonesia is now interpreted as a media freedom not only in politics, but both penetrated into all fields and side of life. Thus, there are problems with the implementation of democracy in social life. Citizenship education pragmatically have socio-pedagogical vision to educate democratic citizens in a wider context, which includes a formal education and non-formal education.

Education, paideia, and democracy aim at and choose the social and individual autonomy in the sense of enabling people to govern themselves at the social and individual levels. A genuine aim proceeds from a factor that determines a choice of acting. It is different from a choice that is imposed upon from the outside. An authentic aim derives autonomous individuals. An autonomous society (comprised of autonomous individuals) is a genuine free society (Sargis, 2005: 2)

The new paradigm Civics stated that civic education is a field of scientific study and education programs in schools and was accepted as the primary vehicle as well as the essence of democracy education in Indonesia is carried out through: Civic Intelligence, the intelligence and reasoning power of citizens both in the spiritual dimension, rational, emotional, and socially. Civic Responsibility,

namely awareness of their rights and obligations as citizens responsible and Civic Participation, which is the ability of citizens to participate on the basis of their responsibility, both individually, socially.

As mandated by National Education Minister Regulation No. 22 of 2006 on the Content Standards for Secondary and Basic Education Unit, for the group of subjects Civic Education and Personality in scope as follows:

A group of subjects of citizenship and identity is intended to increase awareness and knowledge learners will status, rights and obligations in society, nation, and state, as well as improving the quality of himself as a man. Awareness and insight including national vision, spirit and patriotism to defend the state, respect for the rights of human rights, pluralism, environmental sustainability, gender equality, democracy, social responsibility, obedience to law, obedience to pay taxes, and the attitudes and behavior of anti corruption, collusion, and nepotism.

Observing a variety of coverage mandated by National Education Minister Regulation No. 22 Year 2006, the Citizenship Education has a very noble mission. In connection with the Civics mission, Maftuh (2008: 137) argues that:

With the demands of the development of society and state life that is so advanced with all its challenges, Citizenship Education at the present time has the following mission: 1) Civics as Political Education; 2) Civics as the Educational Values; 3) Civics as Nationalism Education; 4) Civics as the Education Law; 5) Civics as Multicultural Education; and 6) Civics as Conflict Resolution Education.

Democratic life been booked in the subjects Civics democracy that executed intelligent and cultured. So, instead of democracy to impose the will, nor democracy that promotes freedom at large without bingkak packaged in legislation.

Freedom of speech is framed in a democratic system is the right of citizens to argue not impose opinions. According to the author of a very narrow if the demonstration as koseskwensi of demokokrasi system is translated in a way desdruktif, intimidating, and do not use common sense. So whatever the reason was the demonstration that led to anarchism can not be justified and violated the nalai-nalai of democracy.

The issue is why is it that in a democracy should be implemented intelligently? This is because we as a nation of Indonesia requires a human figure with intelligence and high appreciation of the values of democracy, which creates a peaceful amid a variety of actions and fluctuations in the name of democracy but rather lead to various acts of hostility and anarchists, as was the case in the demonstration in North Sumatra (Monday, 03/02/2010) which resulted in the death of Abdul Aziz Lift the Chairman of the parliament of North Sumatra, the case demonstrated in front of the Office of Sragen Regent, on Monday (3/05/2010). riot took place, in which the mass of sweeping a number of civil servants who will follow the ceremony Hardiknas. Not only that, quarrels until the shootout occurred when the muscle mass through the wall crowd control apparatus (Dalmas) Sragen Police. As a result, a member of Pemuda Panca Marga (PPM) Angga alias Jegos injured badly enough in the head.

Various anarchy that accompanied the implementation of the demonstration of the Republic of Indonesia is the impact of a narrow perspective in translating democracy and demonstrations. So it is still very necessary intelligence to understand the attitude of democracy and demonstrasi. Jika such conditions continue, it is not possible seeds of democracy in this country will "wither before it develops". How can democratic values can grow and develop conducive if democracy is defined as an attitude of "big head" and "want to win yourself" How can the democratic atmosphere able to foster peace, justice, and peace if dissent taboo?

Democracy is implemented intelligently would be able to give a word of apology, if something goes wrong, who sowed the seeds of harmony in the event of later conflicts, which provide certainty in the event of doubt, who uphold the truth in case of various forms of abuse and heresy, and which became the bearer of light in the darkness life.

To build a democratic intelligence among young citizens whose status as learners, ideally educational process capable of providing a process of enlightenment and spiritual katharsis to students

so that they are able to be responsive to all the problems faced by the community and nation. Through successful ditimbanya enlightenment, they are expected to be a spiritual being who has a high appreciation of the problems of humanity, honesty, democracy, tolerance, and peaceful life.

The link between education and democracy is a matter of great concern for social science Researchers because of the growing need for the realization of sustainable democracy in developing economies and especially a Among fragile and transitional Democracies (Odhiambo, Okoth, and Anyango, 2014: 2) .Konsekuensinya in the future, education must be anticipatory with a touch of significant concern to the efforts of rooting of democratic values and the spiritual to the learners. Here, the role and function of teachers who are at the forefront in the world of education should be able to become an exemplary figure in front of students. Teachers' attitudes and behavior in everyday life is always based on the values of democracy, religious and transcendental.

The issue is subject Civic Education that serves as a democratic education can not run as expected. The process of Civic Education in Indonesia which should further develop the affective competence or character, in practice in civics classes still showing characteristics of conventional learning system. And with a simple method, an educator can create democratic learning using role play (Sunaryati, 2012: 161)

Numan Somantri (2001: 245) confirms that less meaningful Citizenship Education for students due to the dominance of the application of conventional learning methods such as ground covering technique, indoctrination, and narrative technique in learning everyday Citizenship Education.

Budimansyah (2008: 18) highlights the cause of the problem more broadly include:

- The process of learning and assessment in Civic Education more emphasis on instructional impact (instructional effects) are limited to the mastery of the material (content mastery), or in other words, only emphasizes the cognitive dimension only. Development of other dimensions (affective and psychomotor) and acquisition impacts Bridesmaids (nurturant effects) as the "hidden curriculum" has not got the attention it deserves.
- Classroom management has not been able to create an atmosphere conducive and productive to provide learning experiences to learners through their inclusion both proactive and interactive in the learning process in the classroom and outside the classroom (intra and extra-curricular) resulting in poor learning experience meaningful (meaningful learning) to develop the life and behavior of learners / mahapeserta learners.
- The use of time allocation is listed in Education Curriculum Structure elaborated rigid and conventional clock face lessons as scheduled so that the learning activities Citizenship Education by face to face in the classroom to be very dominant. It resulted teachers can not improvise creatively to perform other activities apart from the routine of learning face to face with a tight scheduled.
- The implementation of extra-curricular activities as a vehicle for socio-pedagogical to get "hands-on experience" has not contributed significantly to balance between control theory and practice of habituation behavior and skills in life which democratic and litigious.

Teachers as manager class (manager class) has a role and function very strategic in building democracy and at the same intelligence membumikan democratic values in the classroom. The principle of freedom of speech, equal rights and obligations, the growth of the spirit of brotherhood between the learner and the teacher should be the "spirit" in the classroom on the subjects of Civics. The interaction of teachers and learners are not as subject-object, but as subjects equally learn to build character, identity, and personality. Profile democratic teachers can not materialize by itself, but requires a learning process. Class is a strategic forum for teachers and students to learn together to uphold the pillars demokrasi. Ini implies that civics teachers in implementing the learning process should be able to instill democratic values through the creation of a class as a laboratory of democracy.

The founding values of constitutional democracy and justice should be of particular concern at this time. This is when the left and are not anticipated through education will hamper development in various fields. Because of the current development mechanism based on the aspirations and

community participation. Had the construction of an anarchist society will experience strong resistance.

II. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Based on the description of the background of the above problems, it is the focus of this research is "How to build a democratic intelligence among citizens through the Practice Learning Civics using a variety of learning approaches to realizing the class as a laboratory of democracy"

Laboratorium class as democracy is essentially the implementation or practice of Citizenship Education Learning by applying various approaches and models of learning varied or held by teachers of civics in schools. Therefore, the formulation of the above problems are translated into some of the following issues:

- Profile of the Civic education teachers how to develop the intelligence of democracy?
- Profile of class how to develop the intelligence of democracy?
- How Civic education teachers' perceptions toward democratic intelligence and class as a laboratory of democracy?
- Is there a significant influence on the development of teacher competence on the implementation of learning practices in schools Civic education post competency development is done through formal education, teacher certification, MGMPs and coaching science that do LPTK with efforts to build a democratic intelligence among young citizens as learners?

III. METHOD

This study used two approaches, quantitative, namely through the survey method. Quantitative approaches serve as the dominant approach in this study for research purposes to measure many variables, test hypotheses, and make conclusions from questions about the behavior, thoughts, or characteristic of a phenomenon. This study obtained a sample of a population and spread in a wide area in the city of Bandung.

This quantitative approach using the survey method, for taking a sample from a population by using a questionnaire as a measure of underlying data. Mc Millan & Schumacher (2001: 304) states that "in survey research, the researcher selects a sample of respondents and used questionnaires to collect information on the variables of concern to researchers. The data collected is then used to describe the characteristics of a particular population ". Neuman (2006: 267) also states that "the researchers took samples from many survey respondents who answered a number of questions. They measure many variables, test hypotheses, and make conclusions from questions about the behavior, thoughts, or characteristic of a phenomenon ".

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

To see how the Influence of the Teacher Competency variable (X1), Laboratory of Democracy (X2), and the Student Democracy Intelligence (Y), then the research data that has been transformed into an interval scale further processed with SPSS, version 16.00 in order to obtain results of a calculation.

it is found that the variable Intelligence Competency Master Student Democracy obtained correlation coefficient of 0.617. While the correlation coefficient between the variables with the variable Intelligence Laboratory of Democracy Democracy is 0.725, and the correlation coefficient between the variables with the variable Democracy Lab Teacher Competence is 0.662. Theoretically, because the correlation coefficient between the Laboratory of Democracy Democracy with greater intelligence, then the variable Democracy Laboratory has more influence on the Democratic Students Intelligence variables, compared with variabel Teacher Competency.

Furthermore, the level of significance of the correlation coefficient of one side of the output (measured of probability) gives the figure of 0,000 or practical 0. Therefore the probability is much

below 0.05, the correlation between teacher competence variables and variable Intelligence Laboratory Democracy Democracy is very real.

obtained prices Standard Error of Estimate was 8.324 (the unit used is the dependent variable, in this case the intelligence Democratic Students. In the previous analysis as presented in the table Descriptive Statistics, that the standard deviation of the variable Intelligence Democracy is 12.146 larger standard error of estimate is only 8.324. Therefore, smaller than the standard deviation Intelligence Democratic Students, the regression model is better to act as a predictor for the variable Democracy Student Intelligence, than average intelligence Student Democracy itself.

Next, to see how the pattern of relationship / influence between the variables studied, can be seen from multiple regression equation. Therefore, to determine the linear regression equation, then the research data (interval scale) processed with SPSS version 16.00 in order to obtain the results as presented the following table:

Tabel 1
Coefficients (a) for regression analysis

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta	t	
1 (Constant)	26.304	5.834		4.509	.000
Teacher Competency	.212	.075	.243	2.839	.005
Democraton Laboratory	.344	.052	.564	6.580	.000

a. Dependent Variable: Democracy Intelligency

^a. From Table 4:14. above, it can be described equation structural model Competence Teachers, Laboratory of Democracy, Intelligence and Democracy, the following:

$$\hat{Y} = 26,304 + 0,212X_1 + 0,344X_2$$

Y = Student Democracy Intelligence

X₁ = Teacher Competency

X₂ = Laboratory of Democracy

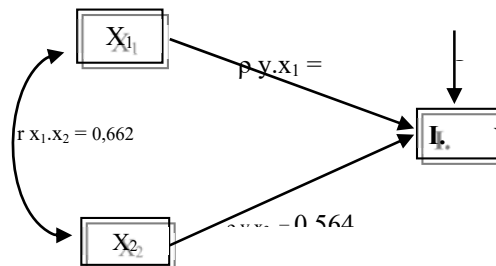
From the equation above shows a constant value of 26.304 which states that if there is no Teacher Competence and Laboratories of Democracy, the Democratic Students Intelligence amounted to 26.304 units. The value of the variable X1 path coefficient of 0.212 states that every increase of 1 unit of Teacher Competency will increase by 0.212 units Democracy Intelligence. Likewise, the path coefficient of X2 amounted to 0.344 states that every increase of 1 unit of the Laboratory of Intelligence Democracy Democracy will increase by 0.344.

V. EFFECT OF TEACHER COMPETENCE AND STUDENTS AGAINST INTELLIGENCE LABORATORY DEMOCRACY

A. The path analysis

The results of statistical data processing using SPSS version 16:00 states that the Teacher Competency variable (X1) and the Laboratory of Democracy (X2) has positive influence on Intelligence Democratic Students (Y).

Before the hypothesis testing is done, the first image is shown on the effect of structural and path coefficients X1 and X2 to Y.



To test whether there is an influence either simultaneously or partially of two independent variables (X) to the Student Democracy Intelligence as the dependent variable, first required a description of the results of research and subsequently taken measures:

a. Calculate the correlation matrix between variables causes.

b. Calculating the entire path coefficient partial effect of variable X to Y. The coefficient of the resulting lines are particularly useful to know the effect of directly or indirectly partially from the massing of the variables on the quality of solid waste services, the influence of each variable is the square of the coefficient paths .

B. Effect of Teacher Competence (X1) to Intelligence Democracy

The direct effect of the Teacher Competency Intelligence Democracy amounted to 7.10%, while the indirect effect through the Teacher Competency Laboratory of Democracy and the role of the leader of the Democratic Intelligence amounted to 11.80%. So that the total effect of the Intelligence Competency Democratic Teachers Students amounted to 18.90%.

An exploration of how Dewey's principles of equality, intelligent judgment and action, and working together reveal an overlapping theme of student voice, a theme which was further explored by examining lessons learned through the use of Reviews These principles in the classroom. Teachers implementing a democratic pedagogy not only seek classrooms of open dialogue, they encourage critical Also student feedback on traditional aspects of school (Poduska, 1996). This in turn requires teachers to Critically Evaluate Reviews their own classrooms (MacMath, 2008: 9).

This teacher Also makes it very clear who decides what is to be done at school and why, the which might help the students to understand the limits of what can be Decided at the school level, by the teacher and by Themselves. If this is not clear, it can promote feelings of antagonism between the teacher and the pupils (Forsberg, 2000, 104- 105). This teacher avoids this, the which probably provides an important platform for a successful understanding of democracy. The pupils are never uncertain about what they can influence at the same time as they are given many opportunities to express Reviews their opinions to a teacher who is flexible and responsive to Reviews their needs and desires (Vinterek, 2010: 378).

In a democratic education environment, students should have the right to Participate in decisions about class rules, values and principles, and sanctions to be applied in case of breaches of Reviews those rules, values and principles (Korkmaz and Gumuseli, 2013: 83). Also they should have the right to Participate in decisions on educational objectives, content, methods and evaluation (Girgin & Gürşimşek, 2004; Guerney & Merriam, 1972; Morrison, 2009; Print et al., 2002).

C. Influence Laboratory of Democracy (X2) the Intelligence Democracy (Y)

The direct effect of the Laboratories of Democracy against Democracy Intelligence amounted to 11.80%, while the indirect effect through the Teacher Competency Laboratory of Democracy and the role of the leader of the Democratic Intelligence is of 12.00%. So that the total effect of the Laboratory of Democracy against Democracy Intelligence Students amounted to 23.80%.

The analysis above shows a causal relationship between the variables and the Teacher Competence Intelligence Laboratory Democracy Democracy using path analysis. The results show that there is significant influence between the variables Teacher Competence and Intelligence Laboratory of Democracy against Democracy. The biggest influence is given by the Laboratory of Democracy, that is equal to 40.808%. While variable Teacher Competence to give effect to the democratic intelligence by 15%.

The amount of total influence of all independent variables (X) of the Structural Model of Democracy Student Intelligence indicated by the coefficient of determination of $R^2 = 0.5588$ or 55.88%. While outside influences or mistake by 44.12%. With results like that, it can be concluded that the structural model is set up to look at the relationship between dependent and independent variables are correct, so that in this study, the variable X (Teacher Competence and Laboratories of Democracy) appropriately used to measure and predict the Student Democracy Intelligence.

Vinterek (2010: 367) stated that the way democracy is thought and lived in this classroom seems to hold great potential for promoting knowl–edge in and about democracy. A model of democracy in Kenya towards the which learning must incorporate some practical aspects and elements of traditional African structures and philosophical concepts as the bedrock for developing a democratic culture (Odhiambo, Okoth, and Anyango, 2014: 8). Odhiambo et.al (2014: 5) Reported that 70% of the respondents believe that teaching methods are authoritarian as taught by the teacher, the students learn, and the principal is Considered the all powerful commander while the school system tends to be a bank from where students come and take knowledge.

Our review of secondary career education initiatives from California, Kansas, Kentucky, Minnesota and Mississippi reveals a few democratic strengths but unfortunately many more violations of democratic principles learning. A critical thinking in career education approach based on democratic learning encourages student in-depth examination of economic globalization and international trade agreements, explores current working and labor market conditions, and considers how Affect Reviews These conditions of workers and communities. The requirements of a democratically constructed a model of critical thinking are linked with respecting the agency and the democratic right of students to shape Reviews their vocational experience. Lifelong learning must Also be re-conceptualized in democratic career education to create conditions for on-going intellectual growth and self-actualization rather than simply promoting passive job retraining in the face of employment instability (Benjamin, Margison And Taylor, 2010: 130).

In a democratic education environment, inter-personal relations should be established based on democratic values, having the following characteristics: tolerance, cooperation, mutual trust, multi-dimensional communication (Arabacı, 2005) and dialogue; conflicts and Disputes as part of the educational process (Jenlink & Jenlink, 2008; Lowry, 2002), mutual respect (Print et al., 2002; Riley, 2011), the recognition of human dignity (Kubow & Kinney, 2000; Riley, 2011), responsibility (Riley, 2011), respect of other individuals' rights (Cappa, 1956; Riley, 2011), equity and trust Among students and teachers, the support of social justice (Print et al., 2002), anti-racism and anti-sexism (McAnncih, 1999, as cited in MacMath, 2008), awareness of other people's needs and interests (Cappa, 1956), recognition of every single individual, free expression of thoughts (Guerney & Merriam, 1972), and democratic participation (Lowry, 2002). Moswela (2010: 62) believe that the teachers 'action or acceptance of the students' participation in class decisions may have been born out of the wisdom that if they did not, students MIGHT not comply with the rules and regulations, Thus aggravating behavior problems in class.

VI. CONCLUSION

It can be concluded that the results showed that teachers significantly influence the intelligence of the student democracy. This further reinforces that the teacher is one of the pillars to build democratic character for students in the school and the teacher's role as a park interpreter. Besides the embodiment of class as a laboratory of democracy significant effect on the intelligence of the student democracy. The existence of democracy is a miniature laboratory the ideal of democracy as a vehicle for the development of students' critical reasoning to the development of democracy in Indonesia in order not to run into a number of irregularities in the direction of democratic anarchy.

The principle of freedom of speech, equal rights and obligations, the growth of the spirit of brotherhood between students and teachers should be the "spirit" in the classroom on the subjects of Civics. The interaction of teachers and students are not as subject-object, but as subjects equally learn to build character, identity, and personality. Profile democratic teachers can not materialize by itself, but requires a learning process. Class is a strategic forum for teachers and students to learn together to uphold the pillars of democracy. In addition to re-action-right Civic Education in everyday life habituation program teachers can do, such as making a program in honesty, in responsibility, in discipline, in creativity, in a democracy and so on. Thus, students as citizens will be familiarized with the democratic values that will be applied to life in the community, the nation and the State.

Therefore we advise you to better optimize the role of teachers in the development of the democratic teachers must strengthen intelligence in the development of materials, methods, media, resources, and evaluation tools that measured for students. Likewise, the development of the class as a laboratory of democracy must often conduct simulations of various processes of democratization both within the school and community environment.

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Revitalization of Bandung Spirit

Dr. Hj. Miming Karmilah

Abstract

The commemoration of the 60th Asian-Africa Conference (AAC) in Bandung in 2015 is the 10 years momentum of New Asian African Strategic Partnership (NAASP) that was initiated at the last 50th commemoration of the Asia-Africa Conference in 2005. AAC created “DasaSila Bandung” which means 10 foundations made in Bandung in 1955 is the foundation of Asian and African Countries in order to keep on trying to struggle for their independences and dignities with other countries, particularly with the developing countries that were also initiated Non Aligned Movement (GNB) in 1961. As long as six decades, the history recorded that Asian and African have declared their strong determination to fight against the colonialism and became non block countries for the two main power countries in the world at the time. There are a lot of basic values in “DasaSila Bandung” which must be improved that will be significant to apply in the world. Some of them are the spirit of cooperation and solidarity among nations. In the past time, the solidarity was required to acknowledge the dignity of a country which has got its independence; but today the solidarity is needed to combat and overcome poverty, radicalism, epidemic of diseases, terrorism, transnational or international crimes, climate exchanges, and the continuous developing programs. Economic progress in Asia is expected to be the motor to have an economic progress for other countries. The commemoration of AAC is expected to create the valuable and meaningful things such as to make economic cooperation among countries stronger, strengthen the unity between Asia and Africa countries, and regional forum facilitating the aspiration of both continents. The commemoration today is no longer focusing on independence struggle, but stressing on continuous development and welfare achievement. The question proposed is that “Is the spirit of Bandung still relevant to the dynamics of international relationship for the time being?” The spirit of Bandung is still relevant particularly in dealing with development effort and demanding the welfare for the developing countries in Asia and Africa. In this 60th commemoration of AAC, there are three significant documents made, namely Declaration of Reinvigorating the New Asian African Strategic Partnership, Bandung Message, and Declaration on Palestine.

Keywords: Revitalization, Bandung Spirit

I. INTRODUCTION

The 60th anniversary of the Asian-African Conference in 2015 is the momentum of a 10 years of the New Asian African Strategic Partnership (NAASP) which was initiated in 2005. The 50th anniversary of the Ten Principles of Bandung’s Asian-African Conference that gave birth in 1955 became the basis for the struggle of Asia and Africa countries to continue fighting for freedom and equality with other countries, particularly developed countries which later inspired the principle of Non-Aligned Movement in 1961. On the 60th anniversary of Asian-African Conference today, there

are three important documents produced, the Declaration of reinvigorating the New Asian African Strategic Partnership, Bandung Message, and the Declaration on Palestine. The third document proves that the Ten Principles of Bandung which was agreed 60 years ago is still the foundation of Asian and African countries to promote world peace and cooperation. Leaders of Asian-African Conference also declared "Ten Principles of Bandung" which reflects the commitment of nations to practice tolerance and live peace with one another as good neighbors. Countries that are invited to attend the Asian-African Conference have agreed to fight for the independence of Palestine to immediately recognized internationally at the United Nations forum.

II. NEW ASIAN-AFRICAN STRATEGIC 2005

Ten Principles of Bandung has become the embryo strength of Asia and Africa against colonialism, neocolonialism and imperialism. Bandung Spirit also has given rise to the idea that changed the global political constellation which at that time controlled by two blocks, the westernblock led by the USA, and the eastern block led by the Soviet Union. Ten Principles of Bandung has inspired countries in the world to get out of the two blocks, by joining the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in 1961.

Fifty years after the conference, Indonesia successfully hosted the 50th Anniversary of the Asian-African Conference. Bandung Spirit turned on and various plans were made to establish cooperation between the two continents. All participants who gathered on April 22nd-24th 2005 in Jakarta and Bandung believe that the Bandung Spirit has always been a solid foundation to maintain better relations among the nations of Asia and Africa as well as to resolve global issues. The commemoration of Asia Africa Conference led to the creation of the New Asian-African Strategic Partnership (NAASP). The agreement is aimed at strengthening multilateralism, achieve economic growth, increase peace and global security, and to seek a sustainable growth path between the two regions. In addition, the leaders who were present also endorsed the outcome document on poverty alleviation, terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, and the development of a tsunami early warning system.

In the 60th anniversary of the Asian-African Conference and the 10th anniversary of the New Asian-African Strategic Partnership (NAASP). The Government of the Republic of Indonesia was to host a series of high-level event with the theme "Strengthening South-South cooperation in order to Improve Welfare and World Peace" in Jakarta and Bandung on April 19th to 24th 2015. A total of 109 Asian and African countries, 16 observer countries and 25 international organizations are invited to participate in this important event. In this 60th Commemoration of AAC, there are three documents made significant items, namely the Declaration of reinvigorating the New Asian African Strategic Partnership, Bandung Message, and the Declaration on Palestine (Chodijah & Warouw, 2015).

Related to documents on Palestine Declaration, all countries that are invited to the AAC in 2015 have agreed to fight for independence for the Palestinians to immediately recognized internationally in the forum of the United Nations (UN). The third document of AAC in 2015 is the evidence that the Ten Principles of Bandung which was agreed 60 years ago is still the great foundation of Asian and African countries to promote world peace and cooperation.

Under the encouragement of Bandung, the countries of Asia and Africa unite to improve cooperation among regional, sub-regional and international, thus playing an increasingly important role in regional and international affairs, continue to increase its position in the world strategy. Bandung spirit managed to give birth to alternative ideas that changed the global political constellation which was then controlled by two poles, Western Block by the USA and the Eastern

Block by the Soviet Union. In this case, the Ten Principles of Bandung inspired countries in the world to get out of these two poles, by joining the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in 1961.

Now, the current era of peace, developing, cooperation and win together become increasingly powerful, many countries increasingly become a community of camaraderie among each other. Meanwhile, what is noteworthy is that the world is not peaceful, turmoil often occurs in various regions, global problems such as terrorism, serious infectious diseases continue to grow, the gap between North and South remains large, the countries of Asia and Africa continue to face a number of difficulties and challenges in security issues of sovereignty, unity and cooperation and joint developments.

The main goal of AAC is to promote world peace and cooperation. Therefore, in the commemoration of the 60th of AAC, these goals remain to be committed. This makes 2015 AAC's theme: "Strengthening South-South Cooperation to Promote World Peace and Prosperity". The statement identifies approaches of Bogota in 2010 South-South Cooperation (SSC) as a process that initiated Southern countries or developing countries to have collaboration and to promote mutual interest between the partner countries at the global, regional, and country (CSIS: 2014). SSC is also considered as a historical process with unique characteristics. In this case, often the providers of assistance are also a recipient of aid. It shows that the support for SSC reflects solidarity and ability to adapt to the local context, and to promote mutual cooperation in equal partnership. There is no hierarchy in SSC because the partnership is not vertical like the North-South cooperation (cooperation of developed countries and developing countries). Through horizontal partnerships, there will be no parties being exploited. Therefore, the mechanism of SSC is believed to help the countries of Asia and Africa to rise out of poverty and enable them to get a welfare which leads to increased life quality.

Currently there are many developing countries, which are difficult to access basic needs such as food and shelter. Although, the fact is that now is the 21st century, not the 20th century anymore that used to be colored by colonial war and suffering. But the conditions of many local residents in the Third World (another term for developing countries), particularly in Africa, are still struggling with war, poverty, and disease; such as ebolavirus outbreaks in Africa until now has still not been handled entirely. Similarly, the lowest-capita income of the world is in Africa. Egyptian Ambassador to Indonesia Bahaa El Deen Bahgat Ibrahim Dessouki in Diplomacy Forum event organized by Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI), April 15th, 2015, said that although the political situation in the countries of Asia and Africa nowadays is different, the countries of the two continents are still facing challenges that are not much different as before. Therefore, the momentum of the 60th anniversary of AAC should be used as a foothold to strengthen SSC as part of the revitalization of the spirit of Bandung that seems to be faded after the Cold War ended. Bandung spirit must make economic dependence of developing countries, and that they will be able to reduce aid from donor countries dominated by the Western countries. However, in general, the conditions of the countries in Asia and Africa are still shackled, both economically and politically. At least the majority of poor countries which are still in the region of Africa. In fact, sub-Saharan in Africa is the most under-developed place in the world development.

In the era of information technology, Asia and Africa are still grappling with poverty, unemployment, and sectarian conflict. It creates barrier in many countries in Asia and Africa in reaching progress. The impact is that many of them still cannot feel the better life enjoyed by their counterparts in South Korea, Japan, China and other countries. Therefore, an attempt to free them from the shackle, Bandung Spirit must remain switched on. Colonialism in a new form, such as economic exploitation by big powers, should be discontinued. In this case the AAC should denounce the free market system, as the result of neoliberalism which only benefits the owners of

the capital. One of the Ten Principles of Bandung mentions the importance of promoting the principle of mutual interest and cooperation. This means, neoliberalism is not in harmony with the Bandung Declaration. Unfortunately, many Asian and African countries adopt free market system which triggers the practice of neocolonialism.

According to the study of senior staff of the National Defense Institute (Lemhamnas), M Hashim, in a seminar entitled "Revitalization Ten Principles of Bandung 1955" organized by the Global Future Institute, held at Daria Guesthouse in the area of Kebayoran Baru, South Jakarta, on Tuesday (14 / 04/2015), states:

Indonesia needs to address the theme of the implementation of the 60th of Asian-African Conference (AAC), dated April 19 to 24, in Bandung, West Java. All parties need to be reminded, Indonesia is a country whose lives are derived from foreign debt, thereby potentially become a "puppet" of strong states. Therefore, the creditor countries to Indonesia, certainly not possibly provide free debt with or without strings attached. Moreover, Indonesia's foreign debt comes from countries that once colonized Indonesia. This fact should be the foundation of the Indonesian government to continue to foster a spirit of anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism as ever echoed by Bung Karno should always be retained, Especially in the midst of incessant foreign countries waging asymmetric war (war through non-military means) against Indonesia, as well as countries in Asia and Africa.

Under the new situation, the spirit of Bandung still has a strong vitality. We need to develop the spirit of Bandung, continue to fill a meaningful new era, encourage and establish a new type of international relations by making cooperation and win together as a core, to encourage international order and international relations evolve toward a more fair and rational, to encourage community in the development of kinship and responsibility, to provide better welfare to the people of Asia and Africa and peoples in other areas.

For that matter, this study puts forward some issues, as follows: First, deepen Asia-Africa cooperation. Asia and Africa are important sources of human civilization, the population reaches almost 3/4 of the world's, the number of countries exceeded half the members of the United Nations, the Asia-Africa cooperation has an increasingly important global significance. Facing new opportunities and challenges, the countries of Asia and Africa must coexist peacefully, to help each other, take advantage of opportunities, jointly meet challenges to improve the level of Asia-Africa cooperation, continue to be a good friend, good partner and good brother living camaraderie. Mutually beneficial cooperation between the countries of Asia and Africa can produce positive effects "Unite as one is larger than two". We need to maintain the growing strategy of mutual benefit, win and develop together, intensify interconnectivity infrastructure, push pragmatic cooperation in the fields of industry, agriculture and exploitation of energy resources, create a new bright spot in the fields of green energy, environmental protection and electronic business, and to help each other in development. We need to improve regional cooperation and cross-regional, utilize the mechanism of regional cooperation and sub-regional cooperation to build a new platform, encourage trade and investment facilities, form a new configuration so that Asia-Africa cooperation is coated, broad and multi-direction.

Secondly, expand South-South cooperation. Long time ago, as the designer of reformation, the Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping once said: The proposed South-South cooperation is very good, needs confers a sign of the inventor's services. Developing countries face a broad joint mission to

accelerate the development and improve people's lives, and then we need to be cohesive and move forward together, to actively conduct cooperation in various fields, in order to realize the development of each. Asia-Africa cooperation has an important role model for South-South cooperation. The countries of Asia and Africa need to deepen cooperation, while it is necessary to promote unity and cooperation with developing countries in Latin America, the South Pacific and other regions, expand dialogue and exchanges in the field of governance, strengthen contact and consultation on international and regional issues are important, develop strength maintenance of world peace and development together. The South-South cooperation requires building mechanism. The countries need to develop the role of the Non-Aligned Movement, to build a platform of cooperation such as the Conference Co-operation and Mutual Trust Asia and the BRICS countries, encourage dialogue and exchanges between regional organizations of developing countries, as well as to learn new structure for South-South cooperation. The Chinese side supports the proposal of Indonesia to establish the Asia-Africa center. The Asia-Africa countries need to increase the representative and the right to speak of developing countries in the international system, to guide negotiations post-2015 development agenda to the point of completion of severe difficulties and challenges faced by these developing countries, particularly African countries and the countries of the least developed.

Third, encourage South-North cooperation. Bandung spirit is not only suitable to be utilized in the Asia-Africa cooperation, the South-South cooperation, but also has a sense of inspiration for South-North cooperation. In the realization, balanced development of the world cannot be built on the basis of a number of countries getting richer and a number of other countries are getting poorer and backward in the long term. Judging from the strategic level camaraderie community of mankind, North-South relationship is not only a problem of economic development, but also the issues of globalization related to world peace and stability. Mutual respect and equality are fundamental political South-North cooperation. The basic cooperation is to win with the same degree; it is difficult to achieve cooperation to win together without the same degree. All countries are equal members of the international community regardless of their degree of large or small, strong or weak and poor or rich, a country has an equal right to participate in regional and international affairs. We need to respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of countries, respect the social system and path of development chosen by each state, opposes intervention in the domestic affairs of other countries, oppose the will to impose himself to others. Assist in the development of developing countries and minimize the South-North gap are the responsibility and obligation that should be borne by developed countries. It needs to encourage developed countries to implement development assistance commitments, increase the intensity of support to developing countries on a foundation of unconditional political, intensify the ability of developing countries to self-development, and form a new type of global development partnerships more equal and balanced. It needs to maintain and develop an open world economy, encouraging the formation of international economic and monetary system that is fair, orderly and tolerance, creating a good external environment for the development of developing countries. We need to put aside the outdated Cold War thinking, new ideas advocate equality, comprehensive cooperation and sustainable security, maintain the settlement of disputes through dialogue and consultation, jointly respond to the problem of non-traditional security issues and global challenges, such as terrorism, public health, internet security and climate change. Community building camaraderie takes a new road that is safe for growing together, sharing together and winning together, jointly maintaining peace and stability of the region and the world. China, the sponsor and positive influence on the unity and cooperation of Asia and Africa, has always supported fair efforts of Asian countries and Africa to seek national liberation, strongly encouraged joint development of Asian countries and Africa, and provided sincere selfless assistance to the Asian and African countries. Meanwhile,

China also has the support and valuable assistance for the countries of Asia and Africa in an effort to preserve the sovereignty, unification of the country and encourage the development process of the country. Chinese people will never forget it forever. Chinese President Deng Xi Jiaoping said:

Under the new situation, China will firmly push the Asia-Africa cooperation. China has signed an agreement of friendship and cooperation with eight neighboring countries, China is also willing to sign an agreement of friendship and cooperation with all neighboring countries, boost cooperation in peace and security with the countries of Africa, assist Africa in improving capabilities in the field of maintenance of peace, fight against terrorism and hit the pirates. China willing to enter into cooperation with the capacity of the countries of Asia and Africa, supporting African countries in building high-speed trains, highways and regional flight network, to encourage the process of industrialization of Asia and Africa.

By 2015 China will host an international seminar to develop the spirit of Bandung, the various parties are welcomed to attend the seminar. Now the Chinese people are to realize the target cohesive struggle "bi-centennial" in accordance with the strategic arrangement to build a prosperous society, the implementation of reforms in depth as well as management of the state in accordance with the law and strict management in the body of the Chinese Communist Party, to finally realize the dream of Chinese for revival great Chinese nation. The dream of China is closely linked with the beautiful dream of the people of Asia and Africa and the people of other countries, that dream not only bring prosperity to the Chinese people, but also to the people of many countries. Chinese nation is a peace-loving nation, always appreciate peace and harmony. China firmly make use of the path of peaceful development, maintain an independent foreign policy, maintain the openness strategy of mutual benefit and win together, maintain fair view, conduct friendly cooperation with various countries on the basis of five principles of peaceful coexistence, China has also always made himself as a decisive force in maintaining world peace and promote mutual development. China is a friend and a reliable partner of developing countries no matter how evolving and changing international situations are. This is the basis of China's foreign policy and it will not change either in the past, now or in the future. According to the Chinese phrase, every 60 years is one year circulation calculations. Asia-Africa cooperation has been on the path for 60 years, and it is now in a new starting point. Reviewing 60 years ago, China with the countries of Asia and Africa camaraderies move forward together, the relationship is like the Yangtze River, and the SoloC. River Nile flows with a lot of prosperity to the people of Asia and Africa, made a major contribution to the noble effort mankind for peace and development.

The spirit contained in the Book of Bandung, the results of the meeting symbolically signed by three heads of state representing the participating countries, namely President Joko Widodo, accompanied by Chinese President Deng Xi Jiaoping as representatives Swasi Asia and King Mswati III as representative of Africa. This message contains a commitment of new cooperation, the revitalization of strengthening Asia-Africa partnership, as well as the political solidarity, economic cooperation, and socio-cultural as the three main pillars.

III. CONCLUSION

The 1955 Asian-African Conference became an important milestone in the history of the peoples of Asia and Africa. Delegates from 29 countries gathered in Bandung conference attendees Indonesia to discuss peace, security, and economic development in the midst of the various problems that arise in different parts of the world. Most of these problems are caused by two blocks

that have different interests and conflicting ideologies. Bandung Spirit turned on and various plans were made to establish cooperation between the two continents. All participants who gathered on April 22nd-24th2005 in Jakarta and Bandung believes that the Bandung Spirit has always been a solid foundation to maintain better relations among the nations of Asia and Africa as well as to resolve global issues. To Arouse the Spirit of Bandung as The Core Values of Ten Principles of Bandung which is still very relevant in order to address today's global challenges.

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Identification of Cultural Environment Potential at Lok Baintain Floating Market Area as Social Studies Learning Resource Based on Blue Economy

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Abstract

The concept of environmental management in social studies is relevant to Blue Economy concept, especially in the aspects of environmental management to improve economic value added and the effort to maintain environmental sustainability. This study aimed to: 1) identify cultural environment potential that relevant as social studies learning resource based on Blue Economy, 2) Explore the role of social studies teachers in the utilization of cultural environment potential as learning resource. 3) Identify the problem to use the cultural environment potential as learning resource based on Blue Economy. This research used descriptive method. Subject of this research were social studies' secondary school teachers in Banjar regency. Data collection techniques included unstructured interviews and observation. Data were analyzed by qualitative descriptive technique. The results showed that: 1) the potential of cultural environment at Lok Baintan Floating Market area were enrich with local wisdom characters of environment, in the form of customs and art. It can be used as social studies learning resource based on Blue Economy, 2) The role of teachers in the utilization of the cultural environment potential as learning resource include the design of learning by integrating the potential of local content as learning resource and implementing social studies learning by integrating the concept of the Blue Economy and relevant learning resources, 3) problems that identified in learning activities include the limited understanding of Blue Economy concept, the lack of learning time, and the limited of learning media that support the learning process.

Keywords: Cultural Environment, Learning Resources, Social Studies, Blue Economy

I. BACKGROUND

The development of Indonesia as a maritime country has given an opportunity for Blue Economy concept as the direction for economic development of Indonesia today. Nowadays, the application of Blue Economy concept based on the fact that Indonesian geographical condition is an archipelago that has the second longest coastline in the world (after Canada), which leads to the thought of a way to preserve marine will impact on reserves people's food sources being more reliable (Nurhayati, 2013). The geographical condition of Indonesia as a maritime country is supported by the large potential economic value generated from the marine sector of fisheries,

marine tourism, renewable energy, biopharmaceutics, marine transportation, oil and gas, seabed minerals, salt industry, and also industrial and maritime services (Widyasari, 2013).

The focus of development in the maritime sector by the current government has been strengthened with the implementation of blue economy concept as a strategic step in the acceleration of the industrialization of marine and fisheries since 2013. Blue Economy has become a part of the Medium Term Development Planning (RPJM) of marine and fisheries sector proposal in 2013 -2025. Related to the economic development based on Blue Economy in Indonesia, Pauli (2012) in Saksono (2013) identified the five key points that need attention are: 1. Government must identify investment opportunities in the maritime sector and fisheries that can be developed based on Blue Economy concept. 2. Develop business and investment models based on blue economy concept, which started from several major activities such as seaweed farming, salt, fish, fisheries, and management of sustainable small islands which anticipate the issue of energy security, food, and water, 3. The Development of human resources (HR) in the field of maritime affairs and fisheries, 4. The Development of Blue Economy documentation and materials to the public, and 5. Efforts to promote the implementation and joint participation in international meetings.

Referring to the development of human resources point, education sector is the main road in achieving the goal. Education is a comprehensive development process of self-potential through earlier gradual process to enable the slowly changes on an individual both physically and mentally. Ruhana (2012) describes the role of education in human resource development that equips people with basic knowledge, theory and logic, general knowledge, analytical skills, and the development of character and personality. In the legal level, the National Education Act of Indonesia No. 20 of 2003 summed up the role of education as a conscious and deliberate effort to create an atmosphere of learning and the learning process so that learners actively develop their potentials to have strong belief in religion, self-control, personality, intelligence, noble character, as well as skills needed by them, by their community and nation.

Implementation of education in Indonesia, especially in formal sector is developed through continuously curriculum based on the needs of education. Curriculum 2013, as the improvement of the previous curriculum, emphasize on the improvement of the mindset that all subjects must contribute to the formation of attitudes, skills and knowledge in order to create qualified human resources in the cognitive, affective, and psychomotor comprehensively. Social Studies subject, especially at basic education level, is also aimed to develop human resources, especially in the context of competence in the realm of the social sciences.

Social studies has vision to be an educational program that focuses on the development of individual learners as "social actors" who are able to take a reasoned decision and as an intelligent, committed, responsible and participatory "citizen" (Winataputra (2007) in Mukminan et al. (2014)). Social studies bridging education efforts to foster and develop the mental and intellectual abilities of students to become citizens who have skills and social care and responsibility for national development by utilizing the existing resources in a sustainable manner. The scope of the social studies material basically puts the community as the primary source of learning with the scope of the behavioral aspects of social, economic and human culture in society. Related context of economic behavior, social studies at the high school level leads to the basics of mental formation of the creative economy and entrepreneurship which is reflected in exposure to Core Competence and Basic Competency-based on Curriculum 2013.

National Council for the Social Studies (2010) in Atmono et al. (2014) explains that powerful Social Studies has five learning principles, that is meaningful, integrative, value-based, challenging, and active learning. Social studies curriculum based on Curriculum 2013 already meet the requirements to develop the powerful learning.

Social studies will be meaningful learning when students can integrate all knowledge, beliefs, values, attitudes, and social and citizenship skills that can be useful either for direct personal self, life in society, in the life of the nation, and for the sake of continuing education to a higher level. For this purpose, social studies must emphasizes on the deepening development of

important ideas in the range of topics that are essential for improving students' understanding, appreciation, and ability. Its significance also will depend on how the content of lessons learned by students and on how the students' activity can be improved. Teachers need to reflect on an ongoing basis to plan, implement, and assess the social studies learning process for students.

Social studies is an integrative learning when learning process is implemented through multidisciplinary, interdisciplinary, and cross-discipline topics which blended well with knowledge, beliefs, values and attitudes, and social skills. Its subject matter also includes material across time, across space, across values or norms, and across curriculum. Social Studies is value-based only when its learning process not only concern with facts, events, concepts, and generalizations of social studies, but also focuses on ethics behind the topics which enable learners to discuss controversial issues that provides an arena for reflection for the development of virtue and social values. Learning social studies with value-based concept will make students realize learning potential of social policy implications, thus it train students to think critically and make decisions on some social issues. It also means that learning does not have to teach the beliefs or personal views, political, or any particular sect, but may sensitize students to the complex and dilemmas value on one issue, consider the benefits and costs that may occur in individuals or groups of potential in taking actions, and develop a reasoned consideration, consistent with the values of social democratic politics. Teachers must push against the recognition of the views of the opposition, respect for the views of the rational with the support of sufficient data, sensitive to cultural similarities and differences, and a commitment to social responsibility.

Social studies is challenging when students provoked curiosity to achieve learning goals both individually, group, and classical. Teachers should demonstrate spirit to achieve learning objectives and knowledgeable in performing inquiry and use learning strategies that can motivate students to show the same qualities as their teachers do; and teachers must show interest and respect for students' thinking and require students to have reasoned arguments and full commitment. Social studies learning must be able to make students as active learners in the process of reflective thinking in decision-making; and students develop new understanding through active process of knowledge construction.

Social studies is a subject that is identical with the use of environment as a learning resource. Mukminan et al. (2014) classify some types of learning resources which can be used for learning social studies of 2013 curriculum, such as: a) everything that happens in and around school learners from families, schools, villages, districts, and wider environment at national and global level with a variety of problems; b) human activities, such as livelihood, education, religion, production, communication, and transportation; c) geographical and cultural environment that covering all geographical and anthropological aspects of environmental learners from nearest to the farthest; d) past life, the development of human life, the history of which starts from the history of closer environment to the farthest, about figures and great events.

The use of learning resources in learning process requires the involvement of various parties in learning activities. Teacher plays an important role in optimizing the utilization of a variety of learning resources for students in order to achieve specified learning objectives. The teacher as a facilitator in the learning is required to understand the needs of learners and help them to choose appropriate learning resources. Related to the environment as a learning resource, a social studies teacher, specifically refers to the implementation of 2013 Curriculum, is not only directed to invite learners to understand the meaning of the environment itself, but also he/she should be able to encourage students to actively explore the surrounding environment. This is related to the effort to build understanding and creative skills to manage the environment for sustainability in the context of their lives as social beings and citizens.

An environmental management concept in social studies is quite relevant with Blue Economy concept, for example in the aspect of increasing economic added value and the sustainability of environment through environmental management by the community. Social studies teachers have a role to identify and provide an understanding of the Blue Economy as an important thing

that should be implemented and delivered by learners. The goal is that they can gradually implement it in their daily lives both now and in the future.

One of the objects as the focus of this research is the Floating Market in Lok Baintan, in Banjarmasin, South Kalimantan, Indonesia. Floating Market is one of the Banjarnese icons that is very interesting to be learned as social studies learning resource based on Blue Economy concept. Implementation of various social activities, cultural, and economic environment in this area needs to be identified as a reference in the utilization of social studies learning resources based on environment. The existence of this traditional market with a variety of social phenomena, cultural, and economic proverbial indicate local economic activities with the preservation of the environment in a sustainable manner. The introduction of this unique local condition needs to be understood by a social studies teacher and then it is used as a social studies learning resource that is relevant to the implementation of Blue Economy through education.

This study aimed to: 1) identify cultural environment potential that is relevant as social studies learning resource based on Blue Economy, 2) explore the role of social studies teachers in the utilization of cultural environment potential as learning resource, 3) identify problems in the use of cultural environment potential as learning resource based on Blue Economy.

II. METHODS

The study was conducted in 2014 by using a case study approach. The study subjects were social studies teachers at a junior high school in Banjar regency, South Kalimantan, Indonesia. Data collection included teachers' comprehension on potential cultural environment in Lok Baintan Floating Market, their role and learning problems that they faced in the utilization of cultural environment potential as social studies learning resource based on Blue Economy concept. Data were collected by using unstructured interviews to teachers and using observations to strengthen the findings. Data were analyzed by descriptive qualitative techniques.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. *Environmental Cultural Potential in LokBaintan's Floating Market Area*

Linton in Ihromi (2006) describes culture from perspective of anthropology as follows: "Culture is a whole way of life of any society and not on the part of the way of life that is part of the community is considered higher or desirable. Therefore, for a social scientist, no society or individuals who are not cultured. Each community has a culture, however simple it was and every human culture is being cultured, in the sense of taking part in a culture ". While Koentjaraningrat (2009) mentions that the essence of culture is a whole system of ideas, actions, and man's work in the context of a society that used to belong to human beings. Kluckhohn in Koentjaraningrat (2009) outlines seven basic elements of culture found in every nation in the world that is language, system of organization, social organization, systems and technology of life equipment, livelihood systems, system of religion, and arts.

Symbolically Koentjaraningrat (2009) describes culture in the embodiment of "Framework of Culture" in the form of four concentric circles. According to Koentjaraningrat (2009), the outer circle symbolizes the culture as artifacts or physical objects. Concrete examples include all objects of human work that is concrete and tangible, which simplify the designation of "physical culture". The next circle symbolizes the culture as a system of behavior and action pattern called as "social system". The next circle symbolizes the idea of culture as system. This circle illustrates the form of the idea of culture, and its place is in the head of each individual being a citizen of a culture, which carry wherever they go. Culture also patterned in the form of ideas and based on specific systems called "cultural system". The last circle symbolizes the most important in culture as a system of simplified ideological ideas with the term "cultural values".

Based on observation and interview with some social studies teachers, there are some local cultural environment potential that still exist and applied by local community in LokBaintan's floating market area in terms of customs and art. In terms of customs, it includes ceremonial life cycle such as pregnancy and birth ceremonies, marriage ceremonies and death ceremonies. The

pregnancy and birth ceremonies that still exist include *Mandi-Mandi Menujuh Bulan*, *Selamatan Kehamilan Sembilan Bulan*, *Upacara Kelahiran*, *Selamatan Penanaman Tali Pusat (Tembuni)*, *Proses Bayi Diazankan dan Diqomatkan*, *Bibir Bayi Diolesi Garam*, *Kurma*, *Gula*, *Upacara Bepalas Bidan*, *Upacara Tasmiah*, and *Baayun Mulud*. The Marriage Ceremonies that still exist are *Basasuluh*, *Batatakun atau Melamar*, *Balamaran*, *Bapapayuan atau Bapatut Jujuran*, *Baatar Jujuran*, *Bapingit dan Bakasai*, *Batimung*, *Panganten Balanting*, and *Pangantenan*. Meanwhile, the death ceremonies that still exist include *Memandikan Mayat*, *Menyembahyangkan Mayat*, *Penguburan*, and *Beselamatan atau Maaruah*.

Based on interview, there are several socio-cultural potential began to decrease its presence such as *Baayun Mulud*, *Basasuluh*, and *Panganten Balanting*. *Panganten Balanting* ceremony is among the most rarely performed by the community. This tradition has begun to disappear due to the times and the development of roads. *Panganten Balanting* ceremony performed at the bride up the river which means *Lanting* (boat made of bamboo or the like). *Panganten Balanting* procession carried the river is as a form of knowledge of the local community and community activities which basically makes the river as the pulse of society.

In term of arts, various potential that still evolving and conserved are *Japin Hadrah*, *Karawitan*, *Banjarnese Songs*, *Woven Art*, *Pencak Silat*, *Banjarnese Puppet*, and *Madihin*. *Japin Hadrah* is a kind of traditional dance based on Zafin dance with the influence of Islam. While *Karawitan* is musical art consist of vocal and instrument with Banjarnese influence that has clarification and development of the region itself. Musicians in *Karawitan* playing a musical instrument called the gamelan, in practice, musicians used to accompany dances and singing, but it is also possible to hold musical performances only. Furthermore, another kind of socio-art potential is Banjarnese Songs with Banjarnese language. The development in the local and national music scene is still running slowly. Inversely related to other folk songs, Banjarnese songs seem less appropriate. Even the songs tend to be less desirable by Banjarnese people. Another kind of art that is still growing is the weaving art. It is one of the industrial units that have important role to build local economic life. It also has potential that could be an attraction for tourists. Another kind of socio-art potential is *Pencak Silat* that known as martial art with Banjarnese Influence. Other type of art that have potential is Banjarnese Puppet that has become stand-alone performing arts. It has specific characteristics that distinguish it from other types of shadow play, both in terms of shape, music / gamelan accompaniment, color, or ordinances to play, although the puppet characters tend follow the puppet and also developed from the figure and symbol of Banjarnese society. *Madihin* is another kind of art that still exist and practice by local people in Lok Baintan's floating market area. *Madihin* is performing a monologue by one or two traditional artists who compose poems and rhymes accompanied by Banjarnese music. Generally, the material of *Madihin* is moral and social messages with intriguing and funny words. It was identified that some kinds of art became obsolete by people such as Banjarnese Puppet and *Pencak Silat*. Both potential need to get attention because the Banjarnese nuance certainly is a differentiator and has it attraction if developed as part of the tourism potential.

According to Blue Economy concept, all cultural environment potential above consist of sustainability and economic value added factors. It very relevant to taught for student in social classroom to introduce local potential that should know and considered as valuable things for their social and economic life in the future. The ability of social studies teacher very important to disseminate this local learning resources to student in classroom.

IV. THE ROLE OF SOCIAL STUDIES TEACHERS

Kusbandrijo (2014) states that the Blue Economy as the concept of utilization of natural resources and technologies towards the conservation and improvement of the quality of human life with an emphasis on harmonization of nature and human life. Kaczynski (2011) emphasize the concept of sustainability (sustainability) of the management of marine and aquatic potential as an important aspect of the Blue Economy, while Gunter Pauli in Kusbandrijo (2014) not only limit the economic aspects of marine alone but gives emphasis on the conservation context.

Teachers have important role to teach students about sustainability in a concrete frameworks to achieve the possibility of transition to the sustainable society (Kopnina, 2014). It related with the statement of Varga, et al. (2013) that since Blue Economy innovations are largely built on local inputs, their effects are primarily local. Local students should introduce with all locals potential to make them understand from the beginning how it work for people life around them. Because the Blue Economy concept is about the commercial development of oceans in a sustainable way (Kaczynski, 2011), social studies teachers also need to identify not just the philosophy aspects but also how all that local content works on commercial way for students life.

Based on the results of interviews with social studies teachers in Banjar Regency, the Blue Economy concept is a new concept that almost never heard by them. Blue Economy is literally translated as "Blue Economy" yet more profound understanding of the concept is not yet known. Some social studies teacher associate Blue Economy as a relevant concept of Green Economy. Further interviews obtained actual findings Blue Economy concepts have been implemented by social studies teachers in learning activities at school. In the learning process the teachers sometimes carry out social studies learning that leads students in the use of local advantages that begins with the design process prior learning. Related to contextual learning concept, some teachers claimed to have done the learning process that meets the rules of: 1) relating (learning associated with real life contexts), 2) experiencing (study focused on excavation, discovery, creation), 3) applying (learning where knowledge is presented in the context of utilization); 4) cooperating (learning through interpersonal communication context); and 5) transferring (learning through the use of knowledge in a new situation or context).

V. IMPLEMENTATION PROBLEMS IN SOCIAL STUDIES CLASSROOM

Oliver and Reschly (2007) said that the ability of teachers to organize classrooms and manage the behavior of their students is critical to achieving positive educational outcomes. According to the interview, the main problem to interprete the relation of Blue economy concept and social studies content is the understanding of social studies teachers in Banjar Regency about connection of these two aspects. Whitson (2004) argue that conceptualizations must be challenged and supplanted with a more viable understanding if we are to succeed in demonstrating is the kind of knowledge and ability that teachers need for teaching social studies. As new concept, Blue economy often related to economic subject at high level school that doesn't very important for primary students. The mindset of social studies teacher affected to the way they teach social studies for their students. Blue economy should understanding as integrated part of social studies because it also talk about social, cultural, environmental, and economic aspects in comprehensive ways. If social studies teachers have the right understanding about this concept, it will help them to make students understand about the relation between blue economy and social studies easily.

The lack of time for social studies subject also identified as another problem in the implementation of this concept. The study showed that organizing time is one of the important problems faced with by teachers (Cengelci, 2013). Social studies teachers in Banjar Regency still have difficulties to arrange learning time at school. The big amount of social studies materials that should learned by student being primary reason that pretend some of them to doing some innovation and exploration in classroom. They choose to use regular methods in learning because the concern of learning material limitation that should give to their students. Sometimes, the way they understanding curriculum impact to the difficulty to organize learning time in every week.

The lack of learning facilities and their ability to use technology properly for social studies classroom are other problems that keep them from trying this concept in classroom. It related with Al-Amarat (2011) that conclude one of the problems in the classroom is lack of educational facilities such as equipment and technology. Meziobi, D.I et al. (2012) also said that teacher training institutions have not prepared social studies teachers sufficiently for the implementation of the UBE (Universal Basic Education) program, their teaching does not inject appreciable

creativity in the learner, and teachers do not use ITCs (information and communication technologies) in the discharge of instruction as they are not ICT-skilled. Few social studies teachers argue that the implementation of Blue Economy concept in social studies classroom requires better technology and good learning facilities. If these components not fulfilled, they worry that the learning process will not working properly. To bring students into this learning situation should complemented with real condition or proper facilities in classroom. Based on some social studies' teachers perception, mixing the Blue Economy concept with social studies contents need extra work that unfortunately still a big homework for them to do in the classroom.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

- Lok Baintan's Floating Market area had a lot of cultural environment potential. It was enrich with local wisdom characteristics environment, in the form of customs and art. This condition can be used as social studies learning resources based on Blue Economy concept in classroom.
- Mostly of social studies teachers in Banjar Regency have limited understanding of Blue Economy concept. The role of teachers in the using of the cultural environment potential as learning resource in classroom includes the design of learning and implementing social studies learning by integrating the concept of the Blue Economy and relevant learning resources.
- Problems that identified in social studies learning activities include the limited understanding of Blue Economy concept, the lack of learning time, the limited of learning media that support the learning process, and their competence to using supporting technology facilities in learning process.

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Looking for new Friends

Sustainable South-South Cooperation or temporary necessity in Fiji's international relations after the coup of December 2006

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ABSTRACT

In December 2006 Fiji experienced its fourth coup within less than 20 years. The reaction of old metropolitan friends like Australia, New Zealand, the USA and the EU didn't take long. Travel sanctions were announced and development assistance frozen. The climax was reached when the country was fully suspended from the Pacific Island Forum Secretariat in May 2009 and from the Commonwealth in September 2009. Being politically isolated Fiji started to foster secondary political friendships of olden days and established new ones. Relations were intensified with Cuba, Indonesia, Russia, South Africa, Venezuela and others. Most important however was the intensification of relations with China, and to a lesser extend with India. In September 2014 an eight year period without elected Government and parliament came to an end. Already before elections the stand of many of the *old* friends had become more pragmatic and rapprochement happened with a number of countries, most importantly Australia. Seven months before election date Australia's Foreign Minister Julie Bishop met Prime Minister Bainimarama. Not long after the election and as soon as the "new" old government had been sworn in Foreign Minister Bishop was back to Fiji for a state visit in October 2014. High ranking politicians from New Zealand, Europe and the Middle East followed very soon. Also the new friends from the Global South showed their faces. On November 19 a two days state visit of India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi started, the first of an Indian Prime Minister after 33 years when Indira Gandhi came to Fiji in September 1981. Mr. Modi had not even left the country when the Chinese President Xi Jinping with a 100-member delegation arrived on November 21 for a three day state visit. The very first time a Chinese President visited any Pacific Island country (PIC). The paper looks into the re-orientation of Fiji's international relations after the coup of 2006. It looks into the mechanics and substance of the intensification of relations especially with China, the deliverables as well as the crucial question, if now, after Fiji has returned to democracy the re-orientation has been a temporary necessity or if there are signs that South-South cooperation will remain sustainable.

I. INTRODUCTION

Since Fiji became independent in 1970 it experienced four coup d'états carried out by its military forces (May 1987, Sept. 1987, Dec. 2006) or parts of it (May 2000) (Fraenkel et al. 2009; Weber 2007). After the coups of 1987 and 2000 Fiji's closest political allies applied "soft" pressures to guide the country back to democratic principles of governance. The same happened after December 2006, when "smart" sanctions had been imposed on Fiji. The Fiji military backed

government however diversified political alliances more deliberate and goal-oriented than this had happened after earlier coups.

The People's Republic of China's increased interest in the Pacific Island region has drawn a lot of attention as a result of the 2006 coup in Fiji (Yang 2011). Although some publications reflect on China's motivations and strategies in the region already earlier (e.g. Henderson and Reilly, 2003) the bulk of publications reflecting on the PRC intentions in the Pacific Island region appear after 2006. Another aspect is evident: most publications consider increasing political rapprochement as the result of Chinese agency – China has interests, China is acting, usually meaning the People's Republic of China (PRC). A (tiny) few publications include Pacific Island agency, look at interests pursued by Pacific Island politicians and the agency articulated: e.g. Dobell (2007), Dornan and Brant (2014), Hameiri (2015), Powles (2015).

Chinese presence in the Pacific Islands is not restricted to Fiji. It is also not restricted to the recent past, but has a very meaningful history of at least 150 years. Similarly strong and sustainable political alliances with China (PRC as well as ROC) are not just a matter of the past eight years, when Fiji had been ruled supported by its military, but these alliances have a much longer tradition and are not only relevant for Fiji.

The paper will concentrate on two issues. It looks at the character of China's increased interest to deal with Fiji (and other countries in the Pacific Island region). Here the major question is whether China has intentions to take over a strategic role in the Pacific Island region, including possible aspiration to become the regional leader. The paper also looks at Fiji (and other PICs) and their aspirations to diversify politically by enhancing relationships to China. As indicated above the major perspective is taken from Fiji's point of view. However it is very obvious that China's aspirations are not exclusively addressing increased political and economic relations with Fiji alone. Still Fiji plays a special role as hub, as entry point to other PICs, and as the most advanced and diverse economy in the region. Although most of the paper reflects on Fiji's intensifying relationship with China. "Looking North" was drafted already before the coup of 2006 and actually means looking anywhere in the South, means a diversification of political partnerships to become less dependent from metropolitan powers through an conscious approach of building South-South cooperation.

As mentioned above Fiji's political diversification started before the 2006 coup and shows elements of the country coming to age trying to soften the grip of old colonial friends, who rarely have been unselfish in their conduct with Fiji and other PICs. The diversification of political alliances became necessary when old friends displayed vanishing interest in meaningful engagement with the region. This not only created a vacuum of power, which others (e.g. China) allegedly try to fill, but it also urged PICs to reflect from whom to seek support, when support of old friends was becoming unsure, unpredictable and / or attached to political conditionality.

After December 2006 diversify internationally and strengthening South-South Cooperation became a question of political survival. The Bainimarama Government had to intensify efforts to find new partners, first as a grave necessity to overcome political isolation and later to demonstrate that a small PIC can meaningfully contribute to world politics and grasp 'new opportunities' (Crocombe 2007) concentrating on South-South cooperation. Fiji opened new Embassies in Indonesia, South Africa (the first in Africa) and Brazil (the First in South America). Alone in 2010 Fiji took up diplomatic relations with 37 states. The country now has diplomatic relations to 114 states (Bainimarama 2011). To analyse the "Look North" strategy and its success or failure in its entirety is worth another research effort, but far too complex for this paper.

The paper concentrates on Fiji after the 2006 coup. At times it looks further back showing that Chinese political and economic presence in Fiji and other PICs is not entirely new. It is often ignored that China, meaning the People's Republic of China (PRC), the Republic of China (ROC), but also ethnic Chinese from different countries have been important actors in Pacific societies and politics since long (D'Arcy 2014). There is a continuation of relationships rather than anything that has just recently started. Having said this however there is no doubt that the intensity and quality of Fiji / Pacific Island – Chinese relationships has taken up momentum in

the past decade. When Prime Minister Bainimarama visited Beijing in August 2008 he remembered that the PRC came for support when old friends had abandoned the country: “Fiji will not forget that when other countries were quick to condemn us following the events of 1987, 2000 and 2006, China and other friends in Asia demonstrated a more understanding and sensitive approach to events in Fiji. The Government of the People’s Republic of China expressed confidence in our ability to resolve our problems in our way, without undue pressure of interference” (Fiji Daily Post, Aug. 12, 2008).

II. MOTIVATIONS OF CHINESE ENGAGEMENT IN THE PACIFIC ISLAND REGION

The major narrative sees an expansionist behaviour of the PRC, its effort to convert economic power into political and to take over from the USA and Australia as regional power in the Pacific Island region (Lintner 2010; Reilly and Henderson 2003). This major narrative was mainly brought forward by Australian and US American think tanks. It starts with the 2006 coup. What had happened less visible before was now discussed under the impression of the coup: Fiji was “looking North” meaning in particular that Fiji was obviously engaging with the PRC much stronger and more meaningful than ever before.

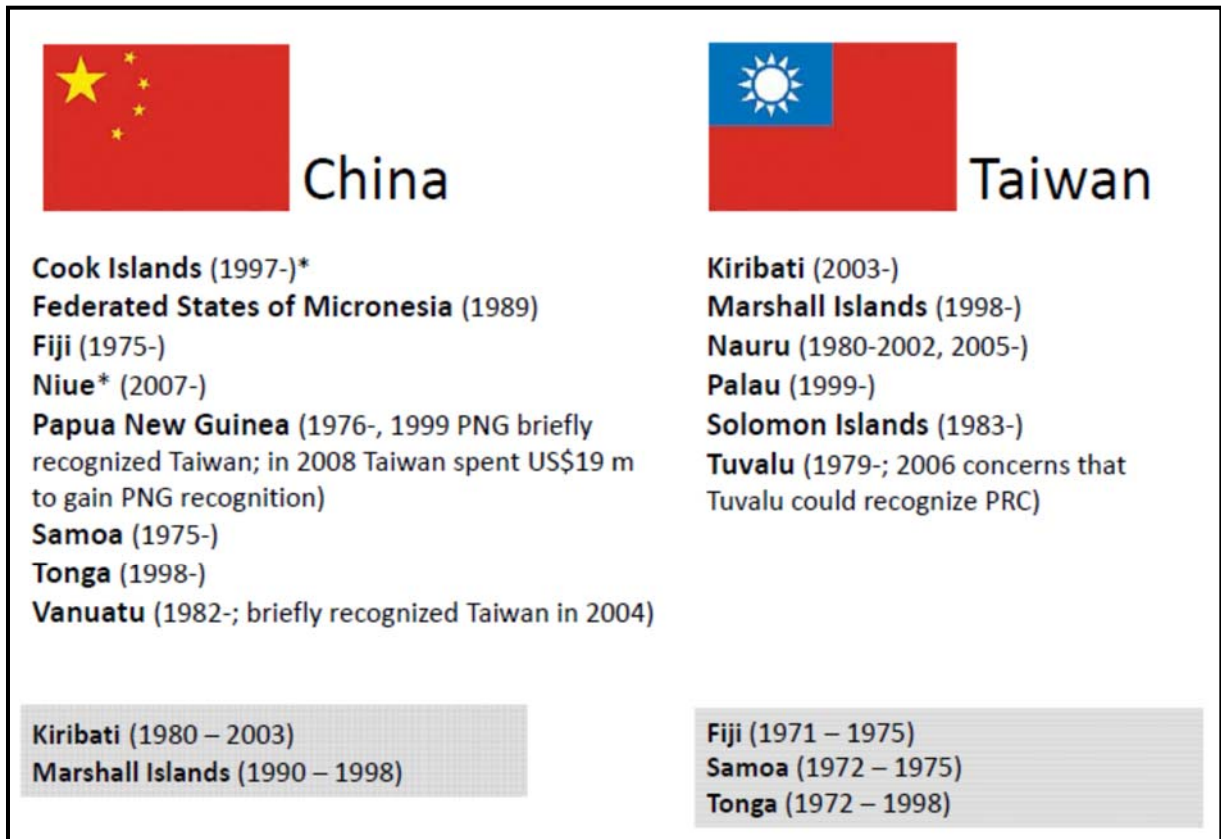
The predominate narrative based on these observations is that –as a result of Fiji’s international isolation- the PRC saw opportunities to stronger engage with Fiji in order to get a stronger stand in the Pacific Island region. Commentators speculate, if in the long term this even might lead to China taking the role of political leader in the region becoming a hegemonic power in the Pacific Island region (Lintner 2010; Seib 2009). The means PRC pursues this aim is through providing development assistance when Fiji’s old friends became hesitant to support the military government.

This narrative is wrong in several regards: 1) „Looking North” started under the Qarase Government, the Government which had been removed from power by the Fiji Military Forces in the Coup of 2006. Commentators highlight a severe increase of development assistance from the PRC to the Fiji government after 2006. However they ignore that much of these grants and concessional loans had been negotiated between the Qarase Government and Chinese counterparts, but were paid out after the coup. 2) “Looking North” actually is looking everywhere in the Global South, and 3) it was not China who took advantage of Fiji’s international isolation, but it was Fiji’s (successful) attempt to „politically diversify“. This strategy included the PRC, which had little reason to deny Fiji the support it was seeking. To the contrary: Yang (2011: 76) remarks that “China’s support for Fiji’s interim government was not unequivocal in the months immediately after the 2006 military takeover”. Top-level visits were lesser than in the years before, and many activities that actually happened had been agreed upon before the military takeover and were just the consequence that Beijing didn’t see any reason to withdraw from providing support to Fiji.

The Pacific Islands traditionally played only “a marginal role in Chinese geostrategic thinking” (Sen 2015: 1). While this is very obvious it does not mean that PICs only very recently were discovered as important political partners by governments of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) and the Republic of China (ROC). Over the past decades both governments have given much greater attention to PICs than the size of the islands, their population or resources seem to justify (Shen 2015). The states in question exist only for the past 50 years. When the first Pacific Island states became independent (Samoa 1962, Nauru 1968, Fiji 1970) the Republic of China on Taiwan (ROC) was representing China internationally. Fiji had been amongst 20 countries (incl. Australia, New Zealand and the USA) which brought a resolution to the UN stating that “the People’s Republic of China should be represented in the United Nations” and affirming “the continued right of representation of the Republic of China” (United Nations 1971). When the ROC had lost its UN membership Fiji and Samoa continued diplomatic relations with ROC for another four years. Tonga even entered diplomatic relations with ROC in 1972 when a declining number of countries maintained diplomatic relations with ROC. On November 5th, 1975 Fiji and a day later Samoa became the first PICs to enter diplomatic relations with the PRC. Kiribati (1980), Vanuatu (1982) and the Marshall Islands (1990) followed soon after achieving their

independence. The Marshall (1998) and Kiribati (2003) shifted allegiance and are today amongst the six states in the Pacific Island region which recognize the Republic of China. The PRC at present has diplomatic relationships with the remaining eight countries in the Pacific Islands region.

Fig. 1. The People’s Republic of China and Taiwan’s political affiliation with PICs



For quite a while the issue of political recognition of the PRC and the ROC dominated Chinese *realpolitik* in the Pacific Island region. Frequent visits of Pacific Island leaders to the PRC or ROC that usually were paid by the Chinese side, generous aid (*chequebook diplomacy*; Atkinson 2010; Dornan and Brant 2014; Yang 2009), often favouring luxurious / representative objects such as government buildings, sport complexes, and/or the donation of luxurious government vehicles are characteristics of this type of support. At first sight it looks that affiliation was very much the result of Chinese, meaning PRC and ROC, efforts. However Pacific Island governments were well aware of the sensitivity of the conflict they became part of and they also used it to gain advantages that otherwise would have been much more difficult to achieve.

After the PRC had achieved UN recognition it tried to isolate the ROC diplomatically (Henderson 2001). To counteract the ROC was rather generous in the aid payments to its partners in the Pacific Islands. The small size of countries made this fairly easy. Half of Pacific Island states supporting ROC (Nauru, Tuvalu, and Palau) are the smallest independent countries on globe based on their populations. The other three (Marshall Islands, Kiribati, and the Solomon Islands) have middle or even large populations for Pacific Island standards. They are still rather small when applying international standards. In a United Nation system where any country has equal voting power small amounts of development assistance can secure political allegiance. A number of Pacific Islands countries depend heavily on Official Development Assistance (ODA) to support their economies (Bertram 1986, 1993, 2006, Bertram and Watters 1986, Poirine 1998). Compared to the poorest nations in Africa most PICs receive considerably higher ODA per capital (Table 1).

Pacific Island governments tried to use the political competition between the PRC and ROC to receive generous support from either government. A few countries even tried to maximise benefits by shifting sides or at least thinking out loudly to shift sides. When in 1999 the PNG Government announced that it had shifted its support to the ROC it was hoping to receive some USD 3.2 billion in grants and soft loans from Taipei. The deal became obsolete when a few weeks later the PNG Prime Minister changed (Henderson 2001). In 2008 the ROC again tried to gain PNG's support spending USD 19 million on this in vain. Similar happened in Vanuatu, where in 2004 a short diversion towards Taiwan happened, to be "rectified" within a week and a change in government (Shen 2015).

Table 1: ODA of the 10 lowest ranked countries under the Human Development Index and PICs

185	Central African Republic	4.616.417	235	51
184	Chad	12.825.314	454	35
183	Sierra Leone	6.092.075	447	73
182	Eritrea	6.333.135	127	20
181	Burkina Faso	16.934.839	1058	62
180	Burundi	10.162.532	567	56
179	Guinea	11.745.189	316	27
178	Mozambique	25.833.752	2107	82
n.a.	Cook Island	20.629	20	970
88	Fiji	881.065	91	103
133	Kiribati	102.351	56	547
n.a.	Marshall Islands	52.634	88	1.672
124	Micronesia, Fed. States	103.549	132	1.275
n.a.	Nauru	10.051	34	3.383
n.a.	Niue	1.344	19	14.137
60	Palau	20.918	28	1.339
157	Papua New Guinea	7.321.262	634	87
106	Samoa	190.372	125	657
158	Solomon Islands	561.231	332	592
n.a.	Tokelau	1.195	20	16.736
100	Tonga	105.323	83	788
n.a.	Tuvalu	9.876	27	2.734
131	Vanuatu	252.763	103	407
n.a.	Wallis and Futuna	13.272	118	8.891
http://www.worldometers.info/world-population/world-population-countries.php http://www.oecd.org/dac/stats/aid-at-a-glance.htm Information on HD ranking: Human Development Report 2014				

Solomon Islands long affiliation with the ROC came to a test in 2000 when the country's Foreign Minister reflected on the possibility to switch to the PRC. However when he was not able to get from Beijing what he had expected he apologized to Taipei for the *misunderstanding* (Henderson 2001; Shen 2015).

A special aspect of this *chequebook diplomacy* is the PRC's *stadium diplomacy* (Will 2012). In Africa the PRC provided assistance for the construction of at least 28 sports complexes / stadiums; the number in Asia and Caribbean is five and eight respectively and in the Pacific Islands so far six countries received such support from the PRC. Only Vanuatu, Tonga and Niue so far did not benefit. Construction of the sports complex in Betio on Tarawa Atoll, Kiribati, started in 2002 when the country was still with the PRC. The work was completed in 2006 by the ROC – a truly PRC – ROC cooperation.

Since 2008 the competition for political recognition between PRC and ROC has abated a lot (D'Arcy 2014). Reasons are Beijing's intention to deescalate the conflict with ROC, but also rapprochement gestures of the new Kuomintang Government in Taipei. Beijing is trying to display a new identity, where peace and 'peaceful rise' and 'peaceful development' play important roles (Shen 2015).

III. DECLINE OF WESTERN INFLUENCE

Many in the western world are suspicious of China's rise. "China's foreign policy ambitions are as aggressive as those of the United States a century ago, but for completely different reason. China does not take a missionary approach to world affairs, seeking to spread an ideology or a system of government. Moral progress in international affairs is an American goal, not a Chinese one; China's actions abroad are propelled by its need to secure energy, metals, and strategic minerals in order to support the rising living standards of its immense population" (Kaplan 2010, p. 24). Kaplan's argument the USA trying to promote moral progress is historically ambivalent: it often had not been moral grounds that made the USA intervened in the internal affairs of countries and supported governments that had little respect for human rights and democratic procedures (see e.g. Chile 1972-3 [Falk 1975; Shiraz 2011], Nicaragua 1981-1990 [Gilbert 2015; Hager and Snyder 2015] see also Blum 1986, Fischer 2015). Similarly, many US wars indeed have been fought by the country's need to secure energy sources and oppressive governments have been backed for that reason (Clark 2005; Engdahl 2004; Hagan et al 2015; Heinberg 2005).

Trying to maintain US supremacy means with regards to the US relationship with China that the US administration will watch out that China is not becoming too powerful – anywhere in the world, but particularly not in the Pacific Ocean. Henderson and Reilly (2001, p. 95) claim that after the end of the Cold War the Pacific has become an area of "low U.S. priority". In the 1990s the USA closed its embassies in the Solomon Islands and Samoa, closed USAID offices in Fiji and PNG, and reduced scholarships and other assistance. At the same time the US reduced their Pacific Fleet by half. It had closed all naval bases in the Philippines by the end of 1992 (McVadon 2007). After 9/11 US strategic interest centered on Afghanistan and the Middle East neglecting regions that were in the periphery of US interests. In the Pacific Ocean interests concentrated on US unincorporated territories (American Samoa, Guam, Northern Marianas) and the three Compact states (Federated States on Micronesia, Marshall Islands and Palau, Serrano 2014). The U.S. Army Kwajalein Atoll (USAKA) installation in the Marshall Islands was downsized as well as activities and staff of the Ronald Reagan Ballistic Missile Defense Test Site (RTS) on the same atoll (O'rourke 2012).

Already at the end of President Bush' tenure a reengagement with the Pacific Island region had been announced. 2007 was declared the "Year of the Pacific" and more than a year before Obama's election victory a report for Congress on "The Southwest Pacific: U.S. Interests and China's Growing Influence" (Lum and Vaughn 2007) was released calling on Australia to increase support for the region, especially PNG "to promote political stability and economic development but also enhance U.S. security interests and counter possible adverse effects of China's growing influence in the region" (Lum and Vaughn 2007, p. 2). The report does not go much beyond rhetoric. In substance it confirms USA's concentration on its core areas in the region (i.e. unincorporated territories and the three Compact states and calls on Australia and New Zealand as intermediaries and peacekeepers although "many Pacific Island leaders and citizens reportedly have viewed Australia's past and present leadership role and armed presence in the region with resentment and deep ambivalence" (Lum and Vaughn 2007: 3). More recently the Obama administration has repeatedly announced its continued interest in and support for the Pacific Island region.

Great Britain's withdrawn from the Pacific Island region is even more complete (Zhang 2007). Great Britain's 'non-role' is not really missed. The symbols of the colonial past are heavily disputed in Fiji right now. It was first Queen Elizabeth II, whose portrait disappeared from Fiji's banknotes and now the Fiji national flag with its reference to the colonial past has become an object of dispute.

IV. AUSTRALIA'S CONCERN ABOUT CHINESE

Australia watches Chinese increasing involvement in the Pacific Island region with great concerns: entrusted by the USA as subsidiary of U.S. power Chinese increasing engagement in the region translates into power loss for Australia. The situation in Fiji after December 2006 is an example of this dynamics, but the causes are much deeper. Similar to the USA Australia is also cutting back its ODA although cuts for PICs have been relatively small in 2015-16 compared to other countries. According to the Lowy Institute for International Policy (2015) Australia's aid budget has fallen from AUS\$5.6 billion in 2012-13 to AUS\$4 billion in 2015-16 the sharpest decline ever. China, which was spending USD 6.4 billion in 2013 on aid, has a larger aid program than Australia. China's aid is expected to further increase in coming years and Pacific Island leader are irritated from the signals that come from Canberra and consider it of vital importance to look elsewhere for aid in the long run.

Australia does not want to see any further expansion of Chinese influence in the Pacific Island region, a region it had regarded an area of immediate strategic interest. The stagnation of Australian and the expansion of Chinese aid for the region however most likely will just achieve this. The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank recently established by China could become a new financial institution competing with the Asian Development Bank, World Bank and IMF, but also with bilateral financial support to Pacific Island governments. Today Chinese aid is often portrayed as irresponsible and exploitative, allowing Pacific governments to avoid necessary reforms counteracting financial sanctions as it had been the case with Fiji after 2006.

Pacific Island leaders' agency cannot be discounted. Whether in power as the result of electoral processes or through coups Pacific Island politicians need to deliver development results. More often than not they depend heavily on foreign assistance to achieve this. To cut down such assistance with a hidden agenda that governments might become unpopular with the people (and future electorate) is problematic. It seems that Australia's "smart sanctions" were to safeguard economic interests of Australian stakeholders in Fiji (trade, tourism industry) rather than to avoid negative impacts on ordinary citizens of Fiji.

V. POLITICAL RAPPROCHEMENT

As mentioned above Fiji took up diplomatic relations with the Republic of China in 1971, a year after Fiji became independent. It switched its political affiliation to the PRC in 1975. At that time political dominance in the Pacific was exercised by the USA, which in the 1980s experienced increasing resistance from Pacific Island states (and Australia and New Zealand) what the nuclearisation of the Pacific Ocean was concerned (MacLellan 2005).

Already then the PRC put much emphasis to be represented in Pacific Island regional organisations. Since 1988 there has been intensification of contacts with the South Pacific Forum, which in 2000 became the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat (PIF). PIF is the political regional organization of all PICs plus Australia and New Zealand as member countries from outside the Pacific Island region. The headquarters of the PIF is in Suva, Fiji's capital. Since 1989 the Forum holds Post Forum Dialogues with key Partners at ministerial level. Right from the beginning PRC had participated in these dialogues which in the meanwhile has 17 partners (Canada, People's Republic of China, Cuba, European Union, France, India, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Republic of Korea, Malaysia, Philippines, Spain, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom and the United States). In 2001 the PIF also opened a trade office in Beijing. Although the ROC tried to cooperate closely with the PIF and other regional organizations, political recognition remained refused and the PRC also often tried to prevent acceptance of contribution of the ROC.

The PRC provided USD 3 million for the establishment of the China-Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat Cooperation Fund in 1999 "to be used for the promotion of bilateral trade, investment, tourism, personnel training and other cooperative projects" (Zhang 2007, 369). USD 220,000 was provided for the establishment of the new headquarters of the South Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP) in Apia, Samoa (Islands Business Magazine Aug 23, 2000). The PRC also regularly supported SPREP financially. The ROC on the other hand

provides regularly funding to a number of regional organizations in the Pacific. Details however are sketchy: In 2004 USD 820,000 was shared between the Fiji School of Medicine, Forum Fisheries Agency, Pacific Islands Development Program, PIF, SPC, SOPAC, and South Pacific Board for Educational Assessment, SPTO, and the University of the South Pacific (Solomon Islands Broadcasting Corporation, May 20, 2004). 2006 USD 735,000 went to the PIF (USD 210,000), SPC (USD 238,000), SPREP (USD 30,000) and SOPAC (USD 80,000) (Lin 2010).

The PRC also joined the regional tourism organization and provided much support to boost tourist arrivals from the PRC in PICs. Although visitor arrivals in Fiji are still dominated by Australia, New Zealand and USA, which had a share of 77 percent in 2014, visitor from the PRC had the fastest increase. Between 2009 and 2014 visitors' arrivals increased by 700 percent, from 4,100 to 28,400 (<http://www.statsfiji.gov.fj>). Sir James Ah Koy, Fiji's ambassador to China from 2007 – 2010, sees a potential of 600,000 tourist visiting Fiji every year (Lintner 2010). An important step to boost tourist travel from mainland China to PICs was when Beijing gave Approved Destination Status (ADS) to Cook Islands, Fiji, Tonga and Vanuatu in 2004. In the same year the PRC joins as first –and so far only- member from outside the Pacific Island region the South Pacific Tourism Organization (SPTO), donated annually the amount of USD 100,000 for five years to the SPTO becoming its single largest paying member. The PRC lobbied very hard to keep the ROC out of SPTO (Radio New Zealand, Oct. 25, 2005).

In April 2006 the China-Pacific Island Countries Economic Development Cooperation was established. Premier Wen Jiabao came to Fiji to meet the leaders of all eight PICs that have diplomatic relations with PRC. It was the first time a Chinese premier ever visited the Pacific Islands. At the meeting the China-Pacific Island Countries Economic Development and Cooperation Guiding Framework was signed and USD492 million in development assistance announced for the next three years (Hameiri 2015). In addition concessional loans with low interest rates and the establishment of preferential tariffs for Pacific Island goods were discussed at the meeting. Debts were written off for Fiji, Papua New Guinea, the Cook Islands, Samoa, Tonga, Vanuatu and the Federated States of Micronesia (FijiLife, April 5, 2006). In November 2013 the PRC provided additional aid to PICs worth USD 1 billion, and another USD 1 billion commercial loan facility (Dornan and Brant2014). 2,000 scholarships over a period of four years to train technicians were announced as well as assistance in building medical care facilities (China Daily, Nov. 8, 2013). In November 2014 Chinese President Xi Jinping was meeting Prime Minister Bainimarama and Pacific Islands Leaders in Nadi to draft new aid initiatives and bring Pacific Island – China cooperation further ahead. For Fiji President Xi signed MOUs covering increased economic and defence cooperation, climate change, and visa exemptions for Fijians travelling to China and the establishment of a Chinese cultural centre in Fiji.

VI. MOTIVES BEYOND POLITICAL RECOGNITION

China's economic motives to engage in the Pacific Island region are not different from those of other countries including the USA, Australia and New Zealand. China's economic expansion of the past few decades led to an enormous resource hunger. Some have explained China's interest in other parts of the world –mainly Africa and Latin America- as a strategy to secure resources the country urgently needs for the continuation of its economic expansion (see e.g. Dent (ed.) 2011; Guerrero and Manji (eds), 2008; Kambara and Howe, 2007). Similar arguments are used to explain China's increasing interest in PICs (Kabutaulaka 2015).

Terrestrial mineral resources are mainly available in Melanesian countries (PNG, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and Fiji) and seabed minerals in the EEZs of the Cook Islands, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, and Tuvalu (manganese, cobalt and other minerals), Papua New Guinea and Fiji (polymetallic sulphides), and Pitcairn (diamonds). Exploring these marine resources has just begun and substantial investment is required to take up deep-sea mining activities (Powles 2007). Small PICs need cooperation of bigger countries and able investors to benefit from these resources. Fiji authorities are eager to find investors in the mining sector and hopes are high to make mining the country's number one export earner (Brant 2013, 172). Up to date a number of Chinese companies have been involved in mining activities in Papua New Guinea and Fiji.

Despite this there are no examples in PICs, where Chinese aid directly links to resource exploitation (Brant 2013). Chinese aid, however, provides opportunities for Chinese commercial interests in fields of resource exploitation, state led or private. This is might not be a primary intention of Chinese aid to the region, but a secondary result helping to establish contacts that then lead to commercial activities. For the construction of the Nadarivatu hydro-power project a commercial loan by the Chinese Development Bank came as last resort when the European Investment Bank put the project on hold in 2009 when it became clear that Fiji would not return to democracy any time soon (Brant 2009). The dam then was built by Sinohydro, a Chinese state-owned hydropower project contractor and some 300 workers that had been brought in from mainland China (Dornan 2010; Field 2010).

The Chinese Zhongrun International Mining Company has invested USD40 million in Fiji's oldest gold mine in Vatukoula. Zhongrun now holds 66 percent of the share capital of the company (Island Business, 28 Oct 2013) and the company now is run exclusively by Chinese management (<http://www.vgmplc.com/about/directors>) after the Canadian Non-Executive Director and the British CEO of Vatukoula Gold Mine (VGM) resigned in April 2014.

In 2001 XINF A Aurum Exploration (Fiji) Limited, a Chinese owned company, received six Special Prospecting Licenses (SPL) for bauxite exploration in the western part of Fiji's second biggest island, Vanua Levu. The licenses cover an area of 117,437 ha (Fiji Islands Trade & Investment Bureau 2009). The area in North-West Viti Levu has an estimated potential of bauxite between 400 million tonnes to 1,000 million tonnes. In April 2011 Bauxite mining commenced in Nawailevu and ended in November 2014. By then the mine had produced 1.2 million tonnes of bauxite, which all has been shipped to China (Radio New Zealand, Nov. 7, 2014). A second bauxite mine has been opened in Lekutu with around 400,000 tones of Bauxit (Fiji Sun, Jan 15, 2015) and a third one in Naibulu East (Radio New Zealand, April 27th, 2015).

The largest Chinese investment in the Pacific Island region is in PNG where near Madang Metallurgical Corporation of China (MCC) holds 85 percent of shares in Ramu NiCo Ltd. exploiting nickel, cobalt and chromite's. The mine is one of the world's biggest producers of these minerals (Hannan and Firth 2015). Mining is expected to continue for another 20 years. China will also buy much of PNG's liquefied natural gas (LNG). The USD19 billion project operated by ExxonMobil PNG has a life-span of 30 years. More than 250 billion cubic meters of gas will be produced. The gas is exported to the China, Japan and Taiwan (Post-Courier Nov.11th, 2013). Once fully operational the project will have a substantial impact on PNG's export income. It is expected that already in its first year it will push PNG's economic growth to 20 percent (Radio Australia, March 13, 2014; PNG Post-Courier, May 14, 2014; Radio Australia, May 22, 2014).

Marine resources are still abundant in the Western and Central Pacific. Since a few decades Chinese fishing vessels are very successfully involved in tuna capture in the Western and Central Pacific Islands. In 2013 the value of tunas caught in this part of the world has been US\$ 7.2 billion, about 60 percent of the value of global tuna catches. Tuna caught by vessels from the PRC was worth more than USD 360 million and Taiwanese fishing boats caught tuna worth close to USD 700 million. Over the past 40 years Taiwan has been one of the biggest fishing nations catching Tuna in in the Western and Central Pacific. The PRC on the other side is relative newcomer to tuna fisheries in the Pacific Islands. Over the past 15 years the ration between the value of tuna caught by vessels from PRC and ROC changed considerably: in 1997 it was a bit higher than 1:18 (USD 23:421 mill.). In 2013 this figure had come down to not even 1:2 (USD 368:687 mill.) (FFA 2014). The PRC is greatly expand its Distant Water Fishing Fleet (DWF). The 11th five year plan (2006-2011) formulated 'going global strategy' encourages the fishing sector, of which about 70% is privately owned, to further enhance capacities. China has the world's largest DWF fleet with 1899 vessels in 2010 which is supposed to increase to 2,300 vessels by 2015 (Ilakini 2013). Government support for the fishing sector is provided as direct subsidies, preferential tax treatment or payment of access fees. As a WTO member the PRC needs to report fisheries subsidies under the WTO Agreement on Subsidies and Countervailing Measures (SCM). This however is not done satisfactory, and the amount of fisheries subsidies therefore is uncertain. All companies engaged in distant water fishing activities are exempted in

paying income tax, shipyards enjoy tax benefits and duties on imported equipment have been drastically reduced. The by far biggest subsidy is in the area of fuel offsets which in 2012 was worth some US\$ 3.8 billion (Ilakini 2013).

Chinese economic interest became already very important for Fiji in 1987 when after the first coups of coup leader (and later Prime Minister) Rabuka ended the country's import substitution policy and announced incentives to increase foreign direct investment in Fiji (Chandra 1993). Already Rabuka was "looking north" when his government created a number of incentives to lure Asian investors to Fiji. 1987 marks the beginning of meaningful foreign investment in garment production, which –by 2000- made the garment sector Fiji's second most important earner of foreign exchange next to tourism. Figures however remained much lower than predicted by Chandra (1993) who saw garment exports reaching FJD300 million by 1993/94 and crossing the FJD 1 billion mark by 2000. Indeed by 1993/94 foreign exchange earnings from garment exports stood at FJD 140 million and by the turn of the century garment exports indeed reached its ever climax with some with some FJD 332 million (or a third of what Chandra had predicted in 1993).

With the promotion of export oriented garment production in Fiji many ethnic Chinese companies from Hong Kong, Malaysia, and mainland China had been attracted. These countries were not part of the Multi-Fibre Agreement (MFA) and they had hardly access to markets in the USA, Europe and Australia. Investment in Fiji allowed them to use Fiji's MFA quota to gain access to these markets. Phasing out the MFA between 1995 and 2005 made it no more necessary to produce in Fiji. Many Asian garment companies closed down production in Fiji in the first quarter of 2005 and returned to their home countries, where labour costs are much lower.

Today PICs benefit from Chinese financial support and technological cooperation in the field of clean energy. In September 2013 China announced support for PICs in the field of clean energy needed to adapt to climate change. It is not only that such support is greatly needed and appreciated. It is also in stark contrast to the notion of Australia's government which is in denial of climate change. Prime Minister Abbot was voted to power just a day after the Chinese Special Envoy for China-Pacific Islands Forum Dialogue said "that on top of implementation of a more than \$32.6 million International Cooperation Project for clean energy-related projects, China will provide another \$400,000 this year to the Pacific Islands Forum secretariat, \$250,000 to Pacific Islands Trade & Invest, and \$150,000 to the Pacific Regional Environment Program" (Kyodo News International, Sep 6, 2013). Australia's Prime Minister on the other hand never made it a secret that he is not willing to sacrifice the interests of economic players (e.g. Australian coal companies) for achieving important advancement in climate change mitigation. In this area Australia drags far behind China, which had announced substantial efforts in the generation of clean energy at home, which also will reduce China's coal imports from Australia by half (Parkinson 2014; see also: Boyle 2014).

The PRC participated in a Climate Change Conference in Kiribati in 2010 organized by the Kiribati Government. "It was an important gesture indicating Beijing's concern about environmental degradation and climate change in the region" (Shen 2015, p. 12) and putting it above the fact that the most severely affected countries, the atolls states of Kiribati and Tuvalu, have no diplomatic ties with China, but with ROC.

In the Pacific Islands such differences are well observed and connected with other political goals. Already in June 2014 Fiji's Prime Minister Bainimarama had accused the Australian Government "of abandoning Pacific island nations which 'sink below the waves' instead of tackling climate change", when he opened a regional Climate Change Summit (Radio Australia, June 19, 2014). Indonesian president Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, who was guest of honour at the summit, assured USD20 million to support Pacific island states in their efforts to fight climate change (Radio Australia, June 19, 2014). In May 2015 Prime Minister Bainimarama became even clearer when accusing Australia and New Zealand to "side with what I call the coalition of the selfish, those industrialised nations which are putting the welfare of their carbon-polluting

industries and their workers before our welfare and survival as Pacific islanders” (Fijilive, May 6, 2015). These comments were done when Fiji’s Prime Minister was looking for support amongst Pacific Island leaders to have Australia and New Zealand excluded as regular members of the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF).

VII. CONDITIONALITY’S OF CHINESE AID

China displays itself as „developing country“ and sees its aid as the fulfilment of its international responsibility „to help recipient countries to strengthen their self-development capacity, enrich and improve their peoples‘ livelihood, and promote their economic growth and social progress“. China considers aid as an instrument of „South-South Cooperation “of a country with a shared history of (negative) experience with imperial powers. „China stands ready to provide assistance with-out any political string attached“(Premier Wen 2006 at China-PIC Forum).

The only political conditionality for aid from the PRC is not to accept the ROC (Shen 2015). This conditionality is not negotiable. It even comes automatically, as no country which has diplomatic relations with ROC would be able to apply for aid from the PRC. Other political conditionalities are not attached to PRC’s support. This however does not mean that there are no conditionalities at all (see below). It is easy to understand that countries like Australia, which often used development cooperation to achieve compliance of Pacific Island countries considers efforts to grant support without asking any questions as harmful of their attempt to achieve what they feel is correct political culture and behaviour. However from a Pacific Island perspective matter often look different. PRC’s practise of non-interference can also be seen as “an alternative to free market philosophies underlying much aid conditionality from Western donors, especially drives to cut government expenditure and substitute private-sector providers” (D’Arcy 2014, p. 400). This freedom enables Pacific Island countries to set goals of their development. It provides more freedom than countries ever had had since their independence and since western development assistances is dominated by the Washington Consensus. That does however not mean that there are no conditionalities for Chinese aid at all. Respecting the “One China Policy” has already mentioned. Another one is much more pragmatic, far less ideological: Contractor of PRC funded projects must be a Chinese Company approved by the Chinese Government, at least 50 percent of materials must be procured from China, and usually laborers are brought in from China (Dornan and Brant 2014). Part of Chinese development assistance thus flows back to China, securing overseas contracts to Chinese companies and providing employment for Chinese workers. In this however Chinese development assistance is not very much different from what western development assistance had been not so long ago. Financial development often went hand in hand with technological transfer and technical assistance. Especially huge infrastructure projects (hydro-dam construction, road building, etc.) meant overseas contract for western (construction) companies. Senior experts (consultants, engineers, etc.) were also brought in from these countries. Blue color jobs however often were recruited locally.

VIII.CONCLUSION

In May 2009 Fiji was expelled from the Pacific Island Forum (PIF) when the 1997 Constitution was abrogated and a continuation of the military backed Government for another five years had been announced. Apart from trying to intensify its relations with the PRC Fiji also approached many other countries for closer collaboration. Also in the international arena Fiji was rather successful. In 2011 the country joined the Non-Align Movement (NAM) at its annual meeting in Bali, Indonesia; Fiji was chairing the Group 77 inclusive China in 2013. Fiji was also successful in fending off efforts initiated by the Australian Government to have Fiji’s involvement in peace-keeping efforts reconsidered by the UN.

For the Pacific Island region Fiji hosted the Pacific Islands Development Forum (PIDF) in 2013 - a challenge to the PIF established in response to Fiji’s exclusion from the Forum. In October 2014 Prime Minister Bainimarama announced that Fiji has set conditions for its return to the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF) after he had received a letter from PIF leaders that Fiji’s

suspension had been lifted. “Fiji is not going back to PIF till some changes and reforms are made in the organisation; for example Australia and New Zealand to move out of PIF,” Australia and New Zealand should become development partners like nations such as Japan, China and Korea.

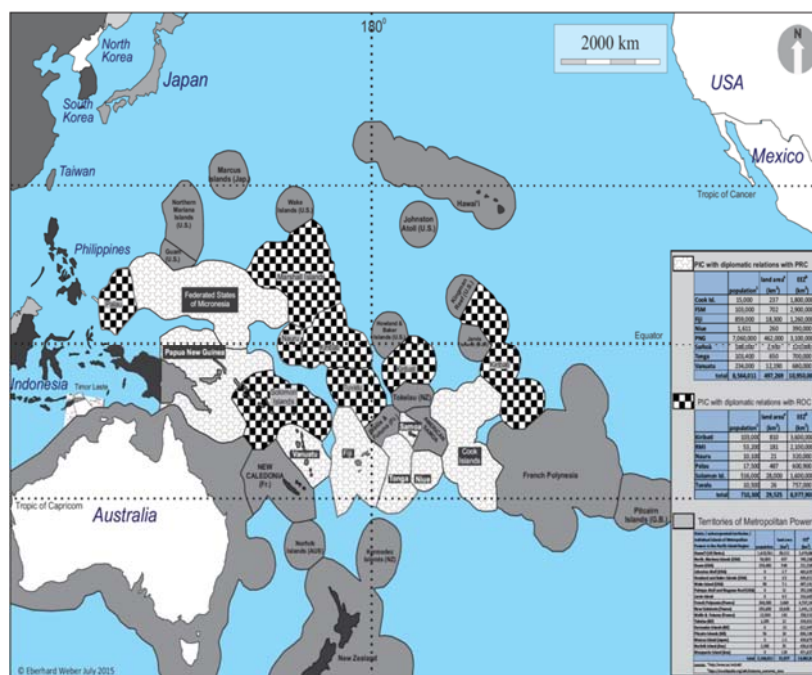
In the meanwhile Fiji has concretized her stand toward Australia and New Zealand’s membership in the PIF. While the country continues to participate in the affairs of the PIF the country’s leadership will stay away from PIF activities until Australia and New Zealand have left the PIF.

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The Role of Education for International Understanding and Peace (A Humanistic Approach)

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ABSTRACT

The series of conflicts in various parts of the world show the lack of understanding suspected by the conflict interest in terms of economic, social, cultural or political. Education must present as a medium of enlightenment which gives the values of education to the people in the world. Therefore, the essence of education in building human character with humanistic values can be achieved. This paper is a concept to highlight the importance of education in creating international understanding and peace with a humanistic approach since peace is a basic need for every human being. Moreover, to build a culture of peace is also required good governance system which involving stakeholders like government, private industry, and civil society. The involvement includes the roles in a wide range of things that participatory attitudes, enforcement and compliance with the law, transparency, responsiveness, consensus orientation, fairness, effectiveness and efficiency, accountability and strategic vision to build the future of nation. Thus it is clear that education and peace are two things that cannot be separated because the aim of education is to produce cultural intelligence in building a nation of character for the harmony of life.

Keywords: education; international understanding; peace; humanistic values

I. INTRODUCTION

At this time, the various crises of life began to occur in the world. Conflicts between nations became inevitable either social conflict, economic, cultural and political. The emergence of diverse conflict has made people become insecure. Their human right to life has been taken away by the inhuman conditions. Let's have a look for a moment the diverse of conflicts on this earth from the starting of civil war, inter-ethnic polemic, a war of ideology, and power struggles. These conflicts certainly have damaged the values of life. If all of these conflicts cannot be stopped, the question then is how the fate of our grandchildren in the future? What can be passed on to them if conditions see today is a series of unresolved conflict.

Moreover, every human being has the right to life with no conflict. This is in accordance with the contents of the United Nation (UN) declaration of human rights stated in Article 1, "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood."

In the Indonesia 1945 Constitution after the amendment, the human right is expressed in Chapter XA on Human Rights. These include in Section 28A states that "Everyone has the right to live and to defend life and living", Article 28B paragraph (2) states "Every child has the right to live, grow, and develop and is entitled to protection from violence and discrimination", and Article 28 paragraph (1) confirms that the right to life is one of the seven human rights by the 1945 Constitution declared as a human right that cannot be reduced under any circumstances. Thus, it is very important to have the recognition of the right to life from a country. A state must recognize the dignity of human beings.

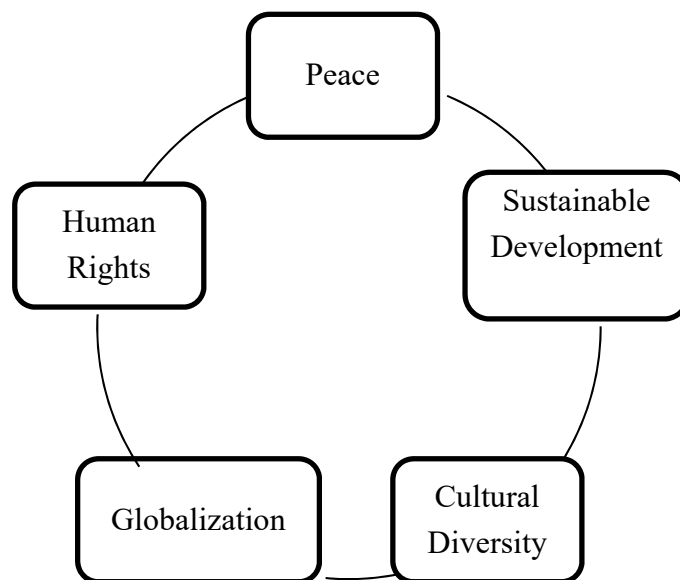
The world is awakened by diversity, and then we deserve to be proud because diversity can enrich one to another. But there is also a risk that often occurs in diversity, that there is friction, disagreement and conflict. When conflicts occur in various parts of the world, then the question arises, what is wrong with this situation? Is it because of the human characters that cannot control of their emotions, lack of education or the weaknesses in building the good governance system?

This concept paper elaborates on the importance of education in building understanding and peace by seeing the humanistic values. The efforts to achieve peace in this context can also be viewed from good governance perspective.

II. EDUCATION AND INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

In the context of global, education has many important roles for human beings. Education can bring the human into the balancing of life. Education is also a key tool in promoting peace, social justice, human rights, democracy, cultural diversity and environmental awareness. As stated by UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and cultural Organization), that there are five themes of education for international understanding consist of peace, sustainable development, cultural diversity, globalization, and human rights (see figure 1). Those themes can promote a culture of peace that involves a set of values, attitudes and behaviours which can be taught, developed and improved to build mutual understanding.

Figure 1: Themes of education for international understanding



Source: UNESCO (nest.unescoapceiu.org)

According to 1998 UN resolution, “a culture of peace is integral approach to preventing violence and violent conflicts, and alternative to the culture of war and violence based on education for peace, the promotion of sustainable economic and social development, respect for human rights, equality between women and men, democratic participation, tolerance, the free flow of information and disarmament.

Moreover, the principle of education is declared in Constitution of UNESCO and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, that education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedom. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace”

If we compare the ideal and factual condition today, there is something contradictorily. Ideally, education is an effort to cater the essential needs in every individual in order to bring happiness and culture of peace in the world. But in fact, many problems arise in the areas of politics, economics and culture. For some people democracy and tolerance cannot be achieved yet and they think that education is an expensive thing. As the consequence, we can see many people in the world live in conflict condition.

Thus, it is very important to recognize the role of education in contributing a culture of peace. In other words, education for peace is a part of concept building peace through the values, knowledge in spirit, respect, mutual understanding and appreciation in area of individual, group and nations.

III. EDUCATION AND PEACE

The various conflicts in different places have made people living in unsafe and insecure. The values of humanistic seem that already gone from this earth. Education does not work longer in humanizing. Then the conflict has become a part of life.

As mentioned above, that every human being is entitled to enjoy his life in peace and security. Human beings are actually entitled to get other universal values as has been declared by the United Nations through the research referred to as "living values" consist of: peace, respect, responsibility, happiness, freedom, tolerance, cooperation, love, simplicity, unity, honesty, and humility. These universal values are gaining recognition by the world on December 10, 1948 in and stated in The Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

In reality, not all people in this world have those kinds of feelings. We still find several cases in countries such as famine, war, homelessness, inter-ethnic oppression, expulsion of citizens because of religious sentiment, border seizure, the seizure of power corruption, as well as other cases that have been detrimental the people. The question then is the extent to which the role of education and government in an effort to resolve the conflict, since security is a basic right of every human being.

According to Maslow (Goble, 1987), from his ethnological observations, he believes that the hostility in humans is a result of civilization. Thus hostile and hostility can be overcome with education. In other words, education has an important role in building peace and peace is a human basic need like what has been explored in Maslow Theory hierarchy as bellow (Abahe):

1) *Physiological Needs*

Physiological needs are those required to sustain life, such as: air, water, nourishment and sleep. According to Maslow's theory, if such needs are not satisfied then one's motivation will arise from the quest to satisfy them. Higher needs such as social needs and esteem are not felt until one has met the needs basic to one's bodily functioning.

2) *Safety*

Once physiological needs are met, one's attention turns to safety and security in order to be free from the threat of physical and emotional harm. Such needs might be fulfilled by: Living in a safe area, Medical insurance, Job security, financial reserves. According to Maslow's hierarchy, if a person feels that he or she is in harm's way, higher needs will not receive much attention.

3) *Social Needs*

Once a person has met the lower level physiological and safety needs, higher level needs become important, the first of which are social needs. Social needs are those related to interaction with other people and may include: need for friends, need for belonging, need to give and receive love.

4) *Esteem*

Once a person feels a sense of "belonging", the need to feel important arises. Esteem needs may be classified as internal or external. Internal esteem needs are those related to self-esteem such as self-respect and achievement. External esteem needs are those such as social status and recognition. Some esteem needs are: Self-respect, Achievement, Attention, Recognition, and Reputation. Maslow later also includes a level between esteem needs and self-actualization: the need for knowledge and aesthetics.

5) *Self-actualization*

Self-actualization is the summit of Maslow's hierarchy of needs. It is the quest of reaching one's full potential as a person. Unlike lower level needs, this need is never fully satisfied; as one grows psychologically there are always new opportunities to continue to grow. Self-actualized people tend to have needs such as: truth, justice, wisdom, and meaning. Self-actualized persons have frequent occurrences of peak experiences, which are energized moments of profound happiness and harmony. According to Maslow, not everybody in the world has fulfilled his self-actualization; only a small percentage of the population reaches to this level.

From another point of view, education and conflict also have the very important relationship. There are three reasons the importance of relationship between education and conflict (Alan 2000):

- Education is fundamental right that should be maintained at all times, even in the most difficult circumstances.
- Education is an essential tool for human development and eradication poverty.
- Education can be part of the problem as well as part of solution. Policies and practices at all levels within the education system need to be analysed in terms of their potential to aggravate or ameliorate.

Conflict may occur due to several factors. A social conflict may be defined as an interaction between actors (individuals, groups, organizations, etc.), where at least one actor sees incompatibilities in the thinking, imagination, perception, and feeling with another or other actors. Moreover, conflict can occur caused at least by three aspects. These include: 1) cognitive (perceptual); 2) emotional (feeling); and 3) behavioural attributes (Mayer, 2000)

Referring to the theory of cognitive, conflict occurs when there is a difference in a set of perceptions, is a belief or the understanding that one's own values, needs, wants, or interests are basically at variance with someone else's (Mayer, 2000). Objectively or subjectively this notion of incompatibility entails that conflict could be initiated by one person as long as there is a preconceived illusion of unmatched interests. Meanwhile, from emotional pattern, conflict can be caused by the feeling of fear, bitterness, or frustrations. Those can invite reaction and interaction, which cement disagreements of sort. These feelings may or may not be reciprocated. What is important however how such experiences are catered for during intervention is? This is the most difficult part how the mediator can control the emotional aspect. The third element is action (behavioural attributes). Mayer stated that action is the undertaken endeavour to express one's feelings, articulate perceptions, get needs met, or direct attempt to influence occurrence at someone else's expense.

The conflicts that occur all over the world can be from different perspectives. By knowing the causes of conflict, it will be easy to find out the solution in building peace life. Peace building is a concept developed by Galtung in 1975 (Report of UNICEF 2011) with the core concept includes: Negative peace (the cessation and/or absence of violence), Positive peace (The absence of structural violence), the presence of social justice (The conditions that eliminate the causes of violence), Structural violence (Indirect violence. "Violence that is built into structures and shows up as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances), Root causes of conflict (Manifestations of structural and cultural violence, leading to direct violence) and Sustainable peace (Peace and processes towards it that address the root causes of violent conflict).

IV. EDUCATION AND HUMANISTIC VALUES

As we know that the humanitarian crisis faced by the global community has not yet completely been resolved. In this condition, ideally education has a significant role in peace building in the world. It can enlighten the people and bring bright future for their life. In fact, for

those who have passed through the education system over the years, ranging from education in the family, the environment, and schooling, it is found that they cannot implement the education values in the real life. As the result, conflict is inevitable and children are being the victims.

As well as in the formal educational, there have been many irregularities educational values, which actually should not happen. For example, sexual harassment, bullying, deprivation of the rights of students, and others. If we refer to the various theories of the purpose of education is to make life changes to have better condition. As stated by the theory of Bloom Taxonomy that education has three objectives.

The three objectives of education according to Bloom's theory include: knowledge-based goals, skills-based goals, and affective goals (values, attitude, and interest). Each taxonomy has own description with different level of understanding. Referring to the third Bloom's taxonomy, affective goals, there are some levels of expertise such as receiving, responding, valuing, organization, characterization by a value or value complex. In this stage learners are expected to explore their skill more comprehensive in valuing the life as part of education process.

In addition, the basic principle of education is humanizing. In Indonesia, it is ruled in Constitution 1945 No.20 / 2003 Article 1 (1): "Education is a conscious and deliberate effort to create an atmosphere of learning and the learning process so that learners are actively developing the potential for him to have a religious spiritual, self-control, personality, intelligence, noble character, and skills , society , nation and country " .

A process of learning is considered successful if it has understood the environment and themselves. Learning theory attempts to understand the behaviour from the learner's side, not from observer point of view. The educator is helping the students to develop their potency, and then the students will realize their uniqueness and differences that they have.

Likewise, in psychological theory requires a new form of education, which is more emphasis on the development of one's potential, especially its potential to be a human, to understand themselves and others and connect with them, achieving the satisfaction over the basic needs of human beings, grow toward self-actualization. Thus, education will help every human to have better skill and understanding.

Another description (David and Robert 1999) that five objective of humanistic view

Of education, they are:

- Promote positive self-direction and independence (development of the regulatory system);
- develop the ability to take responsibility for what is learned (regulatory and affective systems);
- develop creativity (divergent thinking aspect of cognition);
- curiosity (exploratory behaviour, a function of imbalance or dissonance in any of the systems); and
- An interest in the arts (primarily to develop the affective/emotional system).

From the humanistic point of view, learning process should be initiated and directed for humanizing. Therefore, humanistic learning theory is more abstract and closer to the field of the study of philosophy, theories of personality, and psychotherapy. Humanistic theories learned very concerned with the contents of the learning process itself. More humanistic learning theory talks about educational concepts to form the idealized human and learning process. Another finding is the essence of humanistic theory that every human being is unique, has different potency and internal motivation to determine their behaviour.

V. THE IMPORTANCE OF GOOD GOVERNANCE

Globalization has changed the life almost in all sectors: economic, social, cultural, and political. As a consequence, each country in the world must prepare to minimize the negative impact. Good governance was originally intended to reform issues in the public sector. However, along with the development system good governance can be applied in other sectors, including education in context of global.

The importance of education for human must be supported by good governance system. By implementing the good governance, is expected to create prosperity and democratic life, then peace building would be achieved.

In general, governance is defined as the quality of the relationship between government and communities. To realize good governance should essentially involve the elements of governance stakeholders, known as the three pillars; state, private sector and society, (UNDP 1997). The conception of a state is involving private sector and civil society institutions. While the private sector is a private company that is active in the system markets interaction, while civil society is between the government and individuals, which include individuals, groups of people who interact in social, political and economic.

According to United Nations Development Program (UNDP 1997) there are five principles of Good Governance. These include:

- Legitimacy and Voice

Participation – all men and women should have a voice in decision-making, either directly or through legitimate intermediate institutions that represent their intention. Such broad participation is built on freedom of association and speech, as well as capacities to participate constructively. Consensus orientation – good governance mediates differing interests to reach a broad consensus on what is in the best interest of the group and, where possible, on policies and procedures.

- Direction

Strategic vision – leaders and the public have a broad and long-term perspective on good governance and human development, along with a sense of what is needed for such development. There is also an understanding of the historical, cultural and social complexities in which that perspective is grounded.

- Performance

Responsiveness – institutions and processes try to serve all stakeholders. Effectiveness and efficiency – processes and institutions produce results that meet needs while making the best use of resources.

- Accountability

Accountability – decision-makers in government, the private sector and civil society organizations are accountable to the public, as well as to institutional stakeholders. This accountability differs depending on the organizations and whether the decision is internal or external. Transparency – transparency is built on the free flow of information. Processes, Institutions and information are directly accessible to those concerned with them, and enough information is provided to understand and monitor them.

- Fairness

Equity – all men and women have opportunities to improve or maintain their wellbeing. Rule of Law – legal frameworks should be fair and enforced impartially, particularly the laws on human rights.

Good Governance in education is something the absolute one. If the government has been able to implement the principles of good governance, then education will be achieved in

accordance with an ideal goal that is humanizing. But on the contrary if good governance cannot be implemented, education output will be far from expectations. Good governance of education system is one of the most important ways of contributing to equity, inclusion and social cohesion. Good governance protects against grievances about access and quality of education becoming source of conflict, (Alan, 2000)

To sum up, developing capacity and achieving good governance is the main instrument to overcome the problems faced at this time. The challenge for all societies today is how to create a system of good governance that is capable of realizing the prosperity to all people.

VI. DISCUSSION

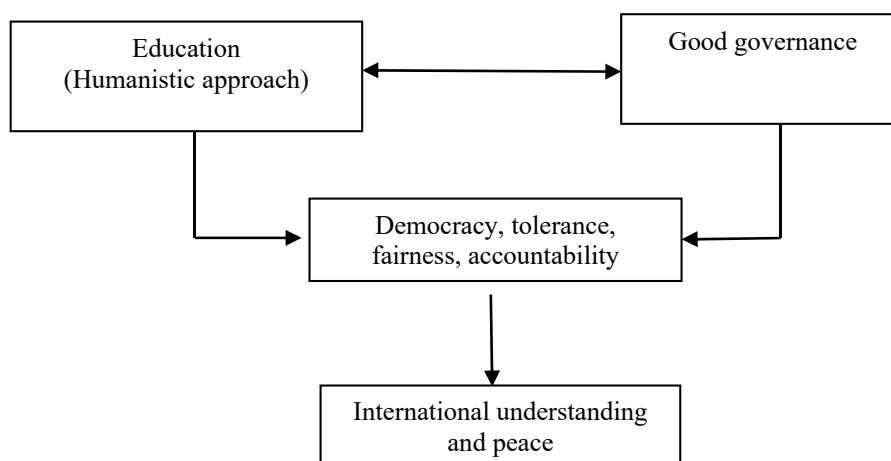
The implementation of education today has not achieved the ideal goals. As the evidence, there are some breakings of rules in implementing the education system and also from the output. The failure of achieving education goals may occur by multifactor, including lack of understanding what actually education goals for life.

If the fact shows kinds of inhuman attitude like murder, corruption, power struggles, meaning that the education has not been successfully implemented. Even global conditions that gripped with many conflicts in various places make humans have much sense of safety, comfortable, happy and peaceful. Though, these feelings are part of the universal values that should be part of human life.

Moreover, the role of government through good governance system should be held so that people really feel that democratic life, quiet, and peaceful. Some theories including from the philosophical side focus on the substance of education for human life. Every human being has right to life in secured. It should not be undermined by the human ego itself, because it is basically human ego can be controlled and constructed positively if he has an effort to apply the humanistic values. If each individual realize how the importance the humanistic values, it will also create a good society. As said by Maslow (Frank1987) good society is a society where the goodness reigns.

As described in following figure, we can see the relationship between education (humanistic values), international understanding, peace and good governance.

Figure 2 Relationship between education (humanistic values), international understanding, peace and good governance.



From the figure above it can be explained that the process of education with humanistic approach and good governance support each other. If both aspects can be implemented in a system, the value of life such as democracy, tolerance, fairness also can be reached. Then, the international understanding and peace would be part of human life.

VII. CONCLUSION

Every human being has the right to life. Peace is not an optional, but peace is an absolute condition. We cannot improve poverty and education without building peace. Peace is not merely the absence of war, but peace is covering all aspects of both inner and outer man.

Education should ideally as a tool for lightening and building unity, not raising conflicts in the world. The current education system should accommodate the goals like in intellectual, economic, moral and cultural part. A process of learning is considered successful if it has to understand the environment and themselves. Moreover, in a global context, education is a key tool in promoting peace, social justice, human rights, democracy, cultural diversity and environmental awareness. As stated by that there are five themes of education for international understanding consist of peace, sustainable development, cultural diversity, globalization, and human rights

Good governance is also has important role to the success of development so that it becomes an absolute requirement to build democratic nation. Education should be able to build the values of humanism (John and Patricia 1990). If it is supported by a system of good governance, the democracy and prosperity will be achieved then every human being can feel peace and life in harmony.

ENDNOTES

^aThe UN Declaration on a culture of peace and non-violence contains more detail than needed and was politicized in the process of its adoption. The programme of action on culture of peace adopted in 1999 and the 1998 UN Resolution on the culture peace.

^b It is declared in Constitution of UNESCO and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 26 paragraph 2

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Agriculture as A Base Culture of Indonesia: An Understanding of Agriculture to Students as A Fundamental Aspect of Citizenship Skills

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Abstract

Agriculture was widely interpreted as an attempt to take advantage of natural resources through farming, livestock breeding, and sailing on the ocean for fishing and other agricultural industry businesses such as marine fish processing factory. Agriculture can be achieved through independence of Indonesia, and supported by the use of agricultural technology and the utilization of agricultural products by all elements of society. Agriculture is fundamental for Indonesia, and should be developed for the benefit of the next generation. The development efforts through civic education have three development domains, namely citizenship knowledge, citizenship skills, and citizenship character. Among the three domains, citizenship skills are as appropriate as agricultural development. The skills are developed from citizenship knowledge which can be used to deal with problems in the society and nations. The problem must be viewed holistically because of human scope is not only humanity but also the earth and everything in it as a living place. Agriculture helps students to understand the humanitarian issues more holistically. Agriculture as a fundamental basis of citizenship skills are skills of every Indonesian young generation to identify and describe, explain and analyze, evaluate, determine and maintain the attitude or opinion with regard to public affairs in a holistic manner that is useful not only for the sake of human survival in Indonesia but also for the survival of ecology in Indonesia. Agricultural cultivation strategy as a base culture of citizenship skills should be implemented through various levels and educational paths by utilizing the concept of green education.

Keywords: Citizenship Skills, Agriculture, Culture, Green Education

A. INTRODUCTION

Agriculture for the Indonesian nation is not just a professional domain, but an Indonesian culture that has been implemented since 2500 to 3000 BC. Agriculture was widely interpreted as an attempt to take advantage of natural resources through farming, livestock breeding, and sailing on the ocean for fish, and other agricultural industry businesses such as marine fish processing plants. Through farming Indonesian society can meet the needs of the economy as a primary and a means for creating a balance of the ecosystem.

Citizenship education is very important in creating a balance of the ecosystem. Its goal is to establish the Indonesian community with Smart and Good Citizenship. In achieving this objective the implementation of Civic Education should consider three major components by Margaret S. Branson (1999: 8), i.e. Civic Knowledge (knowledge of citizenship), Civic Skills (skill citizenship), and Civic Disposition (temperaments citizenship). The three components are mutually supportive and cannot be separated. In agricultural cultivation through civic education, the right components is civic skills as planting awareness of the importance of the balance of the ecosystem through farming cannot done only by theory, but there must be practical agricultural skills leading students to understand and grasp the nature of an agricultural nation.

The practice of farming skills in civic education should be conducted in a proper domain. Civic skills concern skills of learners in order to become democratic citizens by controlling a number of capabilities include intellectual skills (intellectual skills) and skills to participate (participatory skills) in the life of the nation.

The relation between agriculture with citizenship skills (civic skills) is as follows. First on the terms of the nature of Indonesia, the implementation of citizenship skills includes two components based on the primacy of the interests of agriculture. Second, the implementation of democracy in a country is based on the active participation of citizens and the active role of citizens is based on the level of welfare of citizens. In this way, democracy can be implemented properly. Then the government should encourage people's economic independence. In Indonesia the economic independence of the nation was based on agriculture because natural resources are very abundant, but should be used wisely. It is very important to instill an understanding of agriculture to students as a fundamental basis of citizenship skills.

B. DISCUSSION

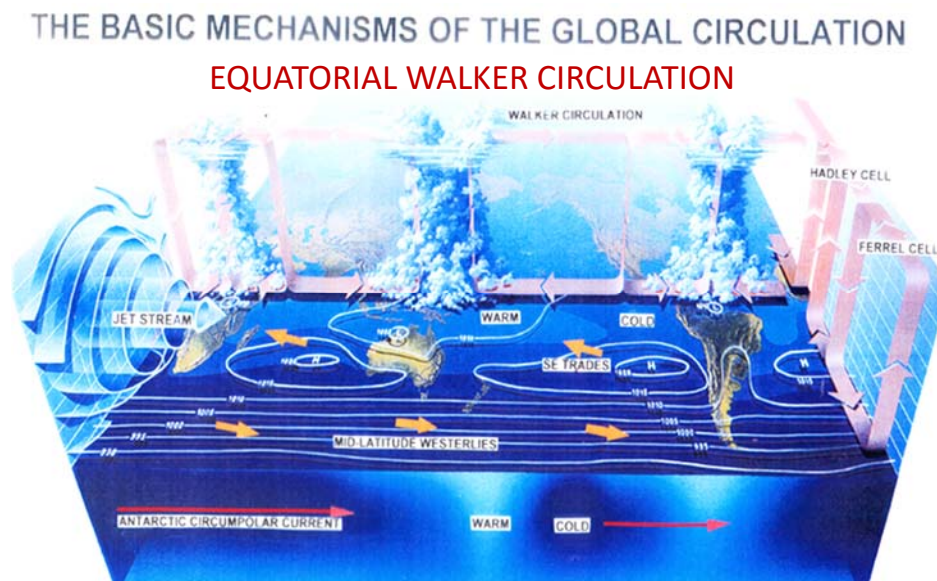
1. The views Civic Skill and the Role of Agriculture in the Life of Indonesia

Citizenship skills (civic skills) are skills relating to the skills of learners in order to become citizens of a democratic country with a controlled number of capabilities. Margaret S. Branson (1999: 70) states,

"If citizens are to exercise their rights and discharge their responsibilities as members of the self-governing communities, they not only need to acquire a body of knowledge such as that embodied in the five organizing questions. They also need to acquire the relevant intellectual and participatory skills."

Citizenship skills include intellectual skills and skills to participate (participatory skills) in the life of the nation. Intellectual skills are essential for the formation of citizens who are knowledgeable, effective, and responsible. Skills, among others, identify and describe, explain and analyze, evaluate or determine and maintain the attitude of opinion with regard to public affairs. Meanwhile the participatory skills are skills necessary for citizen participation insightful, effective and responsible in the political process and in civil society such as the skills to interact, monitor, and affect (Margaret S. Branson, et. al., 1999: 15-16).

The role of agriculture in the life of the Indonesian people that the farm is a series of activities cultivate the plants and animals on a plot of land for the necessities of life without damaging the plants (Tati Nurmala, et al., 2012: 15). Plants and animals processed from agriculture are very important in the balance of the ecosystem in Indonesia and have a major contribution in the production of clouds in the air.



(source: IndroyonoSoesilo/ Kompas/ Saturday, May 17, 2003 - Hal 33/ Zadrž/ Mezak/ Pr/ Sobirin-Mubiar/ Dpklt-2003)

Indonesia, Brazil, and central Africa are the regions most active cloud formation and as a center for global or macro climate. Environmental damage in these areas can disrupt the global climate or macro. Indonesia over Brazil and central Africa, as it has a wide and shallow marine conditions and abundant sun, so that the convection is more active sea water. Thus, the ecosystem imbalances that exist in Indonesia could lead to global climate change. Industrial developments in

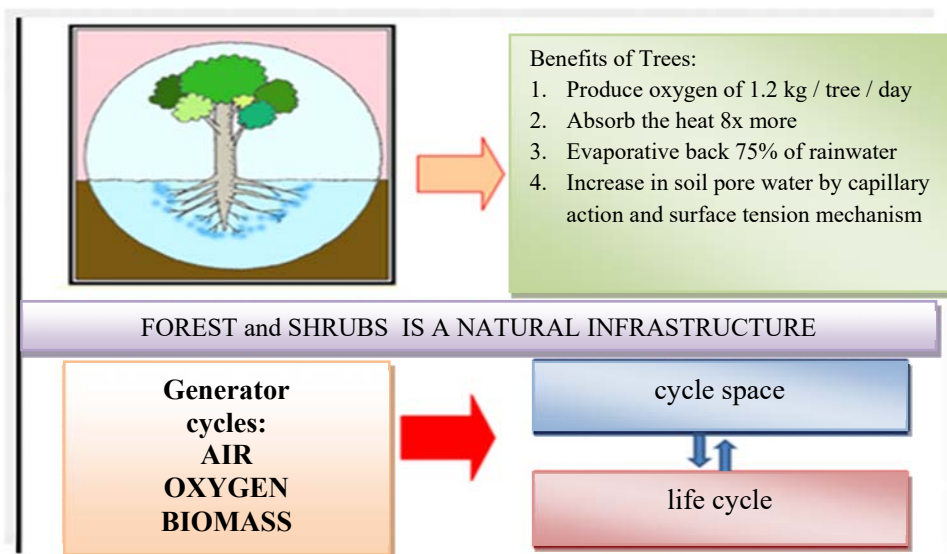
Indonesia should be based on agriculture to maintain the balance of the ecosystem (I Made Putrawan, 2014:52-72).

Economic needs are divided into three types, namely primary needs, needs secondary, and tertiary needs, the primary need is fundamental to human food produced from agriculture. But industrial development is not based on agriculture and the government adopts a capitalist economy. As a result, the industry has been growing more rapidly consuming agricultural lands and waste generated by the industry has damaged agricultural land surrounding industrial land (Daryanto, et. al., 2013:17-21).

2. Analysis of Agricultural Relations with the Civic Skills Indonesian Nation

Analysis of agricultural relations with the Indonesian nation citizenship skills is based on some reasonable considerations, namely; first, the function and role of agriculture is fundamental as life and living space for the people of Indonesia; second, the balance of the ecosystem affects the social system; third, agriculture is the implementation of Pancasila philosophy of the Indonesian people.

First, the implementation of agriculture in the broad sense that the balance of ecosystems is the duty of every citizen, because every human life is always in need of oxygen. Each plant produces oxygen and absorbs carbon dioxide, for that every population growth must be balanced with plant growth.



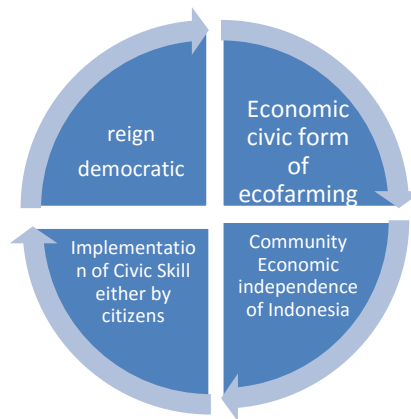
Source:Mubiar P., 2015

Agriculture is the main solution in keeping alive the nation's spatial Indonesia. It is based on the fact the nation Indonesia, which consists of thousands of islands with the majority of the territorial waters. On the basis of the main interest in life, i.e. to maintain the presence of oxygen, the civic skills of Indonesia are based on the primacy of the interests of nature conservation based on the value of agriculture. Agricultural values are developed based on the philosophy of Pancasila values through rice crop. Rice plants philosophy consists of Roots, Stems, Leaves, Flowers, and Fruit that ultimately form the basis of civic skills. The element of skill Indonesian citizen can be described as follows.

IMPLEMENTATION OF AGRICULTURE, AIMS; NATURE CONSERVATION, ECONOMIC FORM OF CIVIC ECOFARMING			
Pancasila	Operationalization of Pancasila value in agricultural value through philosophy Rice	component Civic Skills	Elements of Intellectual skills and participation
Belief In The One And Only God	Rice is part of the plant roots which serves to absorb water and nutrients from the soil, then transported to the top of the plant reflects the human senses which is a means of self-absorption in the human sciences.	Intellectual Skills	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Identify (marks / shows) 2. Describe (give a description / illustration) 3. Explain (clarifying / interpreting) 4. Analyze 5. Evaluate the opinion / position 6. Use the criteria / standards to make decisions 7. Maintain opinion / position Margaret S. Branson , et al., (1999:15)
Just and civilized humanity	Rice stem reflects the human mind as though a science		
The Unity Of Indonesia	Rice leaves reflects human heart that always envelops the mind that science gets value judgment		
Democracy, led by the inner wisdom of deliberations and representation	Rice interest reflects a synthesis of knowledge and wisdom that produce useful science	Skills participation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Interact (including communicating, of course) of objects relating to public problems 2. Monitor political and administrative problems, especially in the handling of public affairs issues 3. Influence the political process, the government either formally or informally Margaret S. Branson , et al., (1999:16)
Social justice for all Indonesian people	Rice fruit is beneficial for other living beings and down reflects the implementation of science without vanity		

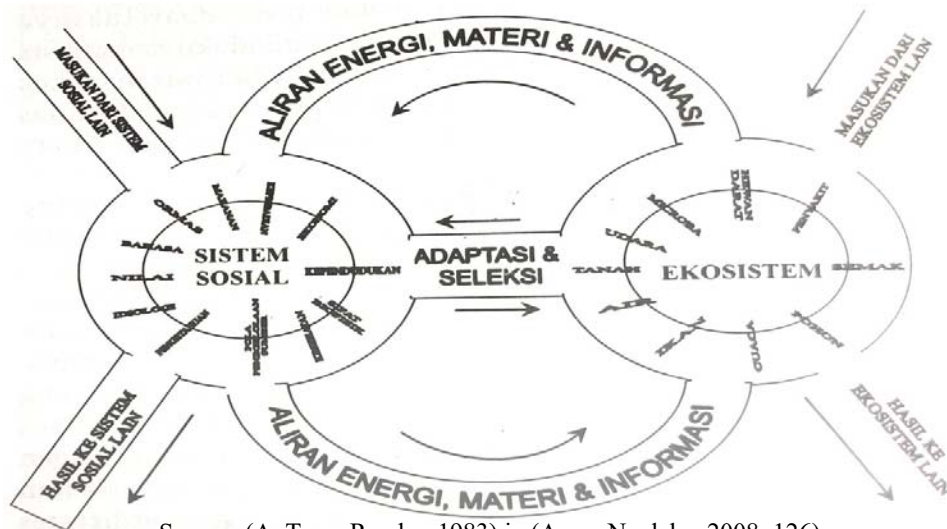
Model 1.developed byFandy

The main elements of the implementation of democratic governance are the active role of citizens in decision-making, and the active role of the citizens will be as good as the citizens of the country met the needs of its economy (SapriyadanA.Aziz W., 2011:8-11). The skills of citizens are strongly influenced by the state of their economy. Economic needs of Indonesian society are the main staple food such as rice and sago, for living space agriculture is also a life for the people of Indonesia (George McTurnanKahin, 2013:11-51). The main food needs can be met by the people of Indonesia through agricultural use considering the local ecosystem, and the relationship between civic skills, civic and agriculture economy is described as follows.



Model 2. developed by Fandy

Secondly, the balance of the ecosystem affects the social system. Agriculture functions to meet the needs of food as a fundamental economic need of Indonesian society, but it also plays a role in maintaining the balance of natural ecosystems Indonesia. The social system is strongly influenced by ecosystems, the relation between social system and ecosystem built by the interaction dantara both. The interaction is described as follows

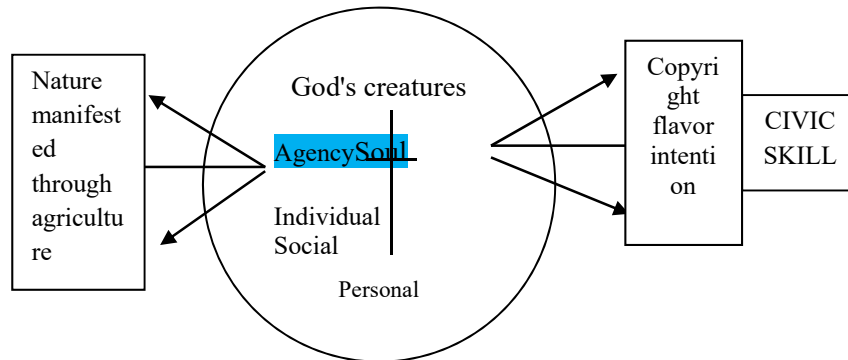


Source: (A. Terry Rambo, 1983) in (Amos Neolaka, 2008: 126)

The imbalance of the soil, water, air and other parts of the ecosystem will affect the flow of energy, materials and information submitted to the social system, and further social system otherwise would affect the ecosystem. The influence of reciprocity between them makes the selection and adaptation by each individual in society. To strike a balance between adaptation and selection between them, the civic skills through intellectual skills components of citizens and civic participation skills should maintain the balance of the ecosystem through farming.

Third, agriculture is the implementation of Pancasila philosophy of the Indonesian people. Pancasila by Soekarnowas dug through the nature of Indonesia and agreed upon by the Indonesian people through BPUPKI session. The origin of Pancasila as the state ideology of The Republic of Indonesia namely derived the values from the Indonesian nation itself containing a

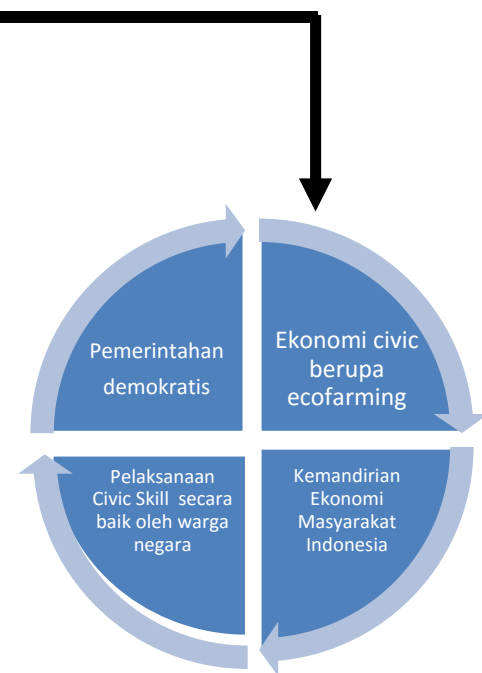
life view (Kaelan, 2013; 40). Indonesia is the human nature of Pancasila which is described as follows.



Source: Sunarjo W., 2014:116

Pancasila individuals are those inspired by the values of the Pancasila which are hierarchically related to one another, meaning that the precepts of the underlying principle of the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th Pancasila. While the second principle is based on the 1st principle and the underlying principle of the 3rd, 4th, 5th, and so on every precept that exists above the existing underlying precepts underlying (Sapriya et al., 2013: 54). Implementation of civic skill consists of intellectual skills and participatory skills inspired by Pancasila which is then used as the basis for the implementation of good agriculture as an attempt to balance the ecosystem and as the life of the Indonesian people through the fulfillment of primary needs. Agricultural relations as nature conservation and as economic civic are as follows.

IMPLEMENTATION OF AGRICULTURE, AIMS: NATURE CONSERVATION, ECONOMIC FORM OF CIVIC ECOFARMING			
Pancasila	Operationalization of Pancasila value in agricultural value through philosophy Rice	Komponen Civic Skills	Elements of Intellectual skills and participation
Belief In The One And Only God	Rice is part of the plant roots which serves to absorb water and nutrients from the soil, then transported to the top of the plant reflects the human senses which is a means of self-absorption in the human sciences.	Intellectual Skills	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Identify (marks / shows) 2. Describe (give a description / illustration) 3. Explain (clarifying / interpreting) 4. Analyze 5. Evaluate the opinion / position 6. Use the criteria / standards to make decisions 7. Maintain opinion / position
Just and civilized humanity	Rice stem reflects the human mind as though a science		
The Unity Of Indonesia	Rice leaves reflect human heart that always envelops the mind that science gets value judgment		



			Margaret S. Branson , dkk., (1999:15)
Democracy, led by the inner wisdom of deliberations and representation	Rice interest reflects a synthesis of knowledge and wisdom that produce useful science	Skills participation	1. Interact (including communicatin g, of course) of objects relating to public problems
Social justice for all Indonesian people	Rice fruit is beneficial for other living beings and down reflects the implementation of science without vanity		2. Monitor / monitor political and administrative problems, especially in the handling of public affairs issues 3. Influence the political process, the government either formally or informally
			Margaret S. Branson , dkk., (1999:16)

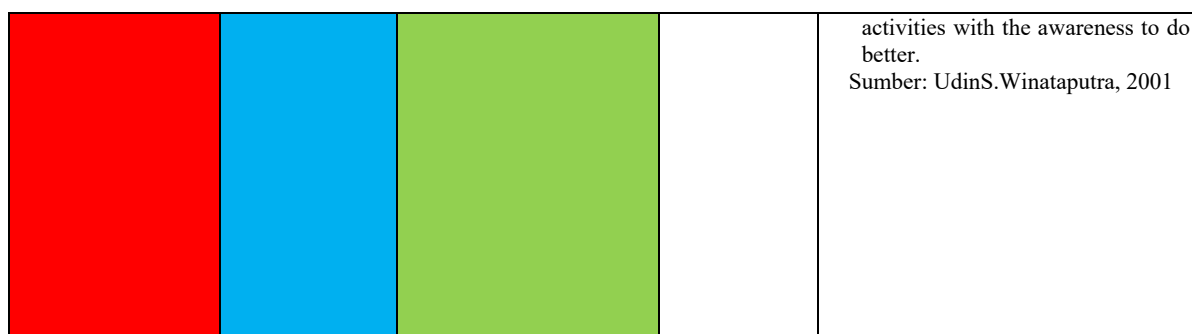
Model 3.developed by Fandy

3. Civic Education and Skills through the implementation of agriculture

An understanding of agriculture to students in line and level of education as a fundamental basis of citizenship skills conducted using grain of the citizenship skills below with agricultural implements through education and teaching. Implementation of agriculture as intellectual skills of citizens by the student garden was ever hosted by opening a farm park in 1941 in Jogjakarta (Ki Hadjar D., 2013: 153). The principle of student garden is a representation of the values of Pancasila, this is evidenced by the statement Soekarno through speech in the book 30 Years celebration student garden. Parks principle students include the nature of nature, independence, nationality, culture, humanity. Human nature means that nature is biological and psychosocial entity between the two entities are entities that the true self or God Almighty (Kierkegaard in hendrikR. Wulf MD, et al., 2015: 204-206). Human biological entities and entities associated with psychosocial nature related to the intellect, the mind and the heart that is the basis of civic skills. Independence is independence of mind and heart to achieve happiness. Culture is the wisdom of every citizen of Indonesia in meresepsi and associate foreign culture for the progress of the nation's culture. Nationality manifests the unity of all ethnicsin Indonesian for the sake of unity and sense of purpose happiness happy hard life. By contrast humanity is the dharma of every human being to another human being for the sake of happiness and unseen.

IMPLEMENTATION OF AGRICULTURE				
Pancasila	The principle of Taman Siswa	Operationalization of Pancasila value in agricultural value through philosophy Rice	component Civic Skills	Grains of civic skills
Belief In The One And Only God	Nature nature	Rice is part of the plant roots which serves to absorb water and		1. The ability to communicate in Indonesian argumentative good

		nutrients from the soil, then transported to the top of the plant reflects the human senses which is a means of self-absorption in the human sciences.	Intellectual Skills	<p>and right on the basis of social responsibility.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Ability to organize in an environment with full awareness and social responsibility. 3. Ability to participate in school or community environment intelligently and full tanggung personal and social responsibility. 4. The ability to make decisions and the individual or group as a smart and responsible. 5. The ability to implement the decision of the appropriate individual or group context dengai responsibly. 6. Ability to communicate cedas and ethical context. 7. Ability to influence public policy in accordance with the norms prevailing in the socio-cultural context of the environment. 8. The ability to build the same crimes on the basis of tolerance, understanding and mutual interestssalaing. 9. Ability to compete to achieve better and more useful. 10. The ability to participate actively discuss social issues intelligently and responsibly. 11. The ability to oppose various forms of harassment against the state Waga skills (civic skills) in a manner that is socially and culturally acceptable. 12. Ability to participate resolve social conflicts in a way that baikdan acceptable. 13. Ability to lead critically analyze social problems by using various existing sources. 14. Ability to lead community activities in a responsible manner. 15. The ability to support a healthy and gave the full sense of responsibility to be leaders in their environment 16. Students have the ability to provide a healthy and sincere support to the democratically elected leaders 17. The ability to perform a variety of social obligations as members of society with full awareness. 18. The ability to build mutual understanding between ethnic, religious, racial, and class in order to maintain the integrity and spirit of kekeluargaan. 19. Ability trying to establish mutual understanding among nations through various communication media available 20. Ability seeks to improve the personal and socio-cultural
Just and civilized humanity	freedom	Rice stem reflects the human mind as though a science		
The Unity Of Indonesia	culture	Rice leaves reflects human heart that always envelops the mind that science get value judgment		
Democracy, led by the inner wisdom of deliberations and representation	nationality	Rice interest reflects a synthesis of knowledge and wisdom that produce useful science	Skills participation	
Social justice for all Indonesian people	humanity	Rice fruit is beneficial for other living beings and down reflects the implementation of science without vanity		



Model 4.developed byFandy

C. CONCLUSION

In a democratic society, citizens are decision makers. To make decisions that reflect smart and good citizenship, civic skills have a significant role. Such decision makings by citizens must be supported by a set of citizenship skills. Citizenship skills include intellectual skills and participatory skills in the life of the nation (Margaret S. Branson, et. al., 1999: 8).

Indonesian nation citizenship skills are based on some reasonable considerations, namely; first, the function and role of agriculture is fundamental as life and living space for the people of Indonesia, meaning that on the basis of primary importance in life is to maintain the presence of oxygen, the civic skills of Indonesia based on the primacy of the interests of nature conservation through farming. Second, the balance of the ecosystem affects the social system. That is imbalance soil, water, air, and this part of other ecosystems will affect the flow of energy, materials and information submitted to the social system, and subsequent social system otherwise would affect the ecosystem. The influence of reciprocity between them makes the selection and adaptation by each individual in society. To strike a balance between adaptation and selection between them, the civic skills through intellectual skills components of citizens and civic participation skills should maintain the balance of the ecosystem through farming. Third, agriculture requires the implementation of Pancasila philosophy of the Indonesian people. That is, the implementation of civic skills consisting of intellectual skills and participatory skills inspired by Pancasila which is then used as the basis for the implementation of good agriculture is an attempt to balance the ecosystem and as the Indonesian people's lives through the fulfillment of primary needs. On the basis of these ideas, understanding of agriculture to students in line and level of education serves as a fundamental basis of citizenship skills conducted using citizenship.

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Adherence to the Principles of Bandung: Is Asia Harnessing the Fruits of the Spirit?

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Abstract

The originators of the Bandung Conference and their cooperators were smart. When the world was rapidly dividing into two camps, their ability to forge a common entity, a unified front and more importantly a set of mutually acceptable and binding goals, which effectively created a third force, was timely. Interestingly these originators, all Asians, having led the way, brought together states, many of which differed in policy and outlook, yet possessed a common goal. Today, the emergence of Asian giants, tigers or power houses, however they may be termed, has given the region, new strength, fresh breath and more importantly, relevance once again. Size does not matter. Whilst Sri Lanka, the country in which the five leaders first met and embarked on the Bandung journey, has maintained an annual growth rate of 7.3%, China and India are not too far away or apart with 7.7% and 6.9% respectively. ASEAN has bonded well, cementing a sizable portion of the region, while SAARC has attempted cooperation at a differing degree. Heavy weights have proved their might, but unfortunately muscle has masked meaningful exchange. Yet resilience remains a cornerstone. This paper highlights that sheer moral commitment and cooperation sixty years ago tore into a bipolar world. Shouldn't and couldn't the Asia of today, rightly assert her role in the international realm while playing a pivotal part in building on the Bandung Spirit that she nurtured? Misgivings need to dissipate. Trust re-established. Mutual cooperation conceived. Sovereignty respected. Equality ensured. Non-interference invoked. Then, and only then, this Paper strives to argue, will Asia sincerely fulfill its optimum potential and revitalize the Bandung Spirit.

Key Words: *Bandung Spirit; Non-Alignment; Asia; ASEAN; Regionalism; China*

Introduction

Asia, a region that was newly independent, having awoken after decades, if not centuries, of colonialism was stepping onto the international stage. Historically ancient, yet tender, budding nations in their relative infancy, Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan mooted an initiative in 1954 in Colombo that grew in nature, in policy and in adherents. It appeared that sheer moral commitment and cooperation sixty years ago was tearing into a bipolar world. A difference was wrought, or at least attempts were made, to ensure that the slide to either side was curtailed and stalled, as Asian leaders took on the responsibility of providing an option; adherence to ten principles which they had collectively agreed upon.

The move was smart. This paper endeavors to argue that a form of 'soft power' amalgamating soft power and smart power long before the theory was conceptualized in the sphere of international relations and the reliance on idealism, has been jointly advocated in Asia.

Furthermore it raises the questions, as to whether Asia has adhered to the principles of Bandung? Has the region been able to build on the principles of Bandung? Couldn't and shouldn't the Asia of today harness the fruits of the Spirit and surge ahead?

Whilst a direct descendent, that being the Non-Aligned Movement, has grown, floundered, been praised and debated upon, the founding principles stand in their own right and are of relevance today, more than ever before. Bandung's *raison d'être* has been and continues to be, its Spirit, urging and nurturing adherents to respect the principles of non-interference, cooperation and equality among others.

Today, the emergence of Asian giants, tigers or power houses, however they may be termed, has given the region, new strength, fresh breath and more importantly, relevance once again. It is time therefore to harness the spirit of Bandung, harvest and realize the significance of its fruit and sow once again for the century ahead.

In briefly examining the vision once formulated for Asia, the rise and convergence of South East Asia and the role played today by China, this paper would attempt to underscore the significance and impact of the Bandung journey for a region, sub-region and a nation. Consummating that which was envisaged, Asia of today, having embarked upon a new and invigorating journey sixty years ago, has arrived on the world stage, as a power house to be reckoned with. It is an example of a heterogeneous society, a melting pot of styles of governance and most importantly, a region abounding in opportunity.

Such promising prospects were not created overnight. Nor would they would be enjoyed in similar vein. Conflicts, disagreements, irritants, violations and numerous other travesties have been overcome, yet some tend to persist thereby polluting the success story that Asia has the potential to be. Emboldened by the past, considerate of her actions and passionate in her journey, Asia is on a steady path which none can change. The manner in which the journey is continued remains the key factor in determining the character of the region, the integrity of her leaders and the resilience of her people. It is at this juncture that the principles of Bandung, laboured over sixty years ago, gain relevance, timeliness and respect. They could be labeled the smart option for the twenty first century.

Colombo, Bogor and Bandung– The Journey Begins

The middle of the fifties in general and the period surrounding the 1954 Conference were particularly significant given developments occurring in and outside the region which would have a bearing on the idea being discussed in Colombo and Kandy.¹ On the western front, while Moscow had attempted to reach out and offered to join NATO on the condition that the West joined the Soviet European security treaty, US, Britain and France spurned the offer of Russian membership thus aggravating relations. The US further fueled irritation with atmospheric nuclear tests at Bikini Island and Enwetak within the space of a week, and Chiang Kai-shek became president of Nationalist China.

Ceylon, having been invited by the United States of America to join SEATO, had been urged by the United Kingdom to convene a special meeting of the Colombo Powers and given a deadline

¹...the Colombo Conference met in the midst of decisive events. Twenty four days before it opened, Pakistan on the 2nd April 1954 signed a military agreement with Turkey – its first step towards membership of the Baghdad Pact; the idea of SEATO was promulgated fifteen days before the Colombo Conference; Dien Bien Phu fell five days after it ended; and seventeen days later, on the 19th May 1954, the Pakistan-United States military agreement was signed. ...the day after the Conference opened came the announcement of the agreement between India and China on Tibet...'
– G. H. Jansen, *Afro-Asia and Non-Alignment*, London, Faber & Faber, 1966, pp, 147-48.

to decide on its stance. Consultations had been held with Burma, Pakistan and Indonesia on their interest, with Nehru refusing to join the Asian equivalent of NATO.² As Dickens quite aptly claimed, albeit a century earlier, ‘it was the best of times; it was the worst of times.’³ Irrespective of the nature of these varied developments, both globally and regionally, the period was profoundly difficult.

The world continued its rapid division into two camps, as the Prime Ministers convened and agreed upon twelve points in 1954 through which they ‘...made an attempt to find broad areas of agreement-common objectives which would serve as a foundation for Asian solidarity.’⁴ These points which laid the foundation for the deliberations at Bogor and Bandung were seen to be ‘a triumph for the cause of neutralism and non-alignment’⁵ coming as they did as a response of the developing world to the deteriorating global condition.

The stance adopted, whilst considered brave, given the ramifications such action could portend for the future of their own respective nations, indicated the finding of middle ground. With neither the ability to wield weapons and military might, nor possessing large financial and economic resource bases with which to exert power in known forms, in the world, the concept of veering away from either bloc and instead articulating an innovative and independent position, was prudent. Indicating the need for giving life and meaning to their own new-found independence from a colonial past, nations were resolute in formulating a fresh outlook and forging a new path.

While Joseph Nye sees smart power as an ‘approach’ which looks at how power is exercised, he argues that it has its roots in American policy. He further notes that smart power relates to an amalgamation of hard and soft power. On the contrary, what was witnessed in 1955 was neither the demonstration of hard or soft power but an invigorated form of leadership, sound guidance and a novel projection, based on the principles of Bandung. This hybrid of soft and smart power gave impetus to the grouping. It found a way and guaranteed cooperation in the most effective and efficient manner possible.

As a technique, it combined neutrality, non-alignment, equality as well as cooperation into one entity. Through their own example, ways of persuasion, clear strategy and concise forethought, Bandung laid down a firm foundation upon which nations could build their own societies. Circumventing the extreme positions, this third way provided a wiser, timely and opportune moment to ensure the preservation of the main principles that they commonly respected and represented.

Bandung therefore presented a fresh beginning, with countries yearning for the need to collaborate their efforts, in forging a common defensive stance, consolidating their new found sovereignty, reviving their economies, promoting their cultures, and most importantly, expressing in the most unequivocal terms their desire for peace, and non-alignment with the two nascent military blocs emerging at the time, NATO and the Warsaw Pact.⁶

²H. S. S. Nissanka, *Sri Lanka’s Foreign Policy – A Study of Non-Alignment*, Godage, Colombo, re. 2010, p 52

³Charles Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*, 1859

⁴Nissanka, *Sri Lanka’s Foreign Policy*, p 49.

⁵Ibid.

⁶ ‘It has been stressed continuously that the political ideologies represented were varied, methods of governance, diverse and personalities present in Bandung, strong. The diversity in 1955 was unique. ‘The differences among these countries were many in their foreign relations some of them had committed themselves to various military pacts and had thoroughly involved themselves in cold war politics. Yet the conveners believed that the 29 countries participating

Interestingly the often misquoted or misunderstood notion of neutrality being “...similar to aligning with the enemy or being ready to do as much...”⁷ was argued against and denounced vehemently with ‘...Bandaranaike’s definition of neutralism ... cited as one of the lucid expositions of the doctrine....’⁸ Welcoming Marshal Tito to Colombo in 1959, he opined that ‘We are very much ‘committed’ – we are committed to the hilt - to peace in a positive form, to friendship amongst all nations and to the peace and prosperity and happiness of all mankind.’⁹

The convening of the Colombo Powers on the eve of Bandung, in Bogor ‘created much hope in the minds of the enlightened Asians and Africans. The purposes ... were well-conceived and they were just what the Third World, at that stage, needed to achieve.’¹⁰ The aims of Bandung, which were laid down at this preparatory conference included consideration of problems affecting national sovereignty, racism and colonialism, three pivotal issues upon which collective agreement was reached.

In the face of possible disinterest or unwillingness of countries to cooperate, Nehru was categorical in underscoring the commitment of India. Whilst some came to the table halfheartedly or in order to test the new concept, he was unequivocal in his willingness to even ‘stand alone...whatever happens’¹¹ Nehru was convinced, as were his co-organizers, that the need of hour was the emergence of a fresh outlook, ‘It is most degrading and humiliating to any self-respecting people or nation. It is an intolerable thought to me that the great countries of Asia and Africa should come out of bondage into freedom only to degrade themselves or humiliate themselves in this way. . . .’¹²

Having led the way in 1955, Asia continued to play an instrumental role in the subsequent movement of non-alignment that emerged, and does so to date. While it is inappropriate to elaborate on the Non-Aligned Movement without reference to Bandung, it is possible, to highlight

could find (to quote Sir John Kotelawala) “the greatest common measure of agreement”.’ - Nissanka, *Sri Lanka’s Foreign Policy*, p59.

⁷ Tamara K. Nopper, ‘*The Illusion of Afro-Asian solidarity? : Situating the 1955 Bandung Conference*’ - <http://tamaranopper.com/2008/08/17/58/>

⁸ “‘We have to build up a new society for ourselves which best suits the genius of our country. We should like to get some ideas and some principles from this side and some from the other, until a coherent form of society is made up that suits our own people in the context of the changing world of today. That is why we do not range ourselves on the side of this power bloc or that power bloc. That is the philosophy of neutralism. It is not something dishonest, it is not a matter of sitting in the fence to see whether we can get the best of both worlds. It is a position that inexorably thrust upon us by the circumstances of the case. It is a position that will be of great help in the world situation today for we do provide a bridge over the gulf between the two opposing factions.’” Vernon L. B. Mendis, *Foreign Relations of Sri Lanka – From earliest times to 1965*, Tisara, Dehiwela, 1983, pp 433-34.

⁹*Speeches and Writings – S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike* – Government Press, Colombo, p445.

¹⁰Nissanka, *Sri Lanka’s Foreign Policy*, p 59.

¹¹ ‘I belong to neither and I propose to belong to neither whatever happens in the world. If we have to stand alone, we will stand by ourselves, whatever happens (and India has stood alone without any aid against a mighty Empire, the British Empire) and we propose to face all consequences. . .’ Jawaharlal Nehru - G. M. Kahin, *The Asian-African Conference* (Cornell University Press, 1956), pp. 64-72. - <http://legacy.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1955nehru-bandung2.html>

¹²Jawaharlal Nehru - G. M. Kahin, *The Asian-African Conference* (Cornell University Press, 1956), pp. 64-72. - <http://legacy.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1955nehru-bandung2.html>

the guiding principles of Bandung in their own right. This paper attempts to do just that. The ten principles of Bandung reached out to the peoples of the world. Whilst being in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations and reiterating certain aspects of it, Bandung strove and succeeded in setting reinvigorated benchmarks in governance, international relations and diplomacy.

Given that a nation's foreign policy is an extension of its domestic policy, Bandung laid emphasis on stimulating inter-state relations and ensuring non-interference, safeguarding sovereignty and protecting peoples, recognizing the need for equality and sustaining the fundamental rights of humanity, as well as the promotion of justice, mutual interest and cooperation. In addition to being features relevant to internal governance, these principles established a firm foundation on which to build a harmonious international society. Lest we forget, the UN Charter was in operation at this time, although some of its signatories were rapidly moving away, if not choosing to abandon some of principles enshrined therein, in the pursuit of power and domination. It is in this context that Bandung's relevance grew and continues to thrive.

A reiteration, recognition and resurgence of belief in an international system that would ensure peaceful co-existence, cooperation and equality formed the bedrock upon which Bandung convened. In a hypothetical situation in which they had capitulated to the demands of the blocs, aligned themselves with either and toed the policies emanating from Washington or Moscow, the world could and many argue, would, have been a different place.

The question then is has Asia, over the last sixty years, adhered to the principles of Bandung? Given the noble goals with which nations met, principles were agreed upon and pledges made, have they been implemented and upheld? Or has the region splintered, her values been rendered asunder and aspirations killed?

Pacifism found refuge in Asia, or it could be conversely argued Asia found refuge in pacifism. This ideology and the idealist approach have been widely used across the Asian region. The campaigns of non-violence and non-aggression advocated and followed, the repeated calls for the declaration of a peace zone in the Indian Ocean region, the belief in the doctrine of the Middle Path, the institutionalization of the ten countries in South East Asia, attempts in similar spirit among the eight countries of South Asia, the political and moral support forthcoming through the Non Aligned Movement, the promotion of non-interference in internal affairs, the numerous trade partnerships overcoming tariffs and taxes, the heightened cultural exchanges given the rich tapestry of tradition and heritage as well as a plethora of other areas of cooperation stand testimony to the adherence to and advocacy of the principles of Bandung, the preservation of its Spirit and most importantly the avoidance of overt conflict and violence.

Is Asia therefore a success story? Has Bandung not been in vain? While an analysis of the whole of the Asian region would be exhaustive and require a detailed country-by-country comparison it wouldn't be practical owing to the magnitude, inherent concerns as well as numerous disputes that have arisen over the last six decades, many of which linger on in various stages of manifestation. As a region, it may be argued that idealism is very much an inherent trait given the socio-religious dimension of the countries represented. However in practice the reality seems to claim otherwise, as nationalism, socialism, national interest, power struggles, territory disputes, marine disputes among a plethora of others come to the surface portraying the strong promotion of realism, when looking back on sixty years. Despite such a notion, it needs to be said that Asia as a whole has evolved greatly. From a region of re-born nations, crawling onto the world stage once more in a period of renewal and rejuvenation, to be able to ascend to the powers many of her nations have become, is undeniably remarkable.

Asia, the Regional Context

As the planet's largest and most populace continent covering an expanse of 44, 579, 000 km². Asia is home to roughly 60% of the world's population. The region possesses the second largest nominal GDP of all continents, but the largest when measured in purchasing power parity. Whilst China and India have grown by leaps and bounds, maintaining annual growth in the 1990s and early 2000s at more than 8%, today their economies stand as giants on the Asian domain. ASEAN has bonded well, cementing a sizable portion of the region, whilst surging forward, and SAARC has attempted cooperation at a differing degree. Heavy weights have proved their might, but unfortunately muscle has masked meaningful exchange. Yet resilience has remained a cornerstone with all-out war having been avoided.

It was, of such an Asia that Bandaranaike, addressing the Asian Relations Conference in 1947, well before the dawn of independence broke over much of the region, spoke of in terms of a vision. Imbibed with hope, he looked to '...a federation of free and equal Asian states, working not merely for our own advantage, but for the progress and peace of all mankind.'¹³ Nehru, too articulating the regional policy of India hoped that '...the countries of Asia...make it clear to those warring factions and those great countries that are so explosively bitter against each other that they themselves will remain cool and not enter the arena of warfare whatever happens and that they will try at least to restrict the area of conflict...'¹⁴

The 'peace area' that Nehru strove to establish, was mooted by Mrs Bandaranaike in 1964 and reiterated in 1970. The aim of the vigorous campaign mounted by Sri Lanka at the time was to eradicate imperialism while contributing to world disarmament and preventing a possible clash in the region.¹⁵ Although the Indian Ocean Peace Zone concept didn't succeed, ASEAN in 1997 was able to declare the South East Asia region a nuclear weapon free zone. Being home to several nuclear warheads, Asia has proven her ability to function in a responsible manner, to date. The commitment to peace reverberates when considering that Asia today stands as the largest contributor of troops to the UN for peacekeeping operations the world over. 'Bangladesh, Pakistan and India have consistently occupied the top 3 places of top troop contributor lists for almost a decade. (United Nations 2005 – 2013)'¹⁶

Asia was and continues to be ahead in a multiplicity of fields which, although advocated by the West now, were being implemented by the East a century ago. Universal suffrage was entrenched in many of countries decades ahead of its emergence in other regions. Equality for

¹³'If Asia is free, reasonably strong and united, that future conflict may well be averted. If she is weak, disunited and unfree, then there is not much hope either for her or for this world. ...The only remedy is for us to make a supreme effort to achieve unity and harmony in Asia; unity in our own countries, as well as amongst different lands. ...I am sure that it is the hope of all of us that this Conference is only the beginning of something much greater a federation of free and equal Asian states, working not merely for our own advantage, but for the progress and peace of all mankind. It is, a high ideal, but not one, I venture to hope, that is impossible of attainment.' - , 'Speeches and Writings - S. W. R D. Bandaranaike' - "United and Harmony in Asia" –Opening Plenary of the Asian Relations Conference, New Delhi, March 1947 - Government Press, Colombo pp 348-349.

¹⁴Biriy Gajameragedara, *Sri Lanka and the Powers*, Godage, Colombo, 2011, p145

¹⁵Nissanka, *Sri Lanka's Foreign Policy*, p264.

¹⁶Priscilla Cabuyao, *UN Peacekeeping: Bangladesh, India and Pakistan's Troop Contributions*, <http://www.e-ir.info/2014/06/18/un-peacekeeping-bangladesh-india-and-pakistans-top-troop-contributions/>

women surpassed that which was enjoyed by their counterparts in the West, with Ceylon producing the first woman prime minister. A strong advocate of non-aligned principles, Sirimavo Bandaranaike wielded the spirit of Bandung with aplomb on the world stage. She ‘...became an icon for the empowerment of women, nearly a decade and a half before the United Nations invited her to be the keynote speaker at its first World Conference on Women in 1975 in Mexico.’¹⁷

Home to a flourishing array of religions, ‘...religious diversity for a region (just) the size of Southeast Asia (alone) is unparalleled...’¹⁸

At the other extreme, it is this diversity, heterogeneous composition and vibrancy that has created contentions yet provided the solution in overcoming them too. Asia has faced and endured untold levels of poverty which have been and are being addressed in new and innovative ways; massive population growth and its resulting implications that have burdened, yet increased manpower and potential; natural disasters that have taken a significant toll on person and property, but increased levels of resilience and improved facilities thereafter; and financial crises that have crippled economies in the short term, strengthened them subsequently.

Asia also gives credence to the notion that size does not matter. Economies and their leadership have proven time and again that although might and muscle can overpower at times, right and resilience play a key role in determining the course the region and her members have traversed. While the heavyweights have played ball, their smaller counterparts have certainly not been sitting it out on the benches.

On the political front, at the contentious height of animosity between India and China, Sri Lanka was able to play an instrumental role in allaying tension and diffusing a possible outbreak of war. Similarly, internal conflicts bearing the threat and scourge of terrorism have been thwarted, and security restored, as in the case, once again, of Sri Lanka. From an economic perspective, Singapore with her dynamic economy was transformed from relative obscurity, to become ‘...one of the world’s most prosperous countries with strong international trading links.’¹⁹ The Maldives and Bhutan have collectively testified to the positive effect of tourism on an economy generating record percentages against their respective GDPs. The Republic of Korea has generated rampant economic development as the woes of the past have been adequately addressed.

The examples, indicators and aspects of this diverse region, continue to amaze the most cynical of critics. Despite irritants erupting within the Asian region, mainly between neighbors, across borders and straits, and betwixt adversaries of doctrine and policy, over the last sixty years, these countries have been able to overcome with resolve and determination, their differences, to a large extent. Boding well, this assimilation, understanding and constructive advancement has resulted in the harvesting of the produce, the seeds of which were sown in Bandung.

ASEAN – Epitome of Asian Regionalism

Emerging as it did, a decade or so after Bandung, the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) has become the Asian epitome of regionalism, promoting sound practices, preserving peace and engineering prosperity. Amid the vicissitudes wrought by a challenging environment

¹⁷ManelAbeysekera, ‘Madame Sirimavo R. D. Bandaranaike; Her Advocacy of Women’s Rights Nationally and Globally’, ed. TissaJayatillaka, *Sirimavo*, Colombo, p159.

¹⁸Richard Butwell, *Southeast Asia Today and Tomorrow: Problems of Political Development*, Praeger, New York, 1969, p7.

¹⁹<http://www.mfa.gov.sg/content/dam/mfa/images/om/Pekanbaru/press/Jan11SingaporeIndonesia.pdf>.

that prevailed pre and post-Bandung, in this particular sub-region, it may be noted that the Spirit pervaded, inspired and ensured the establishment of what is considered today to be one of the success stories in regionalism. This success is believed to originate in the ‘...very fact that ASEAN has so far prevented its members from going to war with one another, given that ASEAN was considered as the Balkans of the East in the 1960s.’²⁰ Through reflection upon ‘Joseph Nye’s notion of “islands of peace”, it could be argued that ASEAN’s *raison d’être* has been mainly about regional reconciliation...’²¹ which has played a key role in binding countries which are diverse in politics, ideology and history.

The thirst for economic development resulted in the advancement of common goals among its original members who were determined to accelerate economic growth, social progress and cultural development while promoting regional peace and stability, and ensuring mutual cooperation. Drawing on Bandung, it could be argued, these principles resonated with those articulated a decade earlier.

Whilst ASEAN continued to evolve it reflected further the Spirit of Bandung, through ‘the Treaty of Amity of Cooperation (TAC) ... (which) came into force in 1976... (as) a formal conflict management and conflict resolution mechanism in the region. A salient feature of the TAC was its establishment of a code of conduct among regional states according to explicitly prescribed, universally accepted principles and its provision for the peaceful settlement of disputes.’²²

Of distinct importance are the basic principles enshrined in the TAC which not only reiterated, but augmented, the thinking which was synonymous with Bandung.²³ This resonance has been enhanced even further through the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) which progresses from the ‘...promotion of confidence-building measures, to development of preventive diplomacy mechanisms, to development of conflict resolution mechanisms.’²⁴ As a body which covers a larger portion of Asia and reaches out to the West, the ARF is considered to be the world’s largest security discussion forum aimed at ‘...achieving long-term peace by fostering a sense of mutual trust.’²⁵

In highlighting the epitome of Asian regionalism, ASEAN’s ever increasing integration, mutual cooperation and steadfast support, members share amongst themselves and through their fast growing bodies, especially ARF, the immense opportunity, vast potential and the resolute commitment to reconciliation, management of conflict and aversion to violence. All of these are principles echoing that which was evolved through Bandung.

²⁰Mely Caballero-Anthony, ‘The Regionalization of Peace in Asia’, ed. Michael Pugh and Waheguru Pal Singh Sidhu, *The United Nations and Regional Security*, Lynne Rienner, Colorado, 2003, p197.

²¹Ibid. p197.

²²Ibid. p198.

²³Ibid. - ‘These basic principles are: (1) mutual respect for the independence, sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity, and national identity of all nations; (2) the right of every state to lead its national existence free from external interference, subversion, and coercion; (3) noninterference in the internal affairs of one another; (4) settlement of differences or disputes by peaceful means; (5) renunciation of threat or use of force; (6) effective cooperation among members.’

²⁴Ibid. p200.

²⁵ Sheldon W. Simon, *The ASEAN Regional Forum: Beyond the Talk Shop?*, The National Bureau of Asian Research, <http://www.nbr.org/publications/element.aspx?id=676>.

China – A Direct Beneficiary?

A national examination of the Spirit of '55 and its implementation, in relation to China, given her presence sixty years ago and her role today, this paper argues, provides a clearer understanding of the embodiment of the principles in the domestic and foreign policy of a country.

Bandung announced to the world that China had arrived on the international stage as a possible world power. Given the domestic contentions in China with the differing policies of Mao Zedong and Chou Enlai on the path the country should follow, 1955 provided an opportunity for Chou Enlai to articulate the role he envisioned for his country and the nature of his style of governance. Dispelling misgivings and assuaging prejudice, the Chinese Premier led China into the global arena with his own *savoir-flair* style of diplomacy.²⁶

Although communist, China had been able to reach out to countries which were vehemently opposed to such an ideology, especially through the spheres of trade and commerce. China has done so with immense success, in all corners of the world since 1955 and is today a formidable player on the world stage. The newly formed Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), which is set to rival the Bretton Woods institutions, has marked the presence of 57 countries so far. The desire for the United Kingdom, France, Germany and Italy to join the AIIB signals not just the potential of the bank but the attention it has received from the West. This in turn forebodes well for the Asian region, in which it is headquartered. Geared towards achieving Asia's growing investment needs, the US\$50 billion dollar bank intends revolutionizing the infrastructure industry, aiding development and taking the Chinese success story to the region and beyond.²⁷

Having reached out and strengthened relations in Asia and in Africa over the last several decades, China's latest venture into Latin America has proved noteworthy. Premier Li Keqiang's visits to Brazil, Chile, Columbia and Peru in May 2015 sought to further strengthen trade and commerce links with direct investment in Latin America set to reach US\$250 billion over the next decade. Having eclipsed the United States as the top destination for South American exports, China is currently Latin America's biggest annual creditor.²⁸ The latest visit is but one, into a region that has come to rely heavily on China and is symptomatic of the influence that this once distant and relatively inward looking country has come to signify.

Chou Enlai succeeded in dispelling communist qualms and apprehensions that existed 60 years ago and thrust China into the global arena. Xi Jinping has marked the milestone with far reaching vision and cemented the position of China as a key leader, in world affairs. His initiatives in resurrecting the ancient Silk Road and thereby creating an 'economic belt' has widely enhanced the influence of China not only across the Asian region but beyond into Africa, the Middle East and Europe as investments are targeted in the areas of road, rail, port and pipelines across 65 countries.

²⁶'If we follow the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's domestic affairs, equality and mutual benefit, the peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems can be realized. When these principles are ensured of implementation there is no reason why international disputes cannot be settled through negotiation.' – Chou Enlai – Paul E. Sigmund, *The Ideologies of Developing Countries*, Praeger, London, 1963, pp54-55.

²⁷Joseph Stiglitz – 'In defence of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank' - <http://www.theguardian.com/business/2015/apr/14/in-defence-of-the-asian-infrastructure-investment-bank>

²⁸<http://finance.yahoo.com/news/chinas-pivot-latin-america-220003651.html>

Auguring well for South-South cooperation, the fast changing tide in which China gradually assumes a higher, if not the highest role in the international hierarchy stands testimony to the fruit of Bandung that is being reaped today. As a new champion of smart power, the way Nye cast it, China has gone beyond hard and soft power. Possessing military prowess, economic and financial dexterity and venturing into a multitude of sectors and territories, China could be regarded as the direct heir of the Bandung spirit. It needs to be understood in the Asian context, and the region as a whole may lay claim to the success of an Asian neighbor.

Conclusion

Asia's ability to conceive and bear a common entity, a unified front and more importantly a set of mutually acceptable and binding goals, which effectively created a third force, was timely. It is thus reiterated that Bandung's *raison d'être* has been its Spirit of urging and nurturing adherents to respect the principles of non-interference, cooperation and equality. Has it succeeded? It has, and the commemoration of the 60th anniversary is testimony to this success. The degree though, remains part of a contentious debate in which advocates and adversaries would engage well past the century.

Today Asia possesses military and financial might, yet the status quo in '55 remains relevant and timely. Through the deployment of a combination of soft power and smart power, in an evolved format, Asia was able to chart a hitherto unexplored, and hence unsurpassed course which aided the process of transformation, supported the conscience of nations and augmented the policies implemented by each country that make up the great Asian region.

The medicine thus far for the ailments affecting the region have been correct, to the extent that the patient hasn't been killed, though recovery has been swift at times, slow at others and greatly pained in some situations. The crux of the matter remains however that the virtues of the region, the principles of Bandung and the resilience of the people have been and still are, the key to success. When having relied on noble features inherent in the peoples and nations of Asia, and with due focus on the achievement of idealist goals, the region has prospered. Likewise when engaging in resuscitating age-old conflicts, compromising positions of security and antagonizing neighbors, the region as a whole has suffered and would, continue to suffer, in a realistic sense.

The die was cast 60 years ago. In a new dawn of trust, cooperation, non-interference, respect and equality, Asia, as a power house, a leading region and a force to be reckoned with, has the potential. However for such an occurrence in its truest meaning, misgivings need to dissipate; trust re-established; mutual cooperation re-conceived; sovereignty respected; equality ensured; non – interference guaranteed. Then and only then will Asia sincerely fulfill its optimum potential and revitalize the Bandung Spirit.

Five Asian men attempted to challenge and change a lopsided world, by charting a new course in bringing together one continent and inviting another. It is imperative that the Asia of today, recollecting and reiterating their commitment, forge ahead and assume her role in global politics, international affairs and be recognized within the realm of international relations. Asia should and could achieve such, with the Spirit of Bandung, as a beacon of hope, leading the way.

‘For the first time in history the voice of Asia and Africa, forged not
by a chorus of ‘yes men’ but built on the greatest common measure of agreement
among free men freely expressing their views has been heard. It is a still, small voice
devoid of might or money. But it expresses certain civilized values which the men
of the atomic and cold war age are apt to forget.

It stands for human and international decency, for faith in the intrinsic goodness of man and the belief that only through peace can men know and achieve progress.²⁹

Bandung, 1955

²⁹Nayani Melegoda, *The Polices of Three Prime Ministers of Ceylon: 1948 – 1956*, Wijesooriya Grantha, 2000, p231.
– quoting The Times of India – 26 April 1955

Learning Social Studies Through Symbolic Values Represented in Siti Hinggil Buildings at Kasepuhan Palace Cirebon

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ABSTRACT

The objective of this research was to identify the symbolic values represented in *Sitihinggil* Buildings that can be used as materials for local value based social studies (IPS). *Sitihinggil* is a building complex located inside the Baluwarti of Kasepuhan Palace in Cirebon, West Java province. Some moral derailment issues existed in community nowadays which go against local wisdom values. This becomes the major reasons why this research was conducted. Western lifestyle as the results of globalization and modernization has slowly but surely eradicated local wisdom values that have been existed for hundred years. Learning activities using local cultures may become alternative solutions to tackle the moral derailment issues in young generations and help them to encounter the challenge of globalization and modernization era. However, in order to integrate local wisdom contents into teaching activities an effort is needed to identify which values are relevant to social studies learning in school. By using a qualitative study, this research collected data through observations, interviews, documentary studies, and discovering cultural themes analysis on *Sitihinggil* buildings. This research has successfully found that there were substantial and procedural values in the building. Substantial values include religious teaching and procedural values include norms that regulate relationship among people and character building. Those values can be traced in the building of *Mande Malang Suminrang*, *Mande Semar Tinandu*, *Mandu Pandawalima*, *Mande Karesmen*, and *Mande Pengiring*. Therefore, it can be concluded that *Sitihinggil* building in Kasepuhan Palace in Cirebon can be used as learning media to facilitate the learning of values in social studies classes. It implies that learning through local wisdom values is of beneficial to develop the values of character of students, and improve their affections towards local wisdom values.

Keywords: Sitihinggil, modernization and globalization, local wisdom, character education.

I. INTRODUCTION

Dichotomy between modern and traditional society has resulted in a perception among young generations that modern society is more advanced and promising than traditional. Referring to the theory of labeling, misbehaviors among young teenagers are the results of inferiority in which those young people feel that if they do not cope with modern things, they will be outdated people. Therefore, in order to modernize themselves, and become more updated people, young generations tend to neglect their local identity and copy modern lifestyles without having awareness that those modern life styles are in contrast to their own local wisdoms.

Local wisdom that teaches people about togetherness, spirituality, religion, and harmony with natures has been changed by individualist, secularist, hedonist, and materialist lifestyles. Things get worst when moral derailment in modern society was adopted by young age to become their daily lifestyles.

Those phenomenon are the results of modernism which Harvey (1998) identifies as “the optimistic pillars of western modernization (the idea of progress), reasoning (ratio), universalism (grand narrative), and science” (Sutrisno & Putranto, 2005, 272). According to Lickona (1991), demoralization is also prevalent in young generations in the United States including violence and vandalism, stealing, cheating, disrespect for authority, peer cruelty, bigotry, bad language, sexual

precocity and abuse, increasing self-centeredness and self-destructive behavior. The phenomenon has now also existed in Indonesia and it takes in many forms such as cheating, disrespect for authority, and bad language. And even they are not only prevalent in young generations, but also in adults such as politicians, bureaucrats, businessman, artist, and even religion preachers.

Modernity tends to lead to secularism. According to Ismail (2004, 78), secularism and atheist education system have significant weaknesses as follows: (1) it fails to develop social ideas among students; (2) it fails to plant moral values that comes from within among young generations; (3) it fails to fulfill demands from modern society in science and technology; and (4) it lacks integrated paradigms and principles. Therefore, religious and spiritual approaches are the most appropriate ones to develop character values among young generations.

Social Studies subject in school is a community, cultural, and environmental based learning activities delivered to students. The mission of the social studies in schools is: *The major goal of social studies is to prepare citizens who can make reflective decisions and participate successfully in civic life of their communities, nation, and the world. Goals in four categories contribute to this major goals: (1) knowledge, (2) skills, (3) attitudes and values, and (4) citizen action*” (Bank’s and Clegg (1990, 4). As an environmental based subject, social studies must be able to accommodate its surrounding environment as both subject and object of learning. What is meant by environment here is all entities ranging from the smallest environment to global world community.

Artifacts from the era of Islamic Kingdom of Cirebon built in the 15th century strongly standstill up today. One of the artifacts is Sitihinggil located in front area of Baluwarti at Kasepuhan Palace in Cirebon. The building is unique since even though it was built by Sunan Gunung Jati, a prominent Islamic preacher in West Java region, it still retains its Hinduism and Buddhism identities. The symbolic values represented in the building surely can be used as materials for social studies learning in school. Then, there is a question: what symbolic values can be used as teaching materials for social studies? This research was carried out to find the answers to the question.

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS AND RESEARCH METHOD

Palace complex is a heritage building that needs to preserve. J.J. Honigman (1959) divides culture into three forms as follows: (1) ideas, (2) activities, and (3) artifacts (in Koentjoroningrat, 1980: 200). Meanwhile, Bakker (1984: 30-47) identifies six components resulted from culture: knowledge, technology, social, economic, arts, and religion. Interpretativists view culture as a symbolic system with the intention to create feeling and motivation which are strong, easy to spread, and prevalence for a long period of time in an individual through developing conceptions. Those are conceptions about the existence of public order. The conceptions were then put in factual realities which led to the feeling and motivation of unique realities (Geerts, 2003: 5).

Referring to Geertz’s Theory, artifacts consisted in Sitihinggil building in Kasepuhan Palace can be studied using interpretative semiotics and hermeneutics approach. Furthermore, Hendrawan (2004: 2) identifies that formal aspect of a physical culture artifact lies on their creation to transform data, facts, situations, and events which occur naturally and become values for human being.

This research employed an ethnographic qualitative method with explorative, descriptive, and explanation approaches. According to Widagdo (2008), those approaches include in post factum or expose facto research (in Hendriyana, 2009, 36). Since Sitihinggil was built in the end of the 15 century, and it still exists up to today, those approaches were the best ones to employ in studying those cultural sites. The data was collected through observation, interviews, and documentary studies. Observation was conducted to get factual information about physical condition of the

building. By using visual pictures, this study observed the structures of the building and how it formed. Meanwhile, interview was intended to get in depth information about symbolical meanings of the building. The documentary study was intended to trace back to the history of the building and identify what previous research say about it.

This research employed a snowball sampling technique in all data collection process including interview with Sultan Sepuh XV, Prince Raja Adipati Arief Natadiningrat, and the collected data was combined with other interviews with R. Bambang Irianto, Elang Rochadi, R. Iman Sudiman, R. Bandi, and R. Jazuli.

The data was analyzed by using a descriptive interpretative method. By combining the method with discovering cultural theme analysis, this method focused on culture, ethos of culture, values and symbols of culture which are concentrated on certain domains (Bungin, 2007, 213).

III. DESCRIPTION AND DISCUSSIONS

Kasepuhan Palace of Cirebon is located in Lemahwungkuk Sub district, Cirebon City, West Java province. The palace was built in the fifteen century; at the time Cirebon was ruled by Syarif Hidayatullah or known as Sunan Gunung Jati. The palace was built in $\pm 185.500 \text{ m}^2$ area. It is surrounded by a wall named Kutakosod. The wall is approximately 2 meter high and 60 cm of thickness. It was made of red bricks that were structured to become a wall.

The Kasepuhan Palace faces to north and south where in southern part of the palace lies Kriyan River and Kali Sipadu lies to the north. And the east and west side of the palace are housing complex. The landscape of the Kasepuhan Palace, if one draws an imaginary line from south to north, it can be seen that the palace lies to the left side of the Great Mosque of Sangciptarasa, and on the right side of city hall market –Astana Gunung Jati (Graveyard complex of the Kings of Cirebon which lies about 5 km from the Palace).

The Palace Community calls the building as Baluwarti Palace. The Baluwarti of Kasepuhan Palace is divided into several important areas. There is an area where people have free access to get into the palace. This area is located to the north side of Kali Sipadu where Sngkla Bhuana plaza, Masjid Agung Sang Ciptarasa, and Kasepuhan market located. Right in the front area of the palace lies a bridge called Kreteg Pangrawat. On the right side of the bridge, there is building for army kingdom called Paseban Pancanita; and on the left side lies a room intended for common people who need to meet the King called Paseban Pancaratna. This area was built in the era of Sunan Gunung Jati throne.

Meanwhile, the palace has also sacred areas where not all people have access to them. The first sacred area is Lawang Kamandungan (the Gate of Kamandungan). The main building in this gate consists of Bunderan Dewandaru, a landscape of park. The buildings exist in this area include *Jinem Pangrawit-Gajah Nguling-Bangsai Prabayaksa-Bangsa Agung Panembahan* (The Throne). All the buildings were built in the sixteenth and seventeenth century after Sunan Gunung Jati had died.

In the east part of the palace lies the oldest and most sacred building complex called Kraton *Dalem Agung Pakungwati* built by Prince Chakrabuana (Son of King of Pajajaran) in the fifteenth century and was later enlarged by Sunan Gunung Jati.

In addition to Great Mosque of Sang Ciptarasa, another most beautiful and unique building built in the fifteenth century was Sitihinggil building. The building is located inside the Baluwarti Palace. Its position faces to the Sangkala Bhuana plaza. It is called as Sitihinggil or higher ground for its position located on the higher ground compared to other buildings in the palace complex.

The structure of Sitihinggil building in Kasepuhan Palace replicates a structure in Hindu era of Majapahit Kingdom. The building is surrounded by a wall made by red bricks called Candi

BentarLaras where in every pillars of it lies Candi Laras. Candi means stack and Bentar means bricks and Laras means harmony. Entry gate to Sitihinggil building as a Gapura Ade to the north and GapuraBanteng to the south.

There are five buildings inside Sitihinggil complex: (1) Mande *Malang semirang*, (2) *Mande Semar Tinandu*, (3) *Mande Pandawalima*, (4) *Mande Karesmen*, and (5) *Mande Pengiring*. There are also accessories in the building such as Lingga and Yoni which made of rocks. Tanjung and Sawokecik trees are also found inside the building. In addition, there are also a table made of rock from Kalingga and a chair from Gujarat, a gift from Dr. Raffles in Great Britain.

1) *Candi Adi And Candi Banteng*

When entering the Sitihinggil building complex, visitor will go through two candi (Temple) like gates. Candi Adhi in the north side and Candi Banteng in the south side. The structures of the candi are similar to the candi that are usually found in Bali.

The symbols represent in these candi coming from the culture of Java, Hindu, Buddha, and Islam (Adnan, 1996; and Sedyawati&Rajasa, 2007). Sunan Kalijaga was the first who introduced candi with Islamic style when he performed puppet stories to teach Islam.



Fig. 1 Candi Adhi and Candi Banteng

The structure of candi can be found in many places in Java be seen in ancient mosque, temples, puppet performances, ar in tumpeng rice.

Candi in the gate of Sitihinggil was like a Candi Bentar. two gates are combined, they will form a mountain like fig usually played in the opening part of puppet performance. This can also be found in Hindu and Buddha temple and the ancient mosque in Demak.

Candi (temple) in the cosmologic concept of Hinduism possesses a meaning that symboli underworld named Bhurloka, the middle world named Bhuwarloka, and the upper world Swarloka. The underworld represents a space where the life of human being was still full desires and greediness (Bhurloka). Meanwhile, in the middle world, the life of human bei transformed into physical world (Bhuwarloka); and in the upper world represents the highest of human being life (Swarloka).

In the beliefs system of Buddha Mahayana, the parts of candi represent the deeper side of human being. Symbolically, the slope of the candi represents human life that is still full of bad desire and anger called Kamadhatu. The body parts of the candi represent the deeper side of human life that is still influenced by bad desires; this part is called as Ruphadatu. And the top part of the candi or Arupadhatu represents human life that has already capable to release themselves from bad desires of the world.

According to Adnan (1996), in Islamic concept, the three parts of the candi represent the symbol of Iman (beliefs) on the top, Islam in the middle, and Ihsan in the lower part of the

candi. The structure does not represent the hierarchy of human morality; rather they represent the obedience towards Islam in all aspects of human life. In Islam, Iman, Islam, and Ihsan are the three concepts that unite all the meaning of beliefs; meaning that Islam without Iman is nothing, and Iman without Ihsan is not perfect. If Ihsan is the implementation of Islam and Iman is implemented in form of relation between human and God and among human being themselves.

2) *Mande Malangsemirang*

The main building in Sitihiinggil complex is Mande Malangsemirang. Its position is in the front most of the complex. The rooftop of the building is like Malang Semirang. The structure of the building is a square where six pillars suspend it right in the middle of the building. In addition, there are twenty other pillars in all sides of the building. There is flower carving on the pillars. The building serves a function as a place where the King sits while watching kingdom activities in SangkalaBuana plaza.



Fig 2. Complex of *Sitihiinggil*

The symbolic values of the building can be seen in its suspension pillars. The six pillars in the building represents six principle of beliefs in Islam as follows: beliefs in One God, beliefs in the ten angels, beliefs in the righteous of the four Holy books, beliefs in prophets and messengers, beliefs in the judgement day, and beliefs in destiny determined by God.

Meanwhile, the twenty other pillars symbolize the twenty characters of God: *Wujud* (exists), *Qidam* (the first), *Baqo* (eternal), *Mukhalafatahulilhawadis* (different to His creation), *Qiyamuhubinafsih* (stand on His own), *Wahdaniyat* (one and only), *Qudrat* (powerful), *Iradat* (meaningful), *Ilmu* (knowledgeable), *Hayat* (alive), *Sama* (listen), *Basar* (see), *Kalam* (speak), *Kaunuhu kadiran* (the most powerful force), *Kaunuhu muriidan* (the One who determines destiny), *Kaunuhu aliman* (the most knowing), *Kaunuhu hayyan* (the most living), *Kaunuhu sami'an* (the most listening), *Kaunuhu bashiiran* (the most seeing) and *Kaunuhu mutakalliman* (the most speaking).

The symbols represented in Mande Malangsemirang depict that Sunan Gunung Jati heavily relied on Islamic principles when he ruled the kingdom. He has the title *Inkang Sinuhun Kanjeng Susuhunan Jati Purba Penetep Panatagama Aulia Allah Kutubizaman Kholifatur Rosullah Shallallahu Alaihi wasalam*. According to Masduki (2012), the title implied that Sunan Gunung Jati, from the perspective of religion, was a representation of God. Meaning that religion decision made by Sunan Gunung Jati implied the similar meaning to regulation determined by God. In the perspective of politics, Sunan Gunung Jati was a representation of Prophet Muhammad; meaning that he has similar position to the friends of Muhammad: Abu Bakar and Umar.

3) *Mande SemarTinandu*

Mande Semartinandu is located to the right side of Mande Malangsemirang. The building is a rectangle with its rooftop is only suspended by two pillars on its right and left side. The function of this building is a place where the King’s advisors usually have a sit where the King is in Mande Malangsumirang.



Picture 3 *SemarTinandu*

“Semar, in pre-Hinduism, in Hinduism, Buddha, Islam, and Dutch and Japan colonization, is not representing one single philosophy manifestation since the philosophy manifestation in those eras had never been become one single philosophy manifesto. However, there were at some points that Semar in those era shared similarities; it was when Semar was personified as a teaching that spiritually guided people in Java to belief in one God.”

In Javanese mythology, Semar is a perfect figure of a human being. He has already existed long before Hindu, Buddha, Islam, and Christianity came to the Island. Purwadi (2012: 28) said that:

The concept of Semar in Mande Semartinandu is a personification of Semar in the context of Islam. With its two suspending pillars of its roof, the building symbolizes the Syahadatain – an oath usually recites by Muslim to confirm their belief in Islam. In Javanese mythology, Semar is almost a perfect figure; meanwhile in Hinduism, Semar is a deity coming from heaven.

In the era of Islamic teaching in Java, Semar still existed in many Puppet stories initiated by Sunan Kalijaga. In addition to Semar, Sunan Kalijaga also introduced the comedian figures such as Nalahareng, Petruk, and Bagong. According to Amin et al (2000: 69), etymologically, the names in the puppet stories were derived from Arabic words: Semar is taken from the word “ismaar” which means “Nail”; Nalagareng was taken from the word “Naalaqariin” which means “Having many friends”; Petruk was taken from the word “Fatruk” which means Tassawuf

sentence: “fatrukkulla man siwallahi” that can be translated into “leave behind everything other than Allah”; and Bagong was taken from the word “Baghaa” which means “Rebelling.”

The order developed by Sunan Gunung Jati in the era was that King’s advisor or religion figures were personified in the figure of Semar. As its meaning, “Nail,” Semar is like a nail that binds together and strengthens the existence of the nation using his knowledge, wisdom, and examples. Religion figures have similar duty to Semar’s in carrying out their responsibilities to teach Islam and being a person who has many friends. They also need to become “fatrukkulla man siwallahi” and “baghaa.” These are the values represented in Mande Semartinandu.

4) *Mande Pandawalima*

Mande Pandawalima is located in the front side of Sitihiinggil; it is in line with Mande Malangsemirang and Mande Semartindu. The building of Mande Pandawalima is a rectangle with five pillars suspending it. This building serves a function as a place for the King’s guard and the deputy of King to have a sit when the King is in the Mande Malangsemirang.

The name of Pandawalima is identical with the main figures in the story of Mahabharata which is basically based on Hinduism from India. Pandawa means the son of Pandu. In the story, there are two clans who are fighting each others; they are Pandawa and Kurawa. Pandawa represents as a righteous who fights against the devil of Kurawa.



Fig 4 . Mande *Pandawalima*

Pandawa consists of five brothers: Yudhistira or Samiaji, Bima, Arjuna, Nakula, and Sadewa. According to Kelola (2010), the brothers of Pandawa symbolize the noble character of human being. For example, Yudhistira is portrayed as a patience, honest, and religious figure. His nickname is Samiaji which means someone who respects others as he respects himself.

Meanwhile, Bima is usually portrayed as a man who is brave, strong, loyal, and honest. He treats all people equally. And the third is Arjuna who is usually portrayed as a smart, caring, and well-mannered Knight; he loves protecting weak people. The fourth son is Nakula who is honest, loyal, loving, and very good at keeping secrets; and the fifth is Nakula’s twin, Sadewa, who has wisdom and knowledge in aerospace science.

Symbolic values and function of Mande Pandawalima can be seen from its five pillars representing the five pillars of Islam: Syahadat, prayer, fasting, zakat, and hajj. In addition, the symbolic meaning of the building can also be seen from the place where the King’s guards usually

have a seat. It symbolizes that then guards must embrace the five pillars of Islam and have a noble character as portrayed by the Pandawa brothers.

Another building exists in Sitihinggil Complex is Mande Pengiring and Mande Karasmen. Mande Pengiring serves as a place for the King's assistants to sit; and Mande Karasmen is a stage where the Gamelan performs their musical instruments. According to some spoken sources, Sunan Gunung Jati received a gift of Gamelan Instruments from the King of Demak. The Gamelan usually performs their musical instruments on the first day of Syawal month and the tenths day of Dzulhijjah month. The gamelan name was Sekaten, derived from Arabic sentence Shahadain, the oath is usually recited by Muslims to confirm their beliefs. Therefore, everyone who wanted to watch the gamelan performance must pay by reciting Shadain. That is why then the gamelan was named Shadain.

Sitihinggil, by its structure, is basically a building that is rich of historical values and education.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

Sitihinggil building complex is an embodiment of acculturation process of many cultures and traditions rooted in Java, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam. The building represents the universal, primordial, and educational values. The universal values represented in Sitihinggil building depict multicultural living which upholds tolerance values. Meanwhile, Hinduism and Buddhism structures and architectures of the building depict how Sunan Gunung Jati provided spaces and acknowledgement to his people who embrace Hinduism and Buddhism. And on the wall of the building, there are many ornaments from China which depict the acknowledgement and respect towards Chinese people who live in Cirebon and they embrace Buddhism and Kong Hu Chu beliefs system.

Meanwhile, from the perspective of primordial values, the symbols represented in the building embrace the value of *dakwah* (Islamic teaching) as one of strategies employed by Sunan Gunung Jati to introduce Islam to his people who are still embracing Hinduism, Sunda Wiwitan, and Buddhism. This sociocultural approach and strategy was represented in a temple with its Hinduism symbols but in Islamic meanings. The characters in traditional Wayang stories such as Semar and Pandawalima in the story of Mahabarata were symbolized by Sunan Gunung Jati and Sunan Kalijaga as Islamic figures. According to Supriyanto (2009), the figure of Yudhistira (the oldest brother of the Pandawalima) was presented as a personification of the Syahadat (an oath usually recites by Muslim to declare themselves as believers). This personification was cited in the story of Azimat Kalimursada by Sunan Gunung Jati. Meanwhile, the figure of Bima, which usually represents a very strong and brave person, was represented by Sunan Gunung Jati as a symbol of one of the five pillars of Islam (Rukun Islam) namely Shalat (Prayer). And Arjuna, who usually represents a person who is thoughtful, was represented by Sunan Gunung Jati as a symbol of the third pillar of Islam namely fasting. And Nakula and Sadewa were represented as a symbol of the fourth and fifth pillar of Islam namely Zakat and Hajj.

Islamic symbols depicted in the building of Mande Semartinandu, Mande Malang Semirang, and Mande Pandawalima are the first steps taken by Sunan Gunung Jati to teach Islam to his people. Buildings with Hindu and Buddhism styles are built to attract people's attractions towards

Islam. Getting the people attracted to the building will surely lead to interest to Islam. This interest was then accommodated brilliantly by presenting Islamic symbols in the buildings.

Looking at the present time and through the lens of education, the building of Sitihihgil is full of educational values. It is not only a historical site, but also, to be more useful, contains full of moral and character education values and cultures. From the point of view of education, Sunal and Hass (1993, 294) said that “*artifacts provide the opportunity to examine such concepts as change and continuity*. Therefore, the Baluwarti complex inside the palace including Sitihihgil represents educational values that can be used as materials for teaching and learning about history.

In the aspect of character education, Sitihihgil represents the value of character education that can be used as a medium for teaching and learning in social studies subject in school. The character values represented in Sitihihgil building include: religiosity, tolerance, honesty, hard work, mutual respect, caring, and manners. By learning using cultural artifacts such as Sitihihgil, students are expected to develop their own noble character and know their own culture.

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The Transformation of Cultural Wisdom Values based-on the Local Content Curriculum

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Abstract

This research is motivated by the cultural diversity in Indonesia which forms the diversity of ethnic groups. The diversity of ethnics is the identity of a nation. Local wisdom is an attempt to discover the identity of a nation that is getting lost in the middle of the swift currents of modernization in Indonesia. School as a formal institution established by the Indonesian government plays an important role in instilling the local cultural values to students in order to preserve the local culture. This study aims to determine, assess and obtain a descriptive overview of the transformation of values based on the local wisdom and local content curriculum in Kindergarten. This research employs a qualitative research approach with a case study. Data were collected through observation, interview and documentation. The subjects in this study were the principal, the teachers, the students consisting of twelve children and two postgraduate students. The technique of data analysis included data reduction data display and conclusion drawing. Findings show that local wisdom-based local curriculum is implemented in the State kindergarten of CENTEH through habitual activities such as having discipline, following religious activities, playing traditional plays, and knowing Sundanese traditional musics. This school also applies the Sundanese values namely reminding, loving and caring.

Key words : cultural wisdom values, local content curriculum.

Introduction

The cultural diversity in Indonesia had spawned plurality of diverse ethnic groups. The plurality of ethnic groups was the hallmark of Indonesia which consisted of various kinds of ethnic group, race, religion, as well as social and cultural status (Koentjaraningrat, 2009). This is in line with the Ministry of Domestic Affairs that recorded a population of Indonesia as many as 251.857.940 million in 2012 with approximately 30 thousand islands across the country. From the amount of the islands, 13.446 islands had been named and about 17 thousands were still unnamed in which people lived spread out across these islands. In addition, people inhabited a region with varying geographical conditions, ranging from the area of the mountains, forest edges, coasts, lowlands, to rural and urban areas (<http://www.kemendagri.go.id>). The Central Statistics Agency of the Republic of Indonesia in 2000, based on the data compiled, stated that the number of tribes in Indonesia, which was successfully recorded, was 1.128 ethnic groups, with the composition of ethnic and sub- ethnic as many as 1,072. Deputy Minister of Education and Culture WinduNuryanti (2012) said that, according to the result of research, Indonesia has about 743 languages. Of that number, 442 languages have been mapped by the Agency for Language Development. A total of 26 languages are in Sumatra, 10 languages in Java and Bali, 55 languages in Kalimantan, 58 languages in Sulawesi, 11 languages in West Nusa Tenggara, 49 languages in East Nusa Tenggara, 51 languages in Maluku, and 207 languages in Papua (<http://www.menkokesra.go.id>). This further confirmed that Indonesia has a diverse culture which therefore becomes an identity for the nation. Cultural diversity should remain well preserved in

order to be able to form solid characteristics of nationality for the Indonesian children that are based on the values contained in the moral principle of Pancasila.

Geertz (1992) revealed that culture is “a pattern of notions or meanings thoroughly intertwined within the symbols transmitted historically or a system regarding conceptions inherited in symbolic forms through which humans communicated, preserved and developed their knowledge and attitude toward life.” This opinion emphasized that culture is the result of man's work in an area in a period of time that has uniqueness and was made hereditary, passed down from one generation to the next through the process of communication to develop their knowledge and attitude towards life and the values of local wisdom.

Local wisdom is a characteristic of a region that has cultural values. The characteristic of a particular area is internalized in the form of knowledge. This knowledge is also the result of continuous creativity and innovation by involving internal input and external influences in an effort to adjust to the new conditions in the local area (Muhammad, 2009). Local knowledge or local wisdom could be understood as local ideas that were sapient, full of wisdom, well-worth, and embedded as well as internalized by members of the community (Sartini, 2004). This is in line with Atmodjo (1986) who suggested that local wisdom is the ability of absorbing foreign culture selectively, which could be said as adapting the foreign culture to the local environment and condition. Local wisdom is developed through oral tradition by word of mouth or through formal and informal education, as well as gaining additional knowledge from a new experience.

However, what has been the focus of the problem is that the era of globalization has brought a real change in every aspect of life. The direction of progressive changes with all forms of modernization has colored people's lives, especially in terms of the use of technology such as televisions, hand phones, and computers. The result from a research study showed that there was a significant correlation between the influences of television programs (X) with the development of negative behavior in children (Y) in AisyahBustanulAthfal V Kindergarten in Kudus. The result showed that there was a correlation between variable x and y. The significant value of F count (38.019) was greater than the F table (2.31) or significance (0.00) $\alpha (0.05)$ which indicated that there was a significant correlation between the variables x and y. Besides, Andayani (1997) conducted a study regarding some Japanese cartoons, such as Sailor Moon, Dragon Ball, Magic Knight Earth Ray which showed that these cartoons contained many anti-social scenes (58.4%) and pro-social scenes (41.6%). The study found that the categories of anti-social treatment most often arose were harsh sayings (38.56%), harmful conducts (28.46%), and humiliation towards friends (11.44%). Then, the categories of pro-social behavior that often arose were warmth (17, 16%), courtesy (16.05%), empathy (13.143%) and advice (13.06%). Thus, based on the result of the study, the number of anti-social scenes in cartoons was higher than the pro-social scenes.

One of the negative impacts of globalization is the increasing disappearance of the values of local wisdom in children such as cooperation and mutual assistance. This is in line with Giddens (2000) who argued that there were positive and negative impacts of modernization. Modernization brought not only changes towards a good progress but also negative changes such as the collapse of social institutions and the degeneration of local culture. The tradition and local culture could fade gradually if they are abandoned by their own people. Postman (1950) once warned that when cultural life was redefined as an endless stream of modernization and became a topic of public discourse in television shows, such as religion, humanity, injustice, without public statement that realized local culture in a formal institution and entertainment events, a nation would be on the brink of its cultural death (Fred, 2007).

UNESCO (2007) stated that there were at least twelve local languages in Indonesia which had been extinct namely: Hukumina, Kayeli, Lili, Mapia, Moksela, Naka'ela, Nila, Palumata, Piru, Tandia, Te'un, and Tobada (Syafnjal, 2013: online). In addition, Rashid, as a technical implementation unit official at the Department of Culture and Tourism, acknowledged that in West Sumatra province many traditional arts are on the verge of extinction because i) there is no regeneration; ii) the arts are rarely performed, and iii) some of the performers are elderly or passed away. Traditional arts in West Sumatra that are on the verge of extinction are Talempung Ugan, Gandai, and Tupai Janjang. Ikke Dewi Sartika also revealed similar things. In West Java alone, there are at least forty-three traditional arts that are nearly extinct (Yurnaldi, 2009: online).

Thus, local wisdom could be seen as an accumulation of continually ever-changing collective experiences from generation to generation that followed the development of the era. Meanwhile, the result of a study conducted by a graduate student from UPI Bandung showed that, in a hundred Sundanese families, only 20 percent of them use Sundanese language at home for daily conversations while 80% percent of the Sundanese family use Bahasa Indonesia. Furthermore, language, as a means of communication, is also a means of culture to unify the nation (Kartadinata, 2011). The fact that local languages are used less often is concerning for the preservation of the languages themselves. Therefore, there should be lessons in schools that contain materials on the basis of local wisdom. Local wisdom needs to be protected and preserved from extinction. All these attitudes are referred to as the attitude of conservation. Education curriculum was the basic framework for the establishment of the necessary basic competencies for students. In order to prevent the loss of local knowledge in a certain region, the government could put local-knowledge-based educational materials into the local curriculum in school; either it was kindergarten, elementary school, junior high schools, or high schools. Local-content-based subject (Muatan Lokal) was a curricular activity to develop competencies that were related to the characteristics and potential of a particular region, including the excellence from the region in which the material did not become part of other subject but a separate one so that the methods of intervention and learning should be formulated (Sungkowo, 2008). Learning the values of local wisdom should be imparted in children at an early age. It aimed to preserve the local culture that was in an endangered position due to the influence of globalization.

The importance of planting the values of local wisdom was also conveyed by Zuchdi (2010) who stated that young people need to acquire traditional values from the adults such as family members, teachers, and the community around them. Furthermore, this study associates local wisdom to sustainable development that has three important aspects which were socio-cultural, environmental and economic aspects. These three perspectives are interrelated and the driving pillars of a sustainable development (Sugandhy and Hakim 2007: 21). In the context of ESD or the efforts to preserve cultural values, cultural values are an integral part of education for sustainability. These values aimed to understand the world view and the viewpoint of the surrounding which are the central parts of education for a sustainable future. Therefore, since every culture undergoes a shift, it is necessary to teach the next generation to preserve the culture. Although the teaching process is packaged in a new form, its cultural values are not lost. The process of modernization is characterized by the inclusion of science and technology that has an impact on the abandonment of the noble values contained in a community or region. Relating to the process of modernization, there is also a process of transformation of cultural values. The transformation of cultural values requires a total process of transition of a new form which incidentally is the last stage of an essential change towards globalization so that the transformation becomes a solution in a fairly quick turning point (Kuntowijoyo (2006:56). Therefore, the purpose

of this study is to describe the values of local wisdom in Kindergarten NegeriCenteh, the values of local wisdom transferred in local-content-based curriculum in kindergarten NegeriCenteh, the factors that influence the transformation of the values of local wisdom through the local-content-based curriculum in TK NegeriCenteh and the impact of the transformation of the values of local wisdom through the local-content-based curriculum towards the students in TK Negeri Centeh.

Research Methods

Based on the problems exposed, this research is a field study which employed a qualitative approach, i.e. an approach that relies on the strength of sensory observation to reflect the cultural phenomenon. This is in line with Bogdan and Taylor (in Basrowi and Suwandi, 2008: 1) who stated that qualitative research is one of the research procedures that produce descriptive data such as the analysis of speech, hand-writing, or behavior of those observed in a social phenomenon or social environment. Through qualitative research, it is possible for the researcher to directly involve and feel the life of the subject under study which consists of the event, agent, place and time.

A qualitative research design is not based on an absolute truth. The truth is very complex because of the influence of environmental factors such as social or historical environment, and values contained therein. According to Nasution (1996), "qualitative research includes a number of methods which are fieldwork research, field research, and case studies." The design of this research started from the focus of this research, i.e. the transformation of the values of local wisdom in TK NegeriCenteh Bandung. The values of local wisdom are one of the formations of socio-cultural phenomenon. Moreover, qualitative research that focuses on a unique case was known as a case study. Thus, the method used in this research is case study. According to Yin (2014) case study is one of the research methods used in social sciences. Furthermore, Robert Yin (2003) revealed that case study is an empirical research which investigates social phenomena in the context of real life in which there were no clear boundaries between social phenomena with the context itself as well as the utilization of multi-resource (Yin,2003). The analysis of the case in this study describes the process of transformation of the values of local wisdom through the local-content-based curriculum in kindergarten.

In a case study, the process of data collection and research activities would narrow the subject, region, materials, topic, and theme. From the beginning of the extensive search, the researcher conducted the data collection and the analysis of the transformation process of the values of local wisdom through the local-content-based curriculum in kindergarten. Therefore, the case study is characterized as an observational, situational study based on the activity in the field. This is a type of qualitative case study called by Bogdan & Biklen as Observational Case Studies. Moreover, the data analysis is the process of searching for and compiling data systematically. The data were obtained in the form of observation, the notes during the research and the documentation so that, from the result of the study, the conclusion could be drawn and informed to others. The data which employed a qualitative analysis were obtained during the study in the field. Next, they were linked to theories that were related to the problems. Then, the writer looked for the solution of the problems after the conclusion was drawn. In this study, the technique of data analysis includes the Data Reduction which is a form of analysis that referred to the sharpening process, classification of the information, the removal of unnecessary data, and the organization as well as processing the raw data obtained from the field. In this case, the data obtained were about the transformation of the values of local wisdom in local-content-based curriculum. Data display (the presentation of

data) was conducted after the reduction of data in the form of narrative by using graphs and charts. In this study, the writer would present the data from the research in the form of a description regarding the transformation of values of local wisdom in local-content-based curriculum. In presenting the data, during the reduction, the data were arranged into order so that the structure would be comprehensible. Conclusion drawing (verification) was the third step in the analysis of qualitative data which, according to Miles and Huberman, consisted of conclusion and verification. The preliminary conclusion presented was still provisional and would change if the strong evidence that supported the next stage of the data collection was not found. At this point, the writer used the result of the analysis at the stage of the data presentation to compile the description of the values of local wisdom so that the writer could create a research report. Based on the explanation, the writer proposed the formulation of problems as follows: (1) How were the values of local wisdom in TK NegeriCenteh; (2) How were the values of local wisdom transferred in local-content-based curriculum in TK NegeriCenteh; (3) what were the factors that influenced the transformation of the values of local wisdom through the local-content-based curriculum in TK NegeriCenteh; (4) What was the impact of the transformation of the values of local wisdom through the local-content-based curriculum towards the students in TK NegeriCenteh. Furthermore, this study aimed to describe the transformation process of the values of local wisdom through the local-content-based curriculum (local culture) in TK NegeriCenteh in the district of Batununggal, Bandung. The technique of data collection employed was through observation, interviews, and documentation. The subjects in this study were the principal, the teachers which consisted of ten people, the students in TK NegeriCenteh consisting of twelve children and two graduate students from Sundanese department. The instrument in this study was the writer herself which was the main instrument in data collection and interpretation by following the interview guidelines. This is in line with what was stated by Nasution (1992), the researcher himself became the main instrument in a naturalistic study. The main instrument went down to the field and tried to gather information through observation and interviews. The research field was the place or social location of the research that was identified through three elements, namely, the place, the actors, and the activities that could be observed (Nasution). The place or location where the course of the study was conducted was in Taman Kanak-Kanak Negeri CENTEH on Pacar Street, Batununggal district, Bandung.

Results and Discussion

Values of local cultural wisdom

The first question that the writer asked was the values of local wisdom in TK NegeriCenteh. The results of this study were based on the data collected by way of interview, observation and documentation during the research activities for approximately four months.

Based on the interview, the values of Sundanese local wisdom were reminding, loving and caring, religious values, courtesy, honesty, amiability, and gentleness. These Sundanese values were reflected in the behavior of students and teachers in TK Negeri Centeh.

The values of local wisdom

On few occasions the researcher found that the local culture study does not stand alone but is integrated into the six aspects of child development, which include cognitive, physical motoric, language, social-emotional, religion and morale and art developments. They are then delivered

through school routines and cultures. The following interview presents the Sundanese values of local wisdom.

The values of Sundanese local wisdom are the basic nature or character owned by the Sundanese and instilled from an early age through learning the local culture. The values of Sundanese local wisdom are reminding, loving, caring, and courtesy, honesty, amiability, and gentleness. (Interview with Ani, March 27, 2015)

An interview with a graduate student about culture revealed that the characteristics of Sundanese values were reminding, loving, caring and *somea hade kasemah*. (Interview with Trifallah, April 15, 2015)

The characteristics of Sundanese cultural values should be developed at an early age which is understood from Sundanese idioms and proverbs: cageur, bageur, bener, pinter, someah hade kasemah, hade ku omong goring ku omong, caina herang laukna beunang, indung tunggul rahayu bapa tangkal darajat, saur kudu diukur sabda kudu diungang, hade gogog hade tagog, silih asih silih asah silih asuh, bobot pangayon timbang taraju, cikaracak ninggang batu laun-laun jadi legok, paheuyeuk-heuyeuk leungeun, melak cabe jadi cabe melak bonteng jadi bonteng, manuk hirup kujangjangna jalma hirup kuakalna, nimu luang tina burang-nimu luang tina baruang –nimu luang tina bincurang-nimu luang tina daluang-nimu luang tina papadaurang, hade kuomong goreng kuomong, ati putih badan bodas, kabalaka bale, gurat batu, kahareup ngala sajeujeuh katukang ngala salengkah. (Interview with Mrs. Popon, April 1, 2015)

The values of Sundanese culture that are developed in early childhood include: cageur, bageur, bener, pinter, singer, teger, pangger, wanter, cangker, nyunda, nyantri, nyantana dan nyatria. The values of Sundanese culture do not stand alone but affect each other and are integrated into the learning activities and the development in children. (Interview with Mrs. Mimin, April 2, 2015)

The interview shows that the values of local wisdom are still kept in TK Negeri CENTEH. The values of local culture characters become the foundation in building a good social relationship in the community as well as preparing a child to socialize in it and create a harmonious relation with others. These all relate to the relationship between people, nature (animals and plants) and God, aimed to bring the concepts of *silihasah, silihasih* and *silihasuh* into the whole system of the community life with compassion, education and protection. This is in line with Suryalaga (2009: 14-17) and Suryani (2011: 119-120) who stated that the values of Sundanese local wisdom (Sundanese cultural values) were divided into four categories which included the value of being human as a creature of God, the value of being human as an individual, the value of being human as social beings who belonged to the state and the nation, and another forms of value of being human.

Table. 1. the characteristics of Sundanese cultural values were defined by the Utterance and proverbs that were develop in society

No	The Characteristics Of Sundanese Cultural Values	Utterance and proverbs Sundanese
1	<i>Cageur</i> (healthy), <i>bageur</i> (kind), <i>bener</i> (right), <i>pinter</i> (smart).	The main aspects in life which are physical and mental health.

2	<i>Someah hade kasemah</i>	Sundanese people need to have a good, amiable attitude towards guests.
3	<i>Hade ku omong goring ku omong</i>	a proverb that everything has a way out when one faces something that has to be negotiated
4	<i>Caina herang laukna beunang</i>	processes the most important thing in reaching a goal.
5	<i>Indung tunggul rahayu bapa tangkal darajat</i>	the importance of respecting the elders
6	<i>Saur kudu diukur sabda kudu diungang</i>	be careful when one talks
7	<i>Hade gogog hade tagog</i>	one's speech and behavior should reflect a well-mannered individual
8	<i>Silihasih, silihasah, and silih asuh</i>	loving each other then proceeding with the competitiveness of educating and nurturing each other
9	<i>Bobot pangayon timbang taraju</i>	the importance of careful consideration in making a decision.
10	<i>Cikaracak ninggang batu laun-laun jadi legok</i>	persistence is indispensable in achieving a goal.
11	<i>Paheuyek-heuyek leungeun</i>	working together hand in hand in doing something good.
12	<i>Melak cabe jadi cabe melak bonteng jadi bonteng</i>	the result of doing something depends on the work that was done.
13	<i>Manuk hirup ku jangjangna jalma hirup ku akalna</i>	human beings are given intelligence or the ability to think by God.
14	<i>Nimu luang tina burang-nimu luang tina baruang-nimu luang tina bincurang-nimu luang tina daluang-nimu luang tina papada urang</i>	one has to study all his life and in any kind of situation.
15	<i>Hade ku omong goring ku omong</i>	openness or honesty is the most important thing in giving an opinion.
16	<i>Ati putih badan bodas</i>	sincerity is a behavior that should be socialized early on.
17	<i>Ka bala ka bale</i>	dynamic nature is an indispensable element in society.
18	<i>Gurat batu</i>	one must remain firm in its stand during the defense of the truth.
19	<i>Kahareup ngala sajeujeuh katukang ngala salengkah</i>	one should not be excessive in any way.

Source:Ruhaliah (2012: 4-7)

It showed that the values of local wisdom are still preserved in the kindergarten itself. The values of local wisdom do not stand alone. They are integrated into the field of development and learning activities through the program of habituation inside and outside the classroom.

I met Mrs. Miminwho was teaching in the classroom. At the closing before the end of the learning activity, children recited the oath of Taman Kanak-KanakNegeriCenteh, namely the fear of God, the obedience to parents and teachers, the importance of being friendly, polite and cheerful, creative, independent, and diligent.

(field notes, June 8, 2015)

I was standing next to one of the teachers, looking at the children who came to school on time and shook hands with their mothers who took them to school. After the children entered the classroom and said hello to their friends and teachers, the children prayed before the learning activity started. At one particular activity, there was a child who helped his friend in overcoming the difficulties in playing the reduction of numbers.

(field notes, March 13, 2015)

In TK NegeriCenteh, the teachers that I encountered in class during a visit greeted me with a friendly smile as they invited me to sit in a chair, there was a teacher who accompanied the children to play. There seemed a student who did not tidy up the toys after playing with them. Then, the teacher advised the student in a friendly manner to tidy up his toys.

(field notes, May 14, 2015)

Sundanese values are reflected in the behavior of people in TK NegeriCenteh. Sundanese cultural values develop since an early age and are implemented in schools by teachers as well as by the parents at home. Meanwhile, from the results of the documentation none of the values of Sundanese local wisdom are listed specifically (typical with the development of Sundanese language), either in the school profile, in the vision and mission of the school, annual work programs, lesson plans, or in the syllabus of Sundanese language learning. However, the characteristics of values are imparted in children at an early age which applied nationwide since 2010.

Table 2. The values for cultural education and characteristics of the nation that must be developed in schools

NO	THE VALUES	DESCRIPTION
1	Religious	values and an obedient attitude in carrying out the teachings of each religion, being tolerant towards other's religious practices, as well as living in harmony with other people from different religions.
2	Honest	an attitude or behavior based on an attempt to make a person trustworthy in his act and work.

- 3 Tolerant an attitude or action in which one respects the differences of religion, race, ethnicity, opinions, attitudes and actions of others who are different from themselves so that they could live in harmony within the society.
- 4 Discipline an action that shows orderly behavior which complies with regulations. Hard work is a behavior that indicates a real effort in completing various tasks and works as well as possible.
- 5 Creative an attitude or behavior that reflects the ability of coming up with a new idea (innovation) in various aspects of life in order to solve a problem. In other words, it aims to always find a new way, even a new result from something that has been done.
- 6 Independent an attitude in which one does not depend on others to accomplish a task.
- 7 Democratic an attitude or a way of thinking and acting that reflects equal rights and obligations within a society.
- 8 Curious a way of thinking or attitude that reflects a desire to know about all the things that could be seen, heard, and studied, or observed.
- 9 Nationalistic an attitude, action or a way of thinking that put the interests of the nation above individual or particular groups' interests
- 10 Patriotic an attitude or behavior that reflects a sense of pride, loyalty, caring, and a high appreciation of language, culture, economy, and politics of one's nation so that it is not easy for a person to accept an offer from people from another nations that may harm his own nation.
- 11 Rewarding performance an attitude or action that encourages someone to perform well in society as well as recognizing and respecting other people's success.
- 12 Communicative an attitude or action which shows a sense of talking interactively in order to associate and collaborate with others through communication to create a collaborative cooperation.
- 13 Peace-loving or a love of peace an attitude or action that reflects an atmosphere of peace, quietness, and comfort that comes along with one's presence in society
- 14 The love of reading an attitude that comes from a habit that provides time to read a variety of information, books, journals, magazines, newspapers, and so on, which give merits and advantages for oneself.
- 15 Concern for the environment an attitude or action which tries to maintain and preserve the environment.
- 16 Social awareness an attitude or action that reflects a concern for another person or people who need help.
- 17 Responsible an attitude or behavior in performing one's duties and obligations, whether they are related to one's social environment, community, neighborhood, nation, or religion.

Source: Curriculum Center of Research and Development Agency, Ministry of National Education (2010)

Transformation Process of The Values of Local Wisdom in Local-Content-based Curriculum

The planning program of learning the values of local wisdom was in Group B TK Negeri Centeh Bandung. The process of learning implementation of the values of local wisdom in group B TK NegeriCenteh Bandung was as follows: Preparing the steps of learning the local culture, preparing the syllabus and RPPH in accordance with the learning activity, determining appropriate indicators for learning activity, developing observation sheet/ observation of the activity of learners during the learning process, and preparing instructional media.

School programs or activities that supported the implementation of learning local culture that were based on the values of Sundanese local wisdom was implemented through the school culture, the extra-curricular activities, the activity of teaching and learning, a habituation and integration into the learning activities, school routines such as maintaining the cleanliness in classrooms, tidying toys, praying before learning, spontaneous activities such as collecting donations when there were other friends who suffered from an illness or a disaster, being a good example or role model (principal, teachers, administrative staff) to provide a good example through actions and thus become a role model for students and people at school (for example, in terms of discipline, cleanliness, tidiness, and politeness). (Interview with Mrs. Hj. Ratna Khodijah, M.Pd, April 2, 2015)

Programs for transforming the values of local wisdom were based on local-content-based curriculum through the program of habituation, integration in the scope of the development and culture at school. This habituation program, as the writer explained in the previous section, did not explicitly contain the values of Sundanese local wisdom. In other words, the program only implied these values. For example, habituation program or RabuNyunda implicitly indicated the values of loving since the students were taught to speak Sundanese so that, in living their daily life, the students needed to always prioritize compassion and refinement. (Interview with Mrs. Wiwin Supriatin, April 7, 2015)

The result showed that the majority of the school community, both the principal and the teachers, had known the essence of Sundanese local wisdom by making Sundanese as a language of communication in everyday life. In addition, Sundanese culture had been implemented in the learning of local culture through traditional games, music, songs and Sundanese traditional foods. (Interview with Mrs. Iin Kartini, April 9, 2015)

In the quotation of the interview it is shown that the process of transformation of the local wisdom values is delivered in a daily basis which includes: discipline, religious activities such as Qur'an reading and praying reciting before and after lessons, learning through traditional games, Sundanese folk songs and traditional food consuming, knowing Sundanese traditional music and dance through visual aids. The theory of classical conditioning views that behaviour might be

formed through process of habits. Its was defined by Ivan Pavlov (in Waruwu, 2010:81-82) who said that behavior might be figured out through habit since learning process that occurs through associations between an environmental stimulus and a naturally occurring stimulus. Behaviour is established base on frequently of act, and the process will determine of value of action either good or bad.

The transformation of the values of local wisdom in early childhood was done through the medium of animation films where folklore was packed through animations that had been prepared by the teacher before the lesson begun. This was a transformation process by using an advanced technology in early childhood learning. The transformation process occurred through the medium of animation which was a form of technology and was due to the modernization yet without losing the local culture which was by using folklore. Traditional elements were incorporated into modern technology so that children can keep abreast of increasingly sophisticated technology yet do not forget their local culture. (Interview with Mrs.Nurhidayah, 11 April 2015)

The use of media in a learning process helped the students become active learners shown by the amount of students watching the movie which made the learning more innovative and fun. Briggs (in Eliyawati, 2008) mentions that fundamentally, media is a physical tool in bringing up or completing the content of learning and delivering messages from the sender to the receiver. This includes books, videotapes, tape recorders, pictures, sound, teacher voices or one of delivery system components.

Furthermore, the transformation process of the values of local wisdom was done through the use of textbooks which included the study of local culture for a semester. The activities in the textbook were arranged in such a way to introduce Sundanese vocabulary and culture. The materials prepared were in accordance with the stages of early childhood development to stimulate the knowledge and skills of children, especially in terms of Sundanese language to cultivate the love of Sundanese culture.

Table 3 The text book was integrated with the implementation of the aspects of attitude.

N O	THEMES	LANGUAGE SKILLS	THE VALUES ARE DEVELOPED	DESCRIPTION
1	Self	Listening, storytelling	Confident	dare to do anything without help
		Listening, reading, writing	Confident	the courage to try new things
		Listening, storytelling	Creative	having new ideas
		Writing, storytelling	Creative	no trouble when confronted by a problem

		Reading, writing	Confident	the courage to express opinions
		Listening	Confident	the courage to express opinions and to ask questions
2	Craze	Storytelling, writing	Creative	having new ideas
		Listening, writing	Responsible	keeping the goods of his own
		Writing, storytelling	Confident	the courage to try new things
		Storytelling, writing	Confident	the courage to try new things, and not easily give up the challenge
		Read, write	Hard work	the children tried to complete the task
		Reading, writing, arithmetic	Confident	the courage to try new things, and not easily give up the challenge
3	My activities	Listening, writing	Disciplined	children used objects according to their functions
		Write	Hard work	the children tried to complete the task
		Listening, writing	Hard work	were aware of the consequences if there was no self-discipline
		Reading, writing, storytelling,	Hard work	children were happy when they successfully completed their tasks properly
		Listening, storytelling	Responsible	keeping the goods of his own
		Read, write	Creative	having a different way of utilizing the tools and materials in a playing activity
	My Family	Writing, storytelling	Humility	children communicated politely by using the right words as well as expressions that fit

		Listening, storytelling	Brave	a courage to ask and answer a questions
		Listening, storytelling	Confident	the courage to try new things
		read	Confident	dare to do anything without help
		Reading, writing	Humility	children communicated politely by using the right words as well as expressions that fit
4	Experience	Storytelling, writing	a courage to ask and answer a questions, the desire to help each other, to cooperate and collaborate	children were glad to help and assist their friends
		Reading, writing	Confident	the desire to be a champion
	Environment, clean, healthy and tidy	Listening, writing	independent	children could do something unassisted and accomplish their tasks without help from the others
		Listening, storytelling	Disciplined	were aware of the consequences if there was no self-discipline
		Storytelling, reading	Hard work	children were happy when they successfully completed their tasks properly
		Listening, storytelling	Creative	having new ideas
		Storytelling, writing	the sense of caring for the environment	(children had an idea to take care of a pet, help watering the plants)
		Storytelling, reading, writing	Confident	dare to do anything without help
		Storytelling, writing	Creative	having new ideas
		Storytelling, reading, writing	Confident	the desire to be a champion

Objects, Animals and Plants	Listening, writing	Hard work	the children tried to complete the task
	Speaking, writing	the sense of caring for the environment	children had an idea to take care of a pet
	Listening, storytelling	the sense of caring for the environment	help water the plants
	Listening, writing	Hard work	children were happy when they successfully completed their tasks properly
	Telling	Creative	having a different way of utilizing the tools and materials in a playing activity
	Reading, writing	Independent	children could do something unassisted and accomplish their tasks without help from the others
	Storytelling, reading	a courage to ask and answer a questions, the desire to help each other, to cooperate and collaborate	children were glad to help and assist their friends
Listening, writing	storytelling,	Tolerance and love of peace	children were happy to be friends with anyone

Source: Kindergarten Negeri CENTEH Kota Bandung

The content is given gradually including the overall skills for early childhood students, especially Sundanese language and culture. The textbooks are integrated to the application of attitude aspects in a thematic way, starting from the closest theme in a child's life and introduce Sundanese vocabularies to the students. Isjoni (2011:19) states that 4-6 years olds are early childhood years. It is a sensitive time for children. Experts call it as the golden age where the development of intelligence during this period of time increases up to 50%. It is the time to put the first base in the development of physical, cognitive, language, art, social emotional, self-discipline, religious values, and self-concept and independency skills.

One of the factors that influenced the transformation of the values of Sundanese cultural wisdom in local-content-based curriculum was the improvement of the professionalism for

teachers in preparing lesson plans about the local culture. Professionalism of teachers was divided into four competences which were social competence, professional competence, personal competence and pedagogical competence. The improvement of professionalism of teachers could be realized if the welfare of teachers was improved which, in this case, in terms of the teachers' salaries or income. (interview with Mrs. Titin Sumiati, 18 Mei 2015)

Next, another factor that influenced the implementation of Sundanese cultural wisdom was the location of the kindergarten which was in Bandung. TK NegeriCenteh had an advantage in learning Sundanese culture as the values of Sundanese cultural wisdom as listed in the regulation of local curriculum issued by the local government. The school utilized the use of Sundanese language that was compulsorily spoken every Wednesday. This was contained in the handouts that were circulated at school which, in this regard, is TK NegeriCenteh. (Interview with Mrs. Renny Kusnaeni, 19 Mei 2015)

The factors that influence the transformation of local wisdom values are the teacher's professionalism and the strategic location of the school which in Bandung city. It turns to be crucial considering teacher as key factors of a successful education. Yufiarti and TitiChandrawati (208: 3.32) mention that the competency as the learning agent includes pedagogy, personality, professional and social competencies. In relevance to this, Edmonds (Koesoema A, 2010: 300) states that the factors that influence a school's performance are: a strong leadership, well-managed environment, high expectation of students to success. To relate between Edmonds's theory and the interview therefore curriculum becomes the emphasis of education at the level of basic skills. Referring to Edmonds, location is a part of the well-managed environment. To conclude, the conducive factors in the transformation of local wisdom values are teachers, emphasis in the basic skills and well-managed environment.

In this part, there will be a description regarding the positive and negative impacts of the transformation of the values of local culture wisdom with local content curriculum base. The positive impact is the open, decent and friendly Sundanese attitudes, while the negative is the unfiltered information due to this openness which causes the rapid flow of foreign culture.

Regarding the positive effect from transforming of local wisdom related local curriculum which might be found into students' loyalty and obeying toward rules of school. Besides, hospility and attitude growth of gentle, warm-hearted and caring with the suffering of others by donating old clothes to orphans end of each semester as well as care for the environment by disposing of waste in place. (interview with Mrs. Nurhidayah, 20 Mei 2015)

The positive impact is due to habituation, conditioning, and modeling conducted by the school through the local curriculum (local culture) and the work program of the school in cooperation with parents and local communities. One of the elements of moral intelligence that is growing attitude of obedient, submissive, gentle, friendly to fellow friends and care about the suffering of others. (Zubaedi, 2011: 55) explains that character education is essential for developing moral intelligence or by developing moral abilities in children from an early age, in which the moral intelligence is the ability to understand right and wrong.

The negative impact of the transformation of the values of local wisdom local curriculum based on the properties owned learners is openness towards all things and lack of filter to incoming information and is not equipped with a spirit of nationalism and global insight so that they are easily influenced by the influx of foreign culture. (Interview with Sriwati, 18 Juni 2015)

Conclusion

The values of local culture wisdom which are *silihasah*, *silihasih* and *silihasuh*, religious values, decency, friendliness, *somea hade kasema* are integrated with the other six aspects of development – the cognitive, physical motoric, language, social emotional, religious and moral and art. The compulsory Sundanese subjects are (1) human values as God's creation (SirnaNingCipta, SirnaNing Rasa, SirnaNingKarsa, SirnaNingKarya, SirnaNingWujud, SirnaNingDunia, SirnaNingPati); (2) human values as individuals (SirnaNingDiri, Cageur, Bageur, Bener, Pinter, Singer, Teger, Pangger, Wantar, Cangker, Nyunda, Nyantri, Nyuntana, Nyantria, AnuNyundaTurIslami); (3) human values as social and nation subjects- SirnaNingHurip, which can be seen in the community relationship which always brings forward loving, caring, reminding, (4) human values with others-SirnaNingHirup.

The transformation of the values of local wisdom-based local curriculum is done through (1) habituation which include: habituation discipline, habituation to follow religious activities such as the Koran and recite prayers before and after the learning activities, habituation play traditional games, habituation use sundanese language, habituation sing folk songs of western Java, and habituation to consume traditional foods, habituation know Sundanese traditional music and dance through media images; (2) Transformation of the values of local wisdom in early childhood is done through the medium of animation films where folklore is packed with animated films; (3) the process of transformation of the values of local wisdom is done through the use of textbooks which includes the study of local culture for a semester. Activities in the book are arranged in such to introduce vocabulary and sundanese culture. The material prepared in accordance with the stages of early childhood development to stimulate the knowledge and skills of children, especially in the Sundanese language and cultivate love sundanese culture.

Factors conducive to the transformation of the values of local wisdom that teachers, educational emphasis factor in the basic skills and environmental factors are neatly arranged. Furthermore, there are positive and negative impacts of the transformation of the values of local wisdom-based local curriculum. The positive impact is Sundanese people are open, courteous and hospitable towards strangers while the negative impact is they are too open to everything and do not filter incoming information so that they are easily influenced by the influx of foreign culture.

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MONTOMISAN'S TESTIMONY: Peling Gulf and the Liberation of West Irian

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Abstract

As a historical study, this research uses historical method to explore, to find and to collect some sources over some ways: literature study, interview, and practical study. The sources are criticized and then interpreted to provide historical facts, as a way to give some historical significance, for writing a history. By the method, it is found that Peling Gulf is a calm waters, which used as a meeting point I of the operation for liberation of West Irian. As a such strategic point, local people was connected to an extern culture that spread by Indonesian army, especially Indonesian language. As a result, many people spoke Indonesian well in their communication. After eight months in Peling Gulf, on August 17th, 1962, all Indonesian naval force and army for liberating West Irian got to Ambelang Gulf for ceremony of Indonesian Independence Day. The ceremony was roused by fireworks party. But the event made Motomisan ethnic to be so fear, that they cancelled a religious ceremony of Prophet Maulud (Maulid Nabi Muhammad Saw). After the time went on, on Mei 1st, 1963, all naval forces left Peling Gulf.

Keywords: Montomisan; Peling Gulf; the liberation of West Irian

I. Preface

Rural people has an interesting story on their past. For example, it is a local people of Peling Gulf. The gulf is expanded from district of Central Peling in the east to South Bulagi in the west. It extends from south to north. Many events were happened and participated by local people in the past, so that the gulf is so important in Indonesian history. In 1960s, the gulf was a significant part of Indonesian campaign for liberating West Irian. Many interesting information were told by some historical local figures. From these, we can reconstruct a history on social condition around the gulf. It can be made in a short time, at least less than one year. In 1962, the gulf was a meeting point 1 (shortened to be DK 1) in the liberation operation.

Motomisan is one village with her people's collective memory on the liberation. Motomisan people met with domestic foreigners and felt some unique things that never seen before., especially with Tentara Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian National Army, TNI). The meeting was surprising for them because

they did not understand about national politic and never heard a news on a political crisis between Indonesia and Dutch because of West Irian debacle, based on the failure of Round Table Conference's implementation, since December 27th 1949.

The research tries to explain about three: (1) role of Peling Gulf as DK I in the context of liberation operation; (2) Trikora Military Operation as an early step for Montomisan to interact with external culture that spread by Indonesian army; (3) the liberation of West Irian was welcomed by them through a firework party, that made local people to be fear and cancelled their religious ceremony (dzikir). Thematically, the research is classified into a gulf history with village of Montomisan as a gravity centrum. But because of a limited source, the research uses some local history in collecting data for historiography.

II. Method of research

As a historical study, the research uses historical method. According to Kuntowijoyo, historical method is a technical guide about source, critics, interpretation and reconstruction.¹ Nugroho Notosusanto defined that historical method is a way for historian to make any research and historical reconstruction.² Both provides a significant description on an object and method of research in this case.

Historical source includes some dsocuments, journals, literatures and some books on Bulagi, Montomisan and Peling Gulf.³ A such source must be completed with some information that got from interview over some informants. It can provide many additional informations.⁴ Every interview has so high risk of subjectivity, that

¹ Kuntowijoyo, *Metodologi Sejarah (Edisi Kedua)*. Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2003, p. xix.

² Notosusanto. *Masalah Penelitian Sejarah Kontemporer (Suatu Pengalaman)*. Jakarta: Yayasan Idayu, 1978, p. 11.

³ Sadili. *Tinjauan Hukum Islam terhadap Pelaksanaan Adat Osoan Di Kecamatan Bulagi Kabupaten Banggai*. Palu: Skripsi pada Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Negeri Datokarama, 2000; Tolodo. *Petani Rumput Laut di Desa Montomisan Kecamatan Bulagi Kabupaten Banggai Kepulauan*. Palu: Skripsi in FISIP UNTAD, 2005; Wisnawaty. *Keberadaan Suku Sea-Sea di Kecamatan Bulagi Kabupaten Banggai Kepulauan*. Palu: Skripsi FKIP UNTAD, 2004; Wilman. *Mengais Rezeki di Ayunan Ombak: Perkembangan Produksi dan Pemasaran Rumput Laut di Bulagi 1989-2004*. Palu: Skripsi FKIP UNTAD, 2006.

⁴ Nasution. *Metode Research (Penelitian Ilmiah), Cetakan Kelima*, Jakarta: Bumi Aksara, 2002, p. 113-119.

a check and recheck technic is needed to verify the information from one and another informans.⁵

Some data that explored and found, after to be crosschecked, are combined based on a topic. After that, the critical step is begun to filter data.⁶ Next step is interpretation, as a way to get historical fact from data. The fact is needed as a basic material for reconstruction.

The research is classified as an oral history, because its main source is provided by some interviews. The opinion is referred to historian Adaby Darban that “oral history has a characteristic responsible side, namely as a historical source that narrated by people as a follower or witness to the contemporary historical moment”.⁷

III. Peling Gulf: Meeting point I for Liberation Operation of West Irian

Peling Gulf is known as a widest gulf in Banggai islands, with her socio-economically strategic position for people of four districts: Central Peling, Liang, Bulagi and South Bulagi. Socially, its waters is an interaction area between people of eastern and western side. Since a long time, the gulf functioned as a “crossbridge” to connect eastern and western coast. Over the gulf, hinterland people of bot side made a relation and differed their dialect, even in one language, Banggai.

Economically, the gulf has a great influence on local economic expansion. According to Wilman D.L., that

Majority people of the gulf lived dependent on its maritime source. Fishing prauws, especially traditional fishers, sailed fro and back, meanwhile *bagan* prauws leant on the Patukuki coast in Central Peling district. Every morning, its sidecoast and shallow waters of this area is full with many fishers for cutting seaweed. The dynamics is seen in some villages of western sidecoast of Peling Gulf.⁸

⁵ Tindjabate. Memahami Sejarah Tanah Poso: Sebuah Refleksi Singkat atas Penerbitan dan Peluncuran Buku Sejarah Poso. Paper presented in “Peluncuran dan Bedah Buku ‘Sejarah Poso’ Hotel Palu Golden, Palu, 23 Maret 2005, p. 4.

⁶ Notosusanto. *Op.cit.*, p. 38-39.

⁷ Darban. “Sejarah Lisan Memburu Sumber Sejarah dari Para Pelaku dan Penyaksi Sejarah”, *Humaniora IV/1997*, p. 1.

⁸ Wilman. Orang Kaya di Teluk Peling: Sisi Lain Perkembangan Ekonomi Rakyat di Teluk Peling”, *Midden Celebes* Vol. I Nomor I, Januari-Maret 2012, p. 74.

After maritime source, plantation source is abundant. Some plants are growth by local people as *baku* (Banggai's yam), *kela* (sweet potato), *bokinde* (corn), *ndeke* (taro) and *kasubi* (cassava). Lowland is reserved to plant some coconut palms, chocolate, pecan and cashew. Plateau is dominated by rottan, ebony and ironwood.⁹ In eastern side of gulf, the condition is best for some plantation crops as cloves, nutmeg, cacao, palms and sago. The fact has existed since a long time, even before Indonesia's independence, some plantation crops had been cultivated as palm and sago.

Calm condition and crossing position made the Peling gulf as a best position for defense strategy in liberating West Irian, or Trikora Operation.¹⁰ Peling gulf participated in this part of Indonesian history. As Urip Santoso said,

Finally, naval taskforce came at DK (meeting point) 1. The location is Peling Gulf in Banggai islands. We arrived there in early August 1962. While waiting for a negotiation in the United Nations, we made some combat trainings as necessary. In Peling Gulf, I got a present as an instruction to receive 2 platoons of civilian voluntaries and five "humat torpedoes" for *jibaku* (from Japanese language, meaning "to take suicide"). I wondered about the operation that never seen before even some briefing."¹¹

Comfort condition was felt by Indonesian army that positioned in the gulf. However, it was not so for Montomisan people. In August 1962, the comfortable gulf was shocked by Indonesian's naval forces under the command of Commodor Soedomo. Some months before, Indonesian cruiser visited the gulf. As some

⁹ Wisnawaty, *Op.cit.*, p. 27.

¹⁰ I define that the most crucial thing is our combination attack on Biak with amphibious landing and airborne. The place of rendezvous is Peling Gulf, in Banggai islands. Meanwhile airborne troops in Morotai, Ambon and Makassar will strike. Thus, we collect all maritime force that positioned in Ambon and Makasar, to a meeting point in Peling Gulf. According to the instruction, at late on August 17th, 1962, national flag must be flown on the ground of Irian. The operation is planned to work for five days. Therefore, D-day is defined on August 12th, 1962 (the day for landing in Biak). On 8-D, all naval force has to meet in Peling Gulf. On 20-D submarines that load special troops of command RPKAD has to leave for a position between Biak and Hollandia (Jayapura at present), with a task to sink enemy's ship and land the special troops to attack Hollandia. I will depart with police's patrol ship, accompanied with some minesweepers and anti-submarine, as a last group from Ambon to the meeting point of naval force in Peling Gulf. In this route, our trip is followed by a foreign submarine. Dwipayana and Ramadhan. *SOEHARTO; Pikiran, Ucapan, dan Tindakan Saya: Otobiografi*. t.t.: PT. Citra Lamtoro Gung Persada, 1989, p. 46.

¹¹ Santoso. "Operasi Pembebasan Djayawijaya" in Sukono dkk, *Dan Toch Maar!; Apa Boleh Buat, Maju Terus!: Ingatan dan Pengalaman ADELBORST INDONESIA 1949-1957*. Jakarta: Kompas. 2009, p, 295.

fregattes appeared, Montomisan people was surprised. Uncountable ships came as a fiber on the surface of sea. The command of naval task force was in the hand of “Pak Domo.”¹² One of the fregattes was KRI Iskandar Muda, under Captain (marine) Rudy Purnawa and Mayor Sahono Soebroto.¹³ After that, KRI Multatuli followed her.¹⁴

Almost every day, at the dawn, smoke billowed in the rock hills. Some time there was a loud explosion. Montomisan people did not know that the explosion came from some bombs for voluntarily’s training. It meant that the bombs were blown up in the training. According a witness, there were eight groups of voluntarily that trained for a battle with motorboat to launch torpedo. S. Tolodo said:

In Montomisan, there were some people voluntaries, but they don’t admit it. I know how to avoid to be recruited. In my teenager, I was asked three times to be voluntary by army but I refused it. Because of continous pressure, I offered a reason that I had to help my parent working in palm plantation in Montop. I went to there for working, but not for my parent. In Ambelang Gulf, I found more troops under command of Soeharto.¹⁵

What can we get from this information? Peling gulf was not only a meeting point 1 of Trikora Operation, but with her potential nature, it had a great effect on a common people. The meeting point had a close relation with military’s strategic position, especially for a strike against West Irian. Only twelve hours, Indonesian fregattes could reach their target, Papua island.¹⁶

On the other side, the existence of meeting point was interesting for outside immigrants to Montomisan people. Abubakar Tolodo’s testimony showed that “at that time, I saw Major Sahono Soebroto of the KRI Iskandar Muda and another persons in the fregatte. A day after, some soldiers landed in Montomisan.”¹⁷ Their arrival can be seen from two specters, namely as a realization of army’s double

¹² Interview with H. Lumangino in village of Sumondung, district of Bulagi Regency of Banggai islands, 21 Juni 2009.

¹³ Interview with Mohammad Saiful J. Mangopo, Firman’s, and Nasir Sadio in Montomisan, 24 Pebruari 2012.

¹⁴ Santoso, Urip. *Op.cit.*, p. 296.

¹⁵ Interview with S. Tolodo di Montomisan, 24 Pebruari 2012.

¹⁶ Santoso, Urip. *Op.cit.*, page. 296-297.

¹⁷ Interview with Abubakar Tolodo in Montomisan, 9 Juni 2006.

function for people and also as a form of recreation. On the ground, they were prepared to make an infiltration into West Irian, so they needed to have a close friendship relation with local people. Nasir Sadio informed that “

Almost every day, my parent’s house was visited by some soldiers from the fregatte that anchored in the front of village. Usually, two persons came at the dawn, returned to the fregatte in the evening. Possibly they had a leave of their task or instructed by their boss, because Pak Sahono seldom stayed in.¹⁸

Another testimony told that every Friday and Sunday, twenty soldiers and voluntaries of Trikora landed in Montomisan. They visted for sport, as playing volley ball and football. It had a positive effect because after Trikora Operation finished on August 17th, 1963, Montomisan was known with its volley ball sport.

IV. Trikora Operation and external influence

Before discussing on Montomisan’s further testimony about their fear toward the existence of Indonesian army as a part of Trikora Operation, some explanation is needed on the village’s history. It can be told as follow.

In the past time, there was an old woman that coming to the coast. She found a water source on the coast side and take it for drink. The water had a good taste, so that she called *mantamisan* that meaning in Indonesian as a good taste. It was happened in the sote age. The old women came from Tokolong. After drinking it, she made a border line between sea and land, and then she swore that it would be more people on the land than on the sea.

After swearing, she informed people of Kombolon that she found a water source. People who inhabited Kombolon’s hill came directly to the coast for proving it and they migrated there forever. As the Dutch colonized this region in 1940, they made an error in writing a name of Mantamisan as Montomisan. So the originality of Montomisan is Mantamisan.¹⁹

Since the rule of King Adi Cokro-Mbumbu Haji Abdul Rachman (1900-1922), Montomisan got a status of *Batomundoan Pauno* (vazal) from *Batomundoan* Banggai. New period in Montomisan’s history began in 1903, or in 1908, as this region was integrated as a part of Peling-Salakan district. It meant that Montomisan had a status of village under the Bulagi district. According to Aibin Sadili, at first before growing to be a district, Montomisan was a part of Tinangkung

¹⁸ Interview with M Saiful J Mangopo, Firman’s, and Nasir Sadio in Montomisan, 24 Pebruari 2012.

¹⁹ Village office of Montomisan, 2012.

district with Salakan as a capital (now capital of Tinangkung district), based on Surat Keputusan Kepala Daerah Tingkat I Sulawesi Tengah (governor's decree), dated 4 Pebruari number: 01/Pem/1961.²⁰ A man who controlled Montomisan is called as Kapitan. The term applies to the present, although Montomisan is a village of Bulagi district. Between 1908 and 2009, Montomisan was under seven rulers, namely Tolodo (1908-1930), Bae Tolodo (1930-1963), Manan Tolodo (1963-1990), Suleman Molunggui (1990-1997), Nurjad Tolodo (1997-2005), Abia Molunggui (2005-2009), and Ismadi Tumbu (2010-2015).

Montomisan people was not eliminated by the coming of military uniformed persons, but they were surprised with the arrival of naval forces. Nasir Sadio remembered a such condition in the middle of 1962. There were some fregatted on the sea and experienced a flunctuative. Many people were surprised with their sudden arrival. For eight months in Peling Gulf, there were two submerines around the waters. One of them was in the central, at the other was near the coast.

The interesting one is Montomisan people's memory about their relation with Indonesian soldiers, that majority were Javanese. The relation made Montomisan people had a memory on Indonesian language. At that time, a little people of this village spoke Indonesian well. Indonesian language was more populair as Melayu language. Indonesian soldiers infiltrated into some plantations near the village to get some fruits. They asked some persons who saw them, but not every one in Montomisan spoke Indonesian well.

Indonesian language was a hindrance for people who did not speak it well. Even some people tried to avoid or to take another way for not seeing with Indonesian soldier. In a such condition, it was advisable that outsider tried to learn local language (it meant the visitor to this village). It was needed to maintain a good personal relation. Conversely, village's people like Montomisan would always be inferior in the relation for a long time.²¹

This phenomenon motivated people who lived around Peling Gulf, especially Montomisan, to learn Indonesian language in their daily living.

²⁰ Sadili, *Op.cit.*, hlm. 39.

²¹ Brocher, *Jaques Lacan, Identitas dan Perubahan Sosial* (Yogyakarta: Galang Press, 2009), page. 34.

Abubakar Tolodo said that “finally, with painstakingly, I spoke Indonesian, although in the early phase. I learnt from the soldiers who visiting me.”²² However, there was a warning, namely less youth generation speaks local Banggai language. It motivates some fear among people in Peling Gulf, but no solution is found for it. A such condition is a product of fearness to loss a cultural identity.

An explanation on the topic shows two: (1) Montomisan has taken a part in a great event of Indonesian history: Trikora Operation, that lifted Peling Gulf as a DK 1. Therefore, Montomisan people could have a relation with outsiders. The relation had a positive effect, namely they began to know another person as a part of Indonesia nation and to learn to be a plurality Indonesian. (2) Speaking Indonesian language was a problem for people of Peling Gulf in period of 1960s. By historical testimony, it was proved that Indonesian language had a strategic role in their daily living. It can not be denied that Indonesian language was not Montomisan’s lingua franca in 1960s.

V. Cancellation of Prophet Maulid Ceremony

Since Round Table Conference in 1949, there was a unsoluble topic, namely West Irian. The result of negotiation agreed that in a year after the transfer of sovereignty, the Dutch and RIS would discuss about it.²³ Trikora Operation was announced formally on December 16th, 1961 and Indonesia got American’s support for it, because the U.S. President John F. Kennedy did not want to see Union Soviet’s expanding influence on Indonesia. Kennedy pressured the Dutch to hand West Irian over to Indonesia.²⁴

²² interview with Abubakar Tolodo in village of Montomisan, district of Bulagi regency of Banggai tanggal 21 Juni 2011. The interview was made before Tolodo’s dead.

²³ Dwipayana and Ramadhan. *Op.cit.* page. 48.

²⁴ Anwar. *Sejarah Kecil (Petite Histoire) Indonesia Jilid 3*. Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu, 2009, p. 51-52; Baca juga Ricklefs. *Sejarah Indonesia Modern*. Jakarta: Penerbit Serambi, 2008, p. 557-565.

After in tension condition for eight months, on August 16th, 1962, New York Agreement was signed between the Dutch and the Indonesian representatives on the hand over of West Irian. They agreed that on December 1st, 1962, Indonesian national flag was flown on the land of West Irian, and the Dutch called back all her civil and military officials before May 1st, 1963. On the date, Indonesian governmental structure was established formally after the transfer of responsibility from UNTEA (*United Nations Temporary Executive Authority*).²⁵ In 1969, Penentuan Pendapat Rakyat (Pepera, plebescite) was launched in Papua. However, Indonesian winning over Papua was a beginning of uncertainty under Controlled Democracy (Demokrasi Terpimpin).²⁶

Indonesian 's victory in her struggle for West Irian in 1963 was commemorated as a special day in Peling Gulf. The moment was celebrated with fireworks and salvos. A Montomisan, S. Tolodo, informed that

At the time, I was in Montop. In that afternoon, around three o'clock, some Montomisan and me (but I forget who my friends were) were returning to Montomisan. I returned because it would be a Prophet's Maulud Day some days later in 1963. Before leaving Montop, I was warned by my family that it would be salvos and fireworks in that afternoon in Ambelang Gulf. At that time, Soeharto was there as a command of operation. With my friends in a location between Bolubung and Mandok villages, I was surprised by some salvos from sea, only five salvos. We run away, but not so far as suddenly the salvo was opened again. It was not from rifle but also from canon. We soon looked for a safe place. Bullets fell like rain. The smoke of it blew up to cover all area, so we could not see more than 20 meters at distance. In a such condition, we run away from the coast, broke through palm plantations. Majority of Bolubung people informed that we were dead, but in fact we saved. Because it was too late for Montomisan, we sheltered in Bakalinga. A day after, we left for Montomisan.²⁷

Nasir Sadio told the same story, that :

At the afternoon, around three o'clock, village's people was surprised with some salvo from frigate KRI Iskandar Muda. It seemed that the salvo was a code of preparation. Rocket was blown up there (pointing to the sky). The sound was not so loud. Some soldiers on the grond soon left for the fregate.²⁸

²⁵ Dwipayana and Ramadhan. *Op.cit.* p. 49.

²⁶ Ricklefs, *Op.cit.*, p. 565.

²⁷ Interview with S. Tolodo in Montomisan, 24 Pebruari 2012.

²⁸ Interview with Mohammad Saiful J. Mangopo, Firman's, and Nasir Sadio ini Montomisan, 24 Pebruari 2012.

At the afternoon, Montomisan people prepared a ceremony of Prophet Maulud Day Celebration in 1962. A great explosion in the sky over Ambelang Gulf did not reduce their animosity for celebrating. Religious chief (Imam) of the village, Umar Sadio, was in Al Insan mosque, as if he did not hear anything. But they had a suspicion of the condition some days before. They only did not know when it would be happened, because some soldiers were called back suddenly.

Preparation for Maulud Day with praying of barzanzi in Montomisan was made after Isya (evening pray). The preparation was over, waiting a time to start. Just after Isya pray, an explosion in the sky was heard at far distance. People of village went out their houses and saw fireworks party from the fregattes that harbored in Ambelang Gulf.

Montomisan people was under fear, because they assumed that it was a great battle that threatened local people around Ambelang Gulf. Around area was like burned, with a dark smoke grew to the sky, made a cloud red and light. It had not finished, as fregatte KRI Iskandar Muda opened some fires of rocket. Another fregattes followed her and made the sky over Peling Gulf red as burned with a dark smoke.

Many people run into their houses and closed the door tightly. Some people said that the battle was on and they worried about it. Because of no information, the confusion spread among the people. Village head of Montomisan, Bae Tolodo, worried about it because he had no information from military side on the fireworks party. After consulting with the religious master of village (imam desa), they agreed that barzanzi pray would be cancelled to the next evening in village mosque of Montomisan.

A description of condition in Montomisan, in 1962, explains that show of force with fireworks and salvo in Peling Gulf worried local people for going out. A calm Peling Gulf for years was destructed by a such salvos, because it is a sign of war. It caused a cancellation of Prophet Maulud Day Ceremony with its dzikir pray. It signed that a panic spread among the village. No one knew that it was only fireworks, but a real battle.

VI. Closing remarks

Since a long time, Peling Gulf is known as a calm waters. So the gulf was chosen as Meeteng Point 1 (DK 1) in operation for liberating West Irian. The gulf was not so great and it was fit for some fregattes; harbor. Hundred great and little ships harbored here, included two submarines. It had a plus value of a short distance from Irian mainland.

As DK, the local people had a close relation with some soldiers from abroad of fregattes. Usually, the militaries visited villages around the gulf, especially montomisan. At that time, Montomisan people visited abroad the fregattes that harbored there. KRI Iskandar Muda was a fregatte that visited by many people of Montomisan. A such direct cultural interaction motivated Montomisan people to learn Indonesian language. As a result, many of them spoke Indonesian well, although at first it was a hard to try, especially for the dialects.

After eight months harbored in Peling Gulf, on August 17th, 1962, all fregattes and troops for the liberation of West Irian Campaign left for Ambelang Gulf to celebrate Independence Day. After positioned for eight months, on May 1st, 1963, the fregattes left Peling Gulf as DK 1. Before departing, a fearful fireworks are made. Therefore, a celebration of Prophet Maulud Day was cancelled to the next evening. As a common people, Montomisan people needed some explanation about it, so that they were not in panic. This is an example of State's classical weakness that continued to the present, namely a limited explanation or socialization of her new policy.

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Piracy off the coast of Somalia: Implications for China's Maritime Security

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Abstract

Piracy off the coast of Somalia in the Gulf of Aden in the Indian Ocean Region has become a significant non-traditional security challenge to many nations including China. The piracy attacks itself is a product of the lack of central government in Somalia over two decades now since the end of Cold War and the overthrow of Siad Barre government in 1991. Ships and other sea vessels operating from various countries including China that were engaged in fishing and trade activities in the “troubled waters” were attacked by pirates largely based in Somalia’s punt land region thereby eliciting responses from several regional and multilateral quarters including that of the United Nations and China. Despite Somalian piracy being contained to a large extent now in view of the several coordinated naval actions taken at the multilateral level with China joining other nations to tackle the issue, the prospects of it combining with terrorism looms large and hence needs to be addressed. This article analyses the inter-connection between failed states and piracy and the consequent maritime security threat it posted to China using relevant literatures and archival and internet sources. The article is divided into five broad sections. Besides the introduction and the concluding part, the second section provides the conceptual note on piracy and maritime security. The third section explains the background on Somalia and its failed status while the fourth section brings out a short glimpse of Somalia piracy and its method of operation. The fifth section analyses the role of China and its maritime implications and the last section provides the concluding remarks.

Key Words: *Maritime security; maritime terrorism; non-traditional security threats.*

Introduction

One of the practical steps that China has taken on the issue of piracy off the coast of Somalia is to take part, for the very first time in Chinese history outside the pacific region, in a multinational naval task force to combating piracy in the Gulf of Aden (GOA) in 2008 signalling a cooperative role. And in 2014 it decided to re-open its embassy in Mogadishu after about 23 years of closure signifying not only the revamping of historic China – Somalia relations but also the need to engage with this important east African country. It’s been a little over five years now since China has embarked on such offshore military activities.

Noteworthy among the several steps taken by China since then, is to enhance Somalia’s capacity to secure its borders¹ including that of its long coast line that has largely been under the control of pirates for over a decade now. For China, Somalia’s capacity building hence, is closely

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¹ David Rider, “China helps fight piracy off Somalia”, <http://www.neptunemaritimesecurity.com/china-helps-fight-piracy-somalia/> accessed 18th February 2015

inter-twined with that of the security at the sea - for both the Somalians and China. Whereas the West sees Somalia and the problem of piracy as one associated with its failed status and the consequent threat posed by terrorist groups such as Al Shabaab, China's approach is markedly different in that it has sought to engage with Somalia as with other African countries by building its capacity in order that piracy can no more thrive and thereby strengthen its relationship. A couple of issues comes out of this development a) Chinese maritime economic interests cannot be compromised and b) China is taking a more assertive role in international affairs without compromising its foreign policy principle of non-interference in internal affairs (Erickson and Strange, 2013, p.3). This article analyses the link between failed states and piracy and the consequent threat it poses to China's maritime security.

The concept of Piracy and Maritime Security

Piracy, according to the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) article 101, is defined as follows:

- a. Any illegal acts of violence or detention, or any act of depredation committed for private ends by the crew or the passengers of a private aircraft, and directed,
 - i. On the high seas, against another ship or aircraft, or against persons or property on board such ship or aircraft;
 - ii. Against a ship, aircraft, persons or property in a place outside the jurisdiction of any state;
- b. Any act of Voluntary participation in the operation of a ship or of an aircraft with knowledge of facts making it a pirate ship or aircraft,
- c. Any act inciting or of intentionally facilitating an act described in sub-paragraph (a) or (b)".

There is however a distinction between piracy and "Armed robbery against ships". Armed robbery against ship is defined in the Code of Practice for the Investigation of Crimes of Piracy and Armed Robbery Against Ship (UN resolution A. 922 (22) paragraph 2.2) as follows:

Armed robbery against ships means any unlawful act of violence or detention or any act of depredation or threat thereof, other than an act of "Piracy", directed against a ship or against person or property on board such ship, within a state's jurisdiction over such offences²

Another useful definition on piracy is by Martin N. Murphy who in his book "Small Boats, Weak States and Dirty Money" (2009), defines "piracy, very simply, is unlawful depredation at sea involving the use or threat of violence possibly, but not necessarily, involving robbery...Piracy, while not a political crime, has invariably been linked to politics and the expression of state power, or more commonly weakness..." In the same vein, the International Maritime Bureau annual report 2009 defines piracy and armed robbery as:

An act of boarding or attempting to board any ship with the apparent intent to commit theft or any other crime and with the apparent intent or capability to use force in the furtherance of that act³

² ICC International Maritime Bureau, "Piracy and Armed Robbery Against Ships" Annual Report 1st January – 31st December 2009, London, 2010

³ ICC International Maritime Bureau, "Piracy and Armed Robbery Against Ships" Annual Report 1st January – 31st December 2009, London, 2010.

Although the definition of what constitutes piracy is clear, what is not clear is with regard to piracy committed within the territorial waters by countries that are considered failed states such as Somalia. Even the 1982 UN Convention on Law of Seas (UNCLOS) doesn't spell out adequately such matters and hence the legality of the issue remains problematic⁴.

Security in the traditional sense is understood as security of the state from external military attack or as protecting the national interests or as a global security from nuclear catastrophe (UNDP, 1994). However, since the events leading to 11 September 2001 a paradigm shift on the notion of security⁵ has taken place in the form of increase in a wide-array of threats such as terrorism, drug trafficking, civil wars and not least maritime security - all of which are now viewed as non-traditional security threats. There is, according to Barry Buzan (quoted in Chris Rahman, 2009, p.9) an economic dimension to security that can be applied at all levels of analysis. And in this economic dimension there is also a maritime element, which according to Barry Buzan (2009, p.203) is equally important since the secure operation of global markets can be threatened by external forces such as piracy and war. So what then is maritime security?

For obvious reasons, the term maritime security denotes threats that arise at the maritime domain. Christian Bueger (2015, p.2) in his evocative discussion on the subject categorizes the various arguments on maritime security as negative and positive – negative because threats such as inter-state disputes, maritime terrorism, piracy, drug trafficking, arms selling, illegal fishing etc., should be absent and positive because it means maintenance of “good” or “stable” order at sea. The other positive dimension that Christian Bueger mentions is the linkages between maritime security and economic growth. Of course, in conceptualizing this, questions such as whose economic growth and whose stable order do these definitions imply arise pointing to the lack of unanimity and prevalence of confusion in understanding maritime security among scholars alike. Be that as it may, this research utilizes the economic growth approach since it includes “calls for more coordination, information sharing, regulation, law enforcement and capacity building”. As mentioned above, China has not only taken steps to coordinate and share information among international community on the issue but has also sought to engage Somalia by way of capacity building.

Background: Somalia and its failed status

It is important at the outset to have a short glimpse at the failed status of Somalia and its repercussions. Located strategically on the red sea coast close to the Middle East and on the path way of most important shipping lanes in the east coast of Africa, North of the Equator between the Gulf of Aden on the North and Indian Ocean in the east, Somalia borders Djibouti on the Northwest, Ethiopia on the West, and Kenya on Southwest. It occupies a key position in the Horn of Africa between the Arab Peninsula and the African continent. The Republic of Somaliland broke away from the mainland in 1991 but has not been able to gain international recognition except by few neighbouring states like Ethiopia. The semi-autonomous region Puntland became a self-governing entity in 1998 but still considers itself part of Somalia and the remaining regions in the

⁴ “Somali Piracy Exposes Weakness in UN Law of the Sea”, <http://www.voanews.com/content/a-13-2009-04-08-voa67-68785907/411065.html> accessed 8th May 2015

⁵ See for an excellent discussion on the concept of security, Barry Buzan, “People, States and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post Cold War Era”, ECPR Press, United Kingdom, 2009. See also, Chris Rahman, “Concepts of Maritime Security”, Centre for Strategic Studies, Victoria University of New Zealand, 2009.

South and the centre is currently engulfed in factional and sectarian violence since 1991. Somalia's population in 2012 was estimated at 10,195,000 and the country has an area of 637,657, square kilometres, its GDP in the same year was put at USD 1306.00⁶. The Somalis had developed intense contact with the Persian and Arab immigrants at early stages which shaped their lifestyle, language and culture immensely (Afyare Abdi Elmi, 2010).

Since attaining independence in July 1960, Somalia has been under political turmoil. The democratic political system that was put in place after independence was short lived. Primarily due to financial and administrative incapacity, successive civilian governments was not able to pull along and in October 1969 Somalia witnessed a bloodless coup which brought Major General Siad Barre to power turning the country into a socialist state in which all able bodied citizens were compelled to undergo military training. He ruled the country as a despot until his overthrow in 1991. Obviously, Barre's totalitarian rule provided the necessary incentive for his own downfall. His centralized administration manifested by militarizing the state without any opposition; the abrogation of the national constitution; dissolution of the elected National Assembly and appointment of people to important positions of power based on their affiliation and loyalty than merit; and bringing Somalia under a socialist ideology in tune with the then Soviet Union – all of them and many more put a full stop to his rule (Lewis, 2003). With the mismanagement of Somalia's political terrain by Siad Barre's regime, warlords emerged along clan lines carving out enclaves and becoming very influential by smuggling just anything. Overtime, extremist Islamists such as Al-Shabaab emerged in 2006 with claims to Somalia's political power and very egregiously inflamed the conflict. In the process Somalia has turned into war zone leading to increased poverty, unemployment and migration to neighbouring countries and also turning to piracy.

Addressing this issue, Francis Fukuyama (2004: 17) argues that “weak or failed states are close to the root of many of the world's most serious problems” and these range from poverty and various diseases to drug trafficking and terrorism, whose occurrence in one part of the world have a direct or indirect consequences on the rest of the world. It is obvious therefore that the strength or weakness of a state is a matter of international significance and no more it can be taken lightly. However, it matters a lot whether a state has the capacity to command loyalty, maintain essential elements of sovereignty, a monopoly over the legitimate use of force and the ability to garner enough resources that are necessary to rule (Holsti, 1996: 82-83). Hence, various interconnected components go to determine the strength or weakness of a state and they are the idea of the state itself, the physical basis, and the government machinery. Where these elements are well connected, their prospect to sustain and support each other will be strong. And if not, then we may term it as “failed states” – political entities that have collapsed or are on the verge of collapse. This is a state of affairs where there is no public order, ineffective command of authority and loyalty and groups of all sorts and factions attempt to resist those who might try to integrate the community to establish effective order.

Rationale for Somali Piracy and its Method of Operation

The piracy in Somalia revolves around the Somali territorial waters, the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. It has the longest coastline of about 3,025 km in continental Africa. However the Punt land region of Somalia constitutes the critical axis of the Somali piracy as over 90 per cent of the Somalis involved in piracy are from Puntland. Land bases of the pirates are also found in

⁶ UN Data “Somalia”, <https://data.un.org/CountryProfile.aspx?crName=Somalia> accessed 8th January 2015

the Puntland communities from where they launch out to sea. Besides Puntland, the other region from where piracy network was operating was the Mudug region in the Southern part of Somalia⁷.

Tracing the origins, Murphy (2009) indicates that much of Somali piracy appears to have its roots in fishing disputes⁸. The absence of any effective authority operating along Africa's long national coastline has meant that fishing vessels from Europe and East Asia can exploit the area's rich marine resources at the expense of locals causing dangerous tensions. In other words, the Somali fishermen became increasingly challenged by well-organized and sophisticated international fishing vessels from Europe and elsewhere. The Somali fishermen could not simply stand this competition from international fishing firms and hence they simply turned into pirates. This argument falls within the mainstream of most stories tracing the origins of Somali piracy but though not exhaustive as many other strands have since emerged. Some commentators argue that the main sources of piracy in the region is armed groups, formed by local fishermen in response to illegal, unreported and unregulated fishing (IUU) by foreign fishing vessels, which subsequently become pirate gangs.⁹ For example, a July 2005 report from the United Kingdom Department for International Development (DFID) estimated that Somalis lost \$100 million to illegal tuna and shrimp fishing in the country's exclusive economic zone in 2003-2004.¹⁰ What is noteworthy in this argument is the economic dimension to security, which the ordinary Somali men faced that later translated into maritime element in the form of pirate attacks in order to protect their own livelihood¹¹. As will be seen below, for China (and the rest of the world) it is the same economic security that has forced them to cooperate against the Somali pirates.

The pirates operate in a gang of four to six people and are organized along networks (Raymond Gilpin, 2007, p.7). Their method of operation appears to be haphazardly executed while on shore their tactic of hijacking vessels and holding them, along with crew and cargo, to ransom is relatively sophisticated (Murphy, 2009: p.38). The lawless conditions in Somalia and one may add with the cooperation of fragile government authorities especially in Puntland, where it is possible to move a ship beyond the reach of rescue or retaliation, make it an ideal place for ransom based piracy to thrive. The ransom income of Somali pirates has probably been substantial. For example, the most successful group in the Southern Mudug region called the Xarardheere based 'Somali

⁷ United Nations Security Council, Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council resolution 1846 (2008)

dated 16th March 2009, S/2009/146, http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2009/684 accessed 18th January 2015

⁸ For a good account on the origins of Somali piracy see, Joana Ama Osei-Tutu, "The Root Causes of Somali Piracy", KAIPTC Occasional Paper no. 31, March 2011 <http://www.kaiptc.org/Publications/Occasional-Papers/Documents/Occasional-Paper-31-Joana.aspx> accessed 13th May 2015.

⁹ Lauren Ploch et. al, "Piracy off the Horn of Africa", Congressional Research Service, April 10, 2009, pp.6-7; see also, Contact Group on Piracy off the Coast of Somalia, Fact Sheet, Bureau of Political and Military Affairs, January 14, 2009, <http://www.state.gov/t/pm/rls/othr/misc/121054.htm> accessed 18th January 2015. See map below which shows a picture of European trawlers off the coast of Somalia.

¹⁰ Report by Marine Resources Assessment Group (MRAG), "Review of Impacts of Illegal, Unreported and Unregulated Fishing on Developing Countries", London, Department of International Development July 2005, pp. 1-178

¹¹ Of the 439 word wide pirate attacks more than half of them were attributed to Somali piracy. See for example Christopher Alessi and Stephanie Hanson, "Combating Maritime Piracy", <http://www.cfi.org/piracy/combating-maritime-piracy/pl18376> accessed 28th December 2014.

Marines', apparently demanded \$1m and eventually settled for #8000,000 for the return of the Dongwon-ho, a South Korean tuna fishing vessel that was captured in April 2006¹².

With the increasing success of such attacks and hijacking of sea vessels and the huge financial returns in the form of ransoms, the fortunes of these ex-fishermen changed and this resulted not only in a kind of organization or network for these earliest pirates but their success attracted many more Somalians, including, teachers, businessmen, militants working for several warlords, accountants and many more Somalians in other fields of human endeavour including Somali Diaspora (The Daily Monitor, 23rd November 2008, p.20).

China's Role and Implications

At the outset it should be made clear that China has played a constructive role with regard to the piracy issue by way of a) cooperating with the multinational task force to combating piracy and b) simultaneously taking steps to adopt a comprehensive approach to maritime security. China's participation¹³ was a response to the piracy threat as per the UN Security Council resolution 1851 of 2008, which authorizes states to cooperate to counter piracy. Besides, it was with the sovereign consent of the Somali Transitional Federal government that China had sent its naval task forces to the Gulf of Aden. In fact, two Chinese ships were also captured and taken hostage along with some crew members in November 2008 and hence China had to react to protect its national interests. The state run China Daily reported that the "Chinese government supports the international community's decision to cooperate on the piracy problem according to international law and UN Security Council resolutions"¹⁴. And since its first offshore operation in 2008, China has sent about 16 naval task forces of not less than three ships in each force and has escorted several thousand ships both domestic and foreign. According to State media, the Chinese task forces consisted of "most advanced frigates, destroyers and amphibious ships and have escorted 5,463 Chinese and foreign commercial ships, thwarted more than 30 potential pirate attacks, rescued over 40 commercial ships, and escorted 11 vessels previously taken by pirates"¹⁵.

This shows not only China's cooperative role with the international community but also reflects its "key goal to register the presence of Chinese navy"¹⁶ and thereby to "demonstrate its desire to get maximum domestic and international publicity from the missions"¹⁷. As rightly noted by Kamerling Susanne (2011, p.121) the Indian Ocean offers more opportunities for maritime newcomers such as China than do other Oceans. With the exception of India, the other littoral states of Indian Ocean are small powers but with a large population and with about 40 % of the world coastline (Amit Pandya, 2011, p.1). Hence the region has become important not only for countries to protect their respective interests but also to show case their international role and status. Important to note here is that China has been conducting naval drills to show case its power.

¹² It is estimated that in 2011 alone Somali piracy impact on global economy cost \$ 7 Billion. Lauren Ploch, Christopher M. Blanchard, Ronald O'Rourke, R. Chuck Mason, and Rawle O. King, "Piracy off the Horn of Africa," *Congressional Research Service*, April 19, 2010

¹³ "Chinese Naval Fleet Carries out First Escort Mission Off Somalia", <http://en.people.cn/90001/90776/90883/6568232.html> accessed 14th May 2015

¹⁴ "Navy Ships May Head to Somalia" http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2008-12/17/content_7311735.htm accessed 11th May 2015

¹⁵ Erickson and Strange, 2013.

¹⁶ "Navy Ships May Head to Somalia" http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2008-12/17/content_7311735.htm accessed 11th May 2015

¹⁷ Erickson and Strange, 2013.

According to Teshu Singh,¹⁸ the several naval drills conducted by China close to the GOA are meant to “demonstrate the growing reach of the country's maritime reach and power”.

The above apart one can also note China's comprehensive approach to solve the problem. This was emphasized by the Somali Ambassador to the African Union at Beijing requesting China to find permanent solution to the problem by way of building Somali capacity to tackle the problem in the long run.¹⁹ Along this line, the Chinese Ambassador Huang Jemin called for a comprehensive approach to address the problem by “boosting the security capacity in Somalia, assisting economic development there and strengthening the capacity of other nations on that part of the Indian Ocean coast”. In fact, during the decade spanning the Cold War years between 1963 and 1971, Somalia received \$ 130 million in credits but with its collapse in 1991 the aid ended²⁰. However, China's aid to Somalia has resumed now. In fact, to these many countries in Africa, China has always been a welcoming phenomenon notable examples being Somalia's immediate neighbours in the Horn of Africa such as Ethiopia, the Sudan, Eritrea and Djibouti.

It is obvious that China's growing economic interests outside its region had led to transformation in security priorities. From being a coastal defence force, Chinese Navy has now expanded its role to that of far seas. It has invested heavily in the development of ports in order to ensure reliable access to Chinese commercial shipping that uses the Red Sea and the Mediterranean Sea²¹. This is largely owing to its expansion of bilateral economic ties with countries in Africa and Europe. Besides its energy dependence²² China relies on large scale infrastructural projects for its state owned enterprises in addition to continued markets for exports. All of these can be possible only when the transportation route is safe and sound.

Hence China feels compelled to attach importance to maritime security as most of its economic needs are met through the Oceans. Also, there is constant expansion of infrastructural projects in the Indian Ocean region in which new ports, rail systems and sea-based pipelines traverse across the Ocean to connect parts of West Asia for economic and trade purposes. New proposals have also been put forward to this effect highlighting the emphasis that this region has attained of late. For example, the recent proposals to set up a \$ 40 billion fund to support the Maritime Silk Road initiative by China along with developing a new Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and a New Development Bank in which billions more would be contributed by China adds testimony to this²³. Hence, for China, securing and protecting the sea lines of communication (SLOCs) becomes all the more vital. It is obvious therefore that there is an

¹⁸ Teshu Singh, “Increasing Maritime Competition: IORA, IONS, Milan and the Indian Ocean Networks”, in Aparupa Bhattacharjee, ed., *The Maritime Great Game: India, China, U.S and the Indian Ocean*, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, New Delhi, http://www.ipcs.org/pdf_file/issue/SR150-IPCSSpecialFocus-MaritimeGreatGame.pdf accessed 5th May 2015, p.5

¹⁹ Zhang Haizhou, “Somalia welcomes Chinese naval presence” http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2008-12/17/content_7313012.htm accessed 11th May 2015

²⁰ David H. Shinn, “China and the Horn of Africa”, Middle East Studies Association, Washington DC, 2011, p. 3.

²¹ Emma Scott, “China's Silk Road Strategy: A Foothold in the Suez, But Looking To Israel”, *China Brief*, vol. XIV, no.19, October 2014, p. 10.

²² It is estimated that by 2030 its dependence on oil import through seas will increase to about 80 % and hence maritime transport needs to be protected. See Erickson and Strange, p. 13.

²³ Felix K. Chang, *Chinese Submarines and the Indian ASW in the Indian Ocean*, Foreign Policy Research Institute, <http://www.fpri.org/geopoliticus/2014/11/chinese-submarines-and-indian-asw-indian-ocean> accessed 5th May 2015.

increased deployment of naval power both by the littoral and extra-regional powers to “support *their respective*²⁴ national strategic and economic interests”²⁵.

In fact, China’s latest Defence White Paper (2013) stresses that it will “protect national maritime rights and interests and national security interests in outer space and cyber space” and armed forces providing reliable support for China’s interests overseas²⁶. This is also indicative of the shift in China’s naval objectives from one of coastal defence to offshore defence and ultimately to far seas. A further testimony to this is the speech by the former Chinese President Hu Jintao at the 18th National CCP Congress in which he stressed that “We should attach great importance to maritime, space and cyberspace security”²⁷. Notably, he emphasized the need to protect China’s maritime interests saying:

We should enhance our capacity for exploiting marine resources, develop the marine economy, protect the marine ecological environment, resolutely safeguard China’s maritime rights and interests, and build China into a maritime power.

The above is telling of the significance attached to maritime security by China. Notable with regard to the emphasis on far sea operations and preparedness is that it is not specific to any particular region or space; rather it is defined by Chinese maritime interest which, as noted above, has been expanding of late. In fact, China has been increasing its access to ports and airfields and making huge investments in infrastructure development and also attempting to establish base facilities with friendly countries like Sri Lanka as part of its Maritime Silk Route initiative. Therefore it is clear that China is embarking on expanding its influence commensurate with its expanding role and interests.

Implications

China’s expanding role and interests has brought with it certain implications as well. Its increasing assertiveness beyond East Asia became noticed when it decided to send its naval forces to participate in counter piracy operations. This new venture was one of cooperative as compared to that of East and South China Sea corridors, which was one of forcefulness. Whatever the differences might be, the implications that one can draw from this is the extending economic and military influence that China is able to portray now. It is along this line that the much talked about Maritime Silk Road (MSR) Corridor project was proposed and which aims to enhance trade and sea connectivity and assist in the development of local economies. The MSR project “envisions an economic cooperation area stretching from the Western Pacific to the Baltic Sea as a sort of maritime highway buttressed by Chinese-supported infrastructure and port facilities in states straddling maritime routes along which China’s trade and natural resources flow” (Zorawar Doulet Singh, 2014, p.133). In fact, the project crosses the northern Indian Ocean to Nairobi, Kenya and goes north around the Horn of Africa and moving through the Red Sea into the Mediterranean, with a stop in Athens before meeting the land-based Silk Road in Venice. The Silk Road concept aims to “connect more than 50 countries via the sea and build a network of port cities along the Silk Road”²⁸. The port facility that China has developed in Pakistan in Gwadar connecting Beijing

²⁴ Italics mine

²⁵ Vijay Shakuja, “Increasing Maritime Competition: IORA, IONS, Milan and the Indian Ocean Networks”, in Aparupa Bhattacharjee, ed., *The Maritime Great Game: India, China, U.S and the Indian Ocean*, Institute of

²⁶ http://eng.mod.gov.cn/Database/WhitePapers/2013-04/16/content_4442752.htm accessed 5th May 2015

²⁷ Full text of the 18th National CCP Congress, http://www.china.org.cn/china/18th_cpc_congress/2012-11/16/content_27137540_9.htm accessed 8th May 2015.

²⁸ M.K. Narayan, “To China with a Clear Strategy” *The Hindu*, Tuesday 12th May 2015, Chennai edition, p.12.

with Gulf Countries and Arabian Sea enables China to transport oil through this facility and into China via land²⁹. Similarly, a foot hold in the Horn by way of re-opening of its embassy at Mogadishu in order to deal with the Somali piracy testifies this desire. In this regard it is noteworthy to mention a report by the South China Morning post that China is expected to set up a network of offshore military supplies depot in strategic ports such as in Djibouti to protect its national interests. In fact, Agence France-Presse quoting the Djibouti President Ismail Omar Guelleh reported that talks were ongoing to enlist Beijing's military base in the country³⁰. Quoting a naval expert at the Chinese Naval Research Institute, the South China Morning Post said that it is inevitable that more overseas supply ports will be set up in Africa and other strategic areas as Chinese national interests expand.³¹ Understandably military bases in that part of the world would only go to support China's offshore commerce but it would also raise concerns on the part of extra-regional players particularly the U.S. which has been holding Djibouti base as part of its war on terror. Concerns are also there on the part of regional players such as India as to the real intentions of China which are viewed sceptical.

Conclusions

To conclude it is clear that China's participation in the counter piracy operations is owing to the impact it had on its maritime economic security and consequently its desire to extend its influence well beyond its sphere of influence. The five year long operation consolidated the Chinese navy as an Ocean going navy and an avenue to improve its ability to operate beyond its sphere of influence. The participation further enabled China to solidify its logistical support, coordinate with other countries, acted as an avenue to improve its confidence and finally make a mark among regional and extra-regional powers that it is a responsible player in the world and cannot be ignored in any non-traditional security issue affecting the international community. It also contributed to more close ties with Somalia and a foot hold in that part of the world with possibilities of establishing a military base in the near future. As was pointed out talks are already under way to establish such bases in Djibouti along with U.S. base and the initiative for a maritime security road also envisages precisely this. While its positive contributions in such forms are welcome, time has come for major players including U.S and India to come to terms with China owing to its rising status. Cooperation is inevitable on major issues of common concern such as the climate change negotiations, Doha Trade round of talks, restructuring of global economic institutions like IMF, balancing U.S supremacy etc., and more importantly that which was rightly exhibited by China in the case of Somali piracy. Be that as it may, time has come to accept China's role commensurate with its big power status. What remains to be seen is China's continued constructive role that takes on world leadership in a benign and constructive manner.

²⁹ See for details, Saibal Dasgupta, "China gets 40 year management rights on Pak's Gwadar Port and access to Arabian Sea", <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/world/china/China-gets-40-year-management-rights-on-Paks-Gwadar-port-and-access-to-Arabian-Sea/articleshow/46923252.cms> accessed 14th May 2015.

³⁰ Agence France Presse, "Djibouti President: China Negotiating Horn of Africa Military Base" <http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/international/mideast-africa/2015/05/10/djibouti-president-china-negotiating-horn-africa-military-base/27082879/> accessed 14th May 2015

³¹ "China sets sights on offshore military depots: analysts", <http://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy-defence/article/1794667/china-sets-sights-offshore-military-depots-analysts> accessed 14th may 2015

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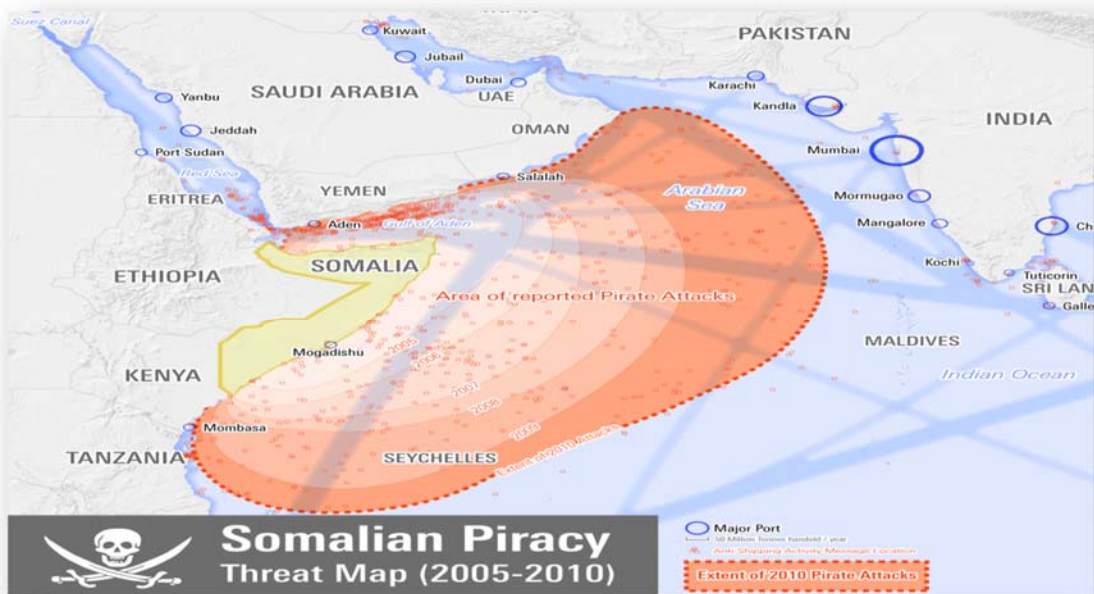
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Maps



Revitalization City Through Bandung Juara As A Sustainable Urban Development

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I. INTRODUCTION

Sustainable development does not just concentrate on environmental issues, but includes three spheres of policy, there are economic development, social development and environmental protection. These three dimensions are interrelated and constitute the driving pillars for sustainable development. In other words, development is not only understood as economic development, but also as a means to achieve the satisfaction of intellectual, emotional, moral and spiritual culture where diversity is the fourth policy of sustainable development policy sphere.

The basis of all the above aspects of spatial planning pedestal is made by the government by involving the community and all other stakeholders. The role of community in spatial planning is conducted through the participation in the preparation of spatial planning, participation in space utilization and participation in controlling the use of space.

II. REVIEW OF THEORY

Revitalization is a process or way and act to revive something that previously that revitalization means to make something or act to be vital, while the vital words have meaning is very important or very desirable to life and so on. Definition of revitalization can mean the process, how and or actions to revive or reactivate any activity programs. So generally the sense of revitalization are attempts to make something that becomes important and essential.

Diverse revitalization word often used to carry out the goals of education for example revitalization, the revitalization of an area, Revitalizing Local knowledge and a variety of other revitalization along with the times.

Bandung Juara Program is a program of work which will make the city of Bandung comfortable, superior and prosperous.

Mayor of Bandung Ridwan Kamil said that to realize the slogan "Bandung Juara" from all aspects, territorial decentralization is currently being deliberated planning to be realized. "If Bandung want to be a champion, this decentralization should be the spirit," Ridwan plans to make the village into an institution-level work unit (SKPD).

Ridwan admitted studies currently being conducted to seek legal protection that allows changes to be SKPD the village. He hopes the change "status" village into SKPD can be realized before the end of his term. "We are over the next five years would be appropriate. If there is no legal hook, please made the legal hook. If it's there, just executed," said Ridwan.

Ridwan hope decentralization program can solve a lot of problems in the regional that have solved many of the central government. "There could resolve (the issue of) good order, garbage, parks, traffic jams, and so forth through the budget and regional personnel.

“Bandung Juara” Program

After election of mayor of Bandung held, the General Election Commission (KPU) Bandung set Ridwan Kamil as Bandung Mayor elected from 2013 to 2018. Determination that after Ridwan won 45.24 percent of the vote, thus winning the round because qualified more than 30%. Pada 16 September 2013, who was born in Bandung, October 4, 1971, officially assumed the mandate as mayor of Bandung. Of course, for the citizens of Bandung presence of the Mayor, who works the renowned architect holds its own expectations. Has become a common reality that there are some problems in Bandung, which should be addressed. So how Ridwan Kamil as the new Mayor of moving the program to progress Flower City?

1. Cycling Campaign On Friday

This is a program that is more focused on the concept of the Bandung neighborhood more grounded. Friday cycling campaign is exemplified by Ridwan Kamil directly by preceding it works when will chair the meeting with the head of the Department of Work Units (SKPD) in the living room of City Hall. Ridwan arrived at 09.00 to wear a bike and immediately led the meeting. According to Emil Kang, cycling in addition to making a healthy body and a clear mind, also be one solution to tackle congestion. He pointed directly to start using a bicycle to work. It is with the hope to follow the staff and all the citizens of Bandung. To support this program, members of the Regional Leadership Council (Muspida) Bandung will receive a new operational vehicles, such as bicycles Synergetic Hybrid Bicycle or popularly called the electric bicycle. Party City Government has bought 13 bicycles for use by the Mayor, Deputy Mayor, Secretary, and the officials in Bandung.

2. Waste Processing Equipment Program

Mayor candidate campaigns, a figure which used to be called Kang Emil offering a program for 1,500 tools dividing process waste if elected mayor. As evidence of its seriousness in this program, he handed the help of waste processing equipment in the Village District of Rancasari Cipamokalan. Count tool is part of the solution garbage Bandung Sea of Garbage. 1,500 machines programmed it will be deployed to each RW or village. Later, only 30 percent were taken to landfills. Results of the enumeration can be made biogas and compost. Biogas directly piped into people's homes, so no need to buy gas. As for compost later be sold and the proceeds could be cash RW or village.

While, to support the management of this waste matter, In the budget 203, Bandung municipal government will procure motorcycles waste hauler for 151 villages as the city of Bandung. Each should have a motorcycle RW garbage. Due to budget constraints and for the pilot, this year only provided to each village.

3. Smart City Program

Another program from Emil Kang to fix Bandung yaitu penerapana concept of Smart City for the next five years. This is motivated by the potential that Bandung has a lot of scientists who can realize the Smart City. With jargon "Bandung Champion", he expects the results of the applications scientists herb that can be used to take the right decisions in running various programs in Bandung. Smart City concept in a work program which will be conducted by Emil over the next five years is the system report. The program will allow citizens to report on issues Bandung via online. For example the public to file a complaint with the photo or video through social networks. Later then each agency shall respond in quick time, so they can immediately check.

Use of Social Networking Accounts to Accommodate Residents Aspiration Bandung. Mayor of Bandung Ridwan Kamil asked the head SKPD have a Twitter account both institutional and private. The head office also should be more communication and diligent ngetwit with the mayor through social media so that not too many meetings. Tweet or twit is the term for rectification status on Twitter. Emil Kang itself has a Twitter account that account name: <https://twitter.com/ridwankamil>. He used to greet his followers (followers) are delivered directly to her aspirations.

4. Handling with social welfare problems (POM)

In this case, the city government to cooperate with the military in dealing with social welfare issues (POM). This program is a part that will be combined with the movement of this discipline. Where in its implementation, the program is coordinated with the military to support facilities accommodating while PMKSs while the process of education and the economy. If needed, POM form of midfielder, beggars, street children, and others will be repatriated. With the record, if it can be returned to its territory, government of Bandung city parties will coordinate with the relevant area. Associated with the handling of POM, Social Bandung Institutions (Dinas Sosial) still refers to the Minister of the Interior No. 12/2006. Aid already allocated to 16 organizations of street children. Handling vagrants and beggars ala Ridwan is renting them into a team cleanliness of the city.

5. Health Card Program Bandung Champion (Kartu Sehat Bandung Juara/KSBJ)

Bandung Health Card Program Champion (KSBJ) is planned to be launched in late 2013. This is the fulfillment of a campaign promise couples Mayor and Deputy Mayor of Bandung Ridwan Kamil-Oded M Danial. So if you go to the clinic or hospital designated by the government, staying healthy implies that the card no longer need to carry a Certificate of Tidan Able (SKTM). The card will be given to the poor who have SKTM. Later the cost of treatment of citizens as a whole KSBJ owner will be borne by the government. From the available data, there are about 700 thousand citizens who are poor. But of that amount can only be served for free treatment is still half. In addition KSBJ problems, in the field of health it was ready to realize its promise to make the program a 24-hour health center and ambulance services free of charge.

6. Damaged Roads Improvement Program and Addressing Congestion

To reduce the damaged roads are mushrooming in the streets of Bandung, the municipal government set up a rapid reaction unit patched road. Bandung city government party presenting the Rapid Response Unit (URC) patched road. Later they will work at existing locations bolongnya road. But it was not damaged overall, only minor. If it breaks the whole it is necessary third party. Bandung community can provide information about the damaged road to the Department of Highways and Water (DBMP) Bandung or to the nearest village or can be immediately reported to the mention todbmpkotabdg twitter account. Emil Kang hopes to pave the streets of Bandung to 100 percent within one year of his reign.

As to tackle traffic congestion was becoming a problem of its own in Bandung, one of which is done by supplying free school bus for students. Other programs in addressing congestion in the city of Bandung is to improve the public transportation. Ridwan has a unique way of encouraging its citizens to use public transport than private vehicles to public transportation mengkampanyeukan Day, namely 'One Day, One Route' with free public transportation, orderly, safe, comfortable and not stay. Public transportation Day was held on 21 September 2013 from 05.00 am in the morning till 19:00 pm with a special stretch Kalapa - Dago. And Ridwan himself down into an impromptu public transportation drivers and Chairman of the Parliament of Bandung, Erwan Setiawan, as driver assistance or called "kernet".

7. Keep Overtime Program

Ridwan Kamil already had the idea to change the layout of the city, including the conversion of ex-localization Saritem. In layout, the best idea is Saritem create a new function. Nati we find (a solution), whether into field or the other. Later, Saritem can be converted into green open space (RTH) or the football field. Meanwhile, to prevent the prostitutes back to Saritem, RK has also prepared a draft 'Keep Overtime' (keep hometown). The program will keep the overtime was not structural, in the sense not so later the municipal police guard. But society is also involved, one of which reactivate night guard. In the meantime, there are 70 houses that stood in an area of 8780 square meters, the new 21 units purchased by the City Government of Bandung. While walking, the existing land will be planted with trees or a fence.

Those are some programs that became the mission of the Mayor of Bandung period 2013 - 2018. And there's more other programs that have not been described here (the next will be updated again). Of course, this only forms new paradigm would revamping Bandung itself. Overview of some of these programs is nothing else as its own assessment for you, especially the citizens of Bandung. Whether implementation in the field in accordance with what is expected? Let us guard together. This however involves Bandung for all. The figure of the leader is simply a bridge to Bandung improvement toward the better.

Hopefully Bandung forward into the town which is really ideal with merenah city planning concepts, both in matters of transport, the cleanliness of the city, street vendors, to the environment. Lets check on and repaired it together! If there are things that are less pleased about the system take care of Bandung, please contact the leader of Bandung on his Twitter account. This is only to share information only for the benefit coupled with a neutral stance on all sorts of elements of the interests of any party.

Tourism Ministry Appoints Bandung As A Top Destinations

The Ministry of Tourism (Kementrian Pariwisata) appoint Bandung became a national tourist destination. Even the City of Flowers has become a major focus kemenpar to increase foreign tourists. After Bandung, Kemenpar will work Surabaya, Medan and Makassar. "Incidentally order tourist destination that we are working on is Bandung. According to Tourism Minister Arief Yahya, for most potential Bandung, after it Surabaya, Medan, and Makassar. He said the reason for choosing the city of Bandung because the projection development will be better and better. Although the number of foreign tourists and its performance is still less than North Sumatra or Surabaya. "Especially later if Kertajati Airport in Majalengka opened, surely there will be more foreign tourists to come to Bandung," said Arief.

He admitted to tourists (domestic tourism). Each year domestic tourist who came to 6 million people, or about 80 percent. So with Bandung become the goal of national tourism destination, it encourages to guide foreign tourists to Bandung.

According to him, the city of Bandung is suitable for tourists from the Middle East. Because they prefer to cold temperate regions such as Puncak, Bogor and Cianjur. During tourists who come to the city of Bandung more than Malaysia. Now that he is pushing the Chinese Muslims to come to the city of Bandung (Hj. Eli Siti Wasliah in Galamedia).

III. METHODOLOGY

The approach in these study used qualitative method with descriptive analysis. One of Bandung Juara's programme is Bandung city park revitalization. Green open spaces have sprung up access the fertile growing this city to expand the lungs of the city that is comfortable for Wargi Bandung. The more city parks obviously will increasingly enhance the happiness index of population in those city. Bandung City government did not hesitate to spend 12 billion rupiahs from APBD's budget not only to be used for renovation of existing parks, but also for the establishment of new parks. Bandung has 400 parks that 40 of them are designed as theme parks. Parks in the city of Bandung was also not spared from such facilities Free WI-Fi is increasingly supporting social activities. Therefore, this study used a qualitative approach. Cresswell (1998: 15) defines qualitative research as follows:

Qualitative research is an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem. The researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analysis of words, reports detailed views of informants, and conducts the study in a natural setting.

Qualitative research is often also referred to as a method of ethnographic, phenomenological method, or a method of impressionistic (Cresswell, 1998: 7; Sudjana and Ibrahim, 1989: 195). Because qualitative research methods are often used to generate theories based on data from the field (grounded theory), then the resulting theory is called the generating theory. Therefore, the accuracy of interpretation relies heavily on analysis acumen, objectivity, systematic and systemic.

The data to be obtained from the plan in the form of descriptive and analytical study of an event taken from the natural situation, the required accuracy in observing aspects studied. In this case the role of the researcher is crucial as a primary research tool (key instrument). In line with the opinion Nasution (2003: 9) which explains that:

Only human beings as instruments to understand the meaning of human interaction, face motion read, explore feelings and values contained in the words or deeds of respondents. Although used recording equipment or cameras researchers still play a major role as a research tool.

Data Collection Techniques

1. Observation

The term is derived observations and the Latin word meaning "to see" and "attention". Which then accurately observe their activities, noting the phenomenon that appears, and consider the relationship between aspects of the phenomenon. In this study, the observation is done through observation aims to obtain data about a problem and examine the values adopted by the community, in order to obtain an understanding or as a means of re-checkingin or proof of information / information obtained earlier. As usual scientific method of observation is defined as the observation and recording of the phenomena investigated systematically. In a broad sense observation is not only limited to the observations made, either directly or indirectly.

Observation is also one of the techniques of data collection is very prevalent in qualitative research methods. Observation essentially an activity by using the senses, can sight, smell, hearing, to obtain the information necessary to answer the research problem. The results of observations in the form of activities, events, event, object, condition or a certain atmosphere, a person's emotions and feelings. Observations carried out to obtain a real picture of an event or events to answer the research questions

2. Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

Focus Group Discussion (FGD) a qualitative method. The aim is to obtain in-depth information on concepts, perceptions and ideas. This research method choose those which are supposed to represent and recognize the problem which is the subject of this research. In this case that would

be invited is the foodholic, humanists, sociologists and representatives from the television media crew.

In these discussions the moderator explore opinions and views of respondents about their experiences in enjoying a culinary tour. Likewise, extracting information from bystanders culture spread in the community as well as observers of social changes taking place in society. From here then moderators have a key role to the success of the discussion.

Researchers can act as a moderator or entrust to others. A moderator should have the ability in mastering interview techniques, to keep the flow of the discussion goes on, and able to act as a referee or even as a defense against what was considered good (devil's advocate). And then during the process of the discussion will be equipped with recording equipment, thus helping researchers in data analysis. (Hariwijaya 2007: 72-73).

FGD allows researchers to get complete data from informants that are usually used as the basis of a program (pilot study). The implementation of FGD is also relatively fast, which is the longest time of recruitment of informants. FGD also allows researchers more flexibility in determining the design of the question, so free to ask informants in accordance with the purpose of research. However, the relative FGD requires considerable cost, in some cases, in addition consumption informants also got 'tired of money' because it has been following the discussion.

Broadly speaking Focus Group Discussion (FGD), is wider than the interview. If the interview focused on the submission of questions to the informant or respondent, then the FGD, there is no questioning the specifics, but rather an effort to listen to information from various sources which is then formulated into a specific data. In this case the researchers are trying to collect data on a particular topic from many people who have information about these topics. Each side then express opinions, perceptions and thoughts of each of these topics in a discussion, in which researchers listeners duty to observe and facilitate the discussion. From the discussion, then produced a final opinion which represents the main idea of each party. Final opinion is then a last data collected by the researcher. Of course in the FGD, there is a certain level of perception and habit, according to the thinking of each part.

IV. STUDY OF OBJECT

New leadership always brings change and a new atmosphere. Likewise with mayor and vice mayor of Bandung Ridwan Kamil and Oded M Danial who bring new programs to realize the "Bandung Juara", champion in all lines of life of its citizens.

At the beginning of his leadership, the pair Ridwan Kamil and Oded M. Danial want to deal with the problems of this city through a crucial moment "rapid reaction". Indeed, this stance is only to address the problem on a small scale in the hope not grow big.

In order to implement the vision and mission of the Regions in accordance with Regulation no. 08 Years of Regional Long Term Development plan (RPJPD) years, Bandung municipal government prepare measures and strategic activities in a planned, integrated, coordinated and aligned with the potential social, cultural, economic, and local wisdom through efforts to create a climate of Bandung Champion, by making the program -Program: 1. The working group Congestion Bandung, 2. Working groups of street vendors, garbage 3. The working group Bandung, Bandung 4. The working group integrated, secure Bandung 5. Working groups (social issues), 6. Working groups flood Bandung, 7. The working group creative city of Bandung, Bandung 8. The working group cultural city, 9. The working group Bnadung Smart city, Bandung 10. The working group collaboration, 11. Working groups hometown champion, 12. The working group revitalized Bandung, 13. The working group of reform education, 14. The working group pariwisata Bandung, 15. The working group market reforms Bandung, 16. The working group thematic gardens, 17. The working group bandung city of music / movies, 18. The working group design the city of Bandung, 19. The working group happiness index (index of hapinnes) Bandung, 20. The working group public relations Bandung, 21. The working group Dekranasda Bandung reform, reform 22. The working group of PKK Bandung, 23. The working group of health.

Handling through "rapid reaction" will be followed by long-term treatment to be completed in the next three years. To optimize this moment, all work units (SKPD) are required to have a Twitter account to accommodate the public report. This method is able to cut the bureaucracy that become obstacles for citizens to report environmental conditions.

Twitter account owned by each SKPD, connected with the Bandung municipal government accounts. So any problems and can be known to the public report is expected to be immediately responded. Residents can interact directly with the municipal government of Bandung. Kick "rapid reaction" that made this Bandung municipal government of which is applied to overcome the problem of damaged roads, flooding cileuncang, and cleanliness. To deal with the problem of bad roads, Bandung municipal government will lower the Rapid Response Unit (URC) patched road. URC is being prepared, will be deployed in existing locations whole road.

Meanwhile, to prevent flooding "cileuncang", Bandung municipal government will lower the 1,000 troops tasked culvert culverts freeing of garbage that makes clogged. As a first step, the new launched 500 officers were directly distributed to all wards. Ideally, each village has 10 troops culvert work in mobile.

Residents who discovered culverts clogged, can report to the local district or Twitter DBMP Bandung. Later culverts officers will be deployed in the reported location. The Mayor said that "Officers culverts will work for seven hours per day. They will continue to work until there is no longer clogged culverts".

Not enough with officers and troops URC patched road culverts, to realize the flagship programs of work, the mayor was formed Ridwan Kamil volunteers were assigned to assist the Bandung municipal government officials dealing with problems of the city, such as traffic congestion and litter.

Meanwhile, to overcome the problem of traffic congestion in recent years become a trade mark of Bandung, stance "rapid reaction" Bandung city government conducted in the form of "public transportation Day". The program is for one day eliminate the city residents to ride public transportation (public transportation) for free. Currently, only public transportation department Dago that are free, but will gradually be added. The plan, 1,500 volunteers will be involved with the Boy Scouts priorities, as agreed with the Head Scout Kwarda West Java, Dede Yusuf. Volunteers will be divided into several groups cultivated fields, volunteers discipline, hygiene volunteers, and volunteers Friday.

Embraces Students.

Bandung city government ready to accept students who want internships or field work (PKL). The program entitled "Bandung Calling" is rolled in order to realize the vision of Bandung Champion. According to Mayor of Bandung Ridwan Kamil, "During this time students only make the city of Bandung as a city where studying, after graduating dedicates science has gotten to another city, forget the seat of the city". Given the human resources (HR) Bandung is still lacking, Bandung City Government invites students to care about the city where he studied, in a program titled "Calling Bandung."

According to Mayor of Bandung, Calling Bandung program is rolled out to realize the vision of Bandung municipal government, as the city is superior to Bandung Champion.

For the success of the program, Ridwan Kamil said that Bandung municipal government has come to campuses and make a memorandum of understanding (memorandum of understanding, or MoU) with 11 educational institutions such as Padjadjaran University, University of Parahyangan, University of Sundanese, Piksi Ganesha, Stikes Al Islam, Islam Nusantara University, Polytechnic of Bandung, Bandung Institute of Technology, Indonesia University of Education, Telkom University and The Islamic University of Bandung.

Head of the Regional Employee Affair (BKD) in Bandung, Evi S Shaleha said that "While this new campus 11 who makes a memorandum of understanding, the campus is yet to make a memorandum of understanding, do not be discouraged, the opportunity is still there, limitless. The

Bandung municipal government also does not limit how many students can join the program Bandung Calling. Student interns will be placed in a number of working units (SKPD) in accordance with the educational background and the majors are in demand.

Apprenticeship places available covering 151 Village Office, 30 District Office, 72 units of other work includes the Department, Agency, Offices and Institutions. Still said Evi, "For internships in health centers, also can. Placement can not be directly from BKD have to get a referral from the Department of Health. Time intern, between three to six months. And during which the student should be able to accomplish the tasks that have been assigned to him. Responsible student user (read - the work unit where the related student intern).

The work unit, is also responsible to provide an assessment to students who were carrying out street vendors.

"Search for apprenticeship was not easy. So with the opening of the program" Bandung Calling "by the City Government of Bandung students do not need to bother anymore looking for internships," said Rahmi and Yunita, both fourth semester student of Telkom University.

V. CONCLUSION

In the name of sustainability, then to make Bandung as a champion, will not be enough to program infrastructure and improved public services. New movements involving groups will indeed be able to escalate the hands of municipal government programs. Unfortunately, the duration of the leadership of Emil kang maximum of only 8 years (2 periods if re-elected), and based on experience Movements like only survive in a matter of 2-3 years. Separated from the it, whether regime change was again will bring Bandung which direction. There needs to be "something" to create permanence change, over and movement program. Answers from the missing ingredient is the Champion Bandung cultural change, Cultural Champion.

Champion culture where people give the best of their potentia for society. Creating community, giving, and sharing, not just waiting. Society honest and abide by the rules of the city, far from being corrupt and dishonest, to simply add all definitions utopian society, civil, civilized, dignified nyunda or any longer term that will be used. This cultural change must necessarily change that involves public participation. Where public? Public open-plan, not just a community or group, especially a mass dressed in camouflage. All layers, with no age limit and economy class.

Bandung Champion rightly regarded not only as a city of champions, but also as a collection of millions of human beings should also champion. The process of changing the city of Bandung become champion, should also capable to make a champion human individual base. Cultural Champion transmit to all levels of society, to indoctrinate the youth with the spirit of change champions, champions insight instill in children who recently moved to the bench of education. So utopia was not just Bandung (who) as a champion, but utopia would Cultural Champion in Bandung.

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Understanding the Relationship Between Kindness and Gotong Royong for Indonesian Citizens in Developing Bhinneka Tunggal Ika

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Abstract

Many Indonesians see gotong royong as a characteristic of the Indonesian national identity and important to strengthen Bhinneka Tunggal Ika (Unity and Diversity). Looking at Indonesia's situation and condition today, three aspects are apparent: economic aspect, socio culturally aspect, and religious sphere. Gotong royong values are important to be implemented in all of these aspects. Implementation of gotong royong allows for sustainable development of Indonesian society by encouraging citizens and youths to take an active role in how their action can benefit their community. Responsible citizens are those that are informed and understand about the social life environment especially in this globalisation era. Gotong royong is essentially about bringing kindness, tolerance, self-awareness, showing humility, helpfulness, compassion, cooperation, caring in interpersonal relationship, respect and taking responsibility. Knowing a value means understanding how to apply it in various situations. Developing moral self-knowledge includes becoming aware of the strengths and weaknesses of ourselves as individuals and of our community. Moreover, it also includes knowing how to compensate weaknesses in order to be effective and efficient in gotong royong. Gotong royong is not only for a big act but also for a small act. For example: if someone gets hurt, one should help him/her. Later, when you need help, someone will help you. Helping people will make each person a good citizen, and it also makes us feel better. The most important thing is acting with gotong royong in order to create caring interpersonal relationships and community relationship for a peaceful world. If people have the moral qualities of intellect and emotion we have just examined, they are likely to do what they know and feel to be right and have a good impact on the environment. Schools must provide a moral environment that accentuates good values and keeps these in the forefront of everyone's consciousness. Citizens need plenty of opportunities to develop good habits, and plenty of practice at being good persons.

Keywords: gotong royong, Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, Indonesian Citizen, and social life environment

I. INTRODUCTION

Conceptualization of Gotong Royong

“When people work together, building a house for instance, many riddles are told, to cheer up people up so that they do not find the work too heavy and long,” (Juniator Tulus, 2012: 221). That is one example of enacting gotong royong in Mentawai Island. As someone tells a riddle to which others will respond, and if the right answer is given, everyone shouts their happiness, excitement, and encouragement. In this way many citizens get an advantage from gotong royong activity/values and gotong royong connects all people with their community and its activities. The objective of gotong royong is to strengthen the citizens' solidarity and relationship or togetherness in implementing values amongst the society. James A. Banks (2004: 20) explains that citizenship depends on membership of the nation, seen as a cultural community, whose members were held together by bonds of solidarity, based on shared history, values, and traditions. Gotong royong values are important to the implementation of sustainable development in Indonesian society, by encouraging citizens and youths to take an active role in how their action can be run for the benefit of the community. Many Indonesians see gotong royong as a characteristic of the Indonesian national identity. To become active citizens, Indonesians must see the values of gotong royong and how to enact them with kindness.

Education has an important role to play in the process of changing society. Brownhill and Smart (1989: 2) describe that education is an instrument of social control. It teaches respect for one's betters and the acceptance of authority, and creates a population used to discipline. Slattery (1995) describes that education is very important or urgent for one to be aware of the rapidly changing structure of society and to reassert. Richard I. Arens (2010: 4) also describes that most teachers believe that efforts to raise expectations for all students is a good practice. To prepare our pupils to be citizens of the twenty-first century, it is important to search for exemplary practical proposals in which gotong royong is integrated into daily life activities of Indonesian citizens. QCA (2007) in Lee Jerome (2011: 62) argues that in taking lessons to become informed and responsible pupils should be able to:

- a) explore creative approaches to taking action on problems and issues to achieve intended purposes
- b) work individually and with others to negotiate, plan and take action on citizenship issues to try to influence others, bring about change or resist unwanted change, using time, and resources appropriately
- c) analyse the impact of their actions on communities and the wider world, now, and in the future
- d) reflect on the progress they have made, evaluating, what they have learnt, what went well, the difficulties encountered and what they would do differently

According to Joseph E. Kahne, Mills College, and Susan E. Spote (2008) the measures of neighborhood and family contexts were strongly related to students' commitments to civic participation. As predicted, junior high school student reports of neighborhood social capital were positively related to their overall level of commitment to civic participation. This requires a form of teaching in which the pupils acquire the courage, commitment, and desire to participate in social interests relating to social environment, learning to be active citizens. To be most effective, a holistic approach has to be promoted and led by examples, using sustainable practices in the classroom and school grounds and encouraging students and parents to bring society environmental issues into their home. One needs to know what is really incorporated into the experience and how it is worked on in order to understand how these experiences contribute to achieving the objectives of the society, and respond or address environmental issues to ensure sustainability community. I can be assured that this knowledge is passed on to our children to come as well for a bright future.

The objectives of gotong royong are to increase public awareness about environmental issues, society problem as well as explore possible solutions, and to lay the foundations for a fully informed

and active participation of individual in the protection of solidarity and the prudent and rational use of society potential/society ideas. It is important that we capture this enthusiasm and that no opportunity is lost to develop knowledge, understanding and concern for the social environmental through government programs or each area where the people live. (Anggraeni, 2010) The International Baccalaureate Organization (IBO) describes from international perspective about sustainable living.

- 1) Developing citizens of the world in relation to culture, language and learning to live together;
- 2) Building and reinforcing students' sense of identity and cultural awareness;
- 3) Fostering students' recognition and development of universal human values;
- 4) Stimulating curiosity and inquiry in order to foster a spirit of discovery and enjoyment of learning;
- 5) Equipping students with the skills to learn and acquire knowledge, individually or collaboratively, and to apply these skills and knowledge accordingly across a broad range of areas;
- 6) Providing international content while responding to local requirements and interest;
- 7) Encouraging diversity and flexibility in teaching methods;
- 8) Providing appropriate forms of assessment and international benchmarking.

The IBO framework provides a base to develop citizenship building activities in community. This starts from exploring the environmental issues surrounding them, news, information, knowledge, life experience, and many other aspects can be combined to discuss or to analyze issues. Concurrently it is very important to nurture and encourage citizens to live gotong royong values. This is especially important as challenges are likely to be encountered as individuals become more active in their civic participation. These challenges may relate to changes in how they react, how people learn, and growing awareness about the relationship between the individual and the community. Gotong royong not only stimulates people's interest in and understanding of the problems of their own communities, it also teaches them how to go about trying to solve those problems. It is a continuous, never-ending process. Gotong royong invites people to learn the social problem solving process by becoming a part of it. In gotong royong people "do" social problem solving process rather than just read or hear about it. And the doing is the start of what can become a life-long disposition towards engaged and empowered citizenship.

Citizenship education aims to educate the citizens to understand their rights and obligations as an Indonesia citizen. The aim works towards the goal of people living a culture of peace, tolerance, nonviolence, honesty, caring, fairness, legal compliance and upholding the rule of law, people who become the face of the nation with national character built. James A. Banks (2004: 7) describes that citizenship education should also help students acquire the attitudes, knowledge, and skills needed to function in cultural communities other than their own, within the national culture and community, as well as within the global community. Civic education is intended to shape learners into human beings who have a sense of nationality and love their country. As for the socialization of civic education this can be arranged through the school, the family, mass media, political institutions, and the country as a whole. In civic education, students are prepared to think critically, rationally and creatively as well as responding to the issues of citizenship and be responsible for the activities in society.

Civic education should be an integral part of a globalization with an awareness of the global community, helping to prepare the students for twenty first century citizenship. Malcolm Waters in Kalidjernih (2010) asserts that globalization has three dimensions: economics, politics, and culture. As we know, students are living in this globalization era. The students can observe many social problems surrounding them. And Bakrie (2009) describes that globalization is not monolithic but it brings with it innovation and technological development. As for the basic nature of globalization itself, it is the speed of change. It is this character of globalization that has made a future view become more unpredictable.

Conceptualization of civic education can be undertaken in terms of three interrelated components. Many educators throughout the world focus their programs upon the development of civic knowledge, civic skills, and civic virtues.

1. Civic knowledge consists of fundamental ideas and information that learners must know and use to become effective and responsible citizens of a democracy.
2. Civic skills include the intellectual skills needed to understand, explain, compare, and evaluate principles and practices of government and citizenship. They also include participatory skills that enable citizens to monitor and influence public policies.
3. Civic virtues include the traits of character, dispositions, and commitments necessary for the preservation and improvement of democratic governance and citizenship. Examples of civic virtues are respect for the worth and dignity of each person, civility, integrity, self-discipline, tolerance, compassion, and patriotism. Commitments include a dedication to human rights, the common good, equality, and a rule of law.

Civic education can have a substantial impact on youth civic and political engagement, some scholars have focused their attention on understanding how youth who are active and engaged became that way and, in turn, how schools might incorporate that knowledge to provide better quality civic education. Civic learning can provide the kinds of opportunities that allow students to learn and practice a variety of civic skills, learn about how government works, see how others engage civically and politically, and grapple with their own roles as future citizens, this then brings about increases in both students' commitment to and capacity for future participation.

Civic learning opportunities may be important later in life especially when they have to make important decisions about their future and their relationship to the world. Studying civic role models, learning about problems in society, learning about ways to improve one's community, having social life experiences, being required to keep up with politics and government, being engaged in open classroom discussions, and studying topics about which the student cares, all promoted commitments to civic participation among students.

David Moseley et al (2005) report that understanding thinking and learning is important not only in academic study, but also in professional and vocational courses and in working effectively with younger learners. Some kinds of teaching have traditionally included the philosophical study of theories of knowledge, but most have not included any study of theories of learning. However, it would make good sense for thinking and learning to form the core of such studies, associated with another subject of choice in which human behavior is the focus. An understanding of thinking and learning frameworks should inform the planning of appropriate curricula for all kinds of learning, in order to ensure that they are realistic and achievable.

James A. Banks (2004: 3) describes that however, every pluralistic nation-state must also be concerned about unity and a set of shared values. Furthermore, through their participation in *gotong royong*, citizens have an opportunity to develop various civic dispositions of pluralistic citizenship, such as a sense of kindness, unity and diversity, improvement of a better social life, commitment to the exercise of the responsibilities of democratic citizenship, individual and community responsibilities, also citizen's participation. These traits of character, which may be developed through practices and processes of social environment, encourage responsible and effective participation by citizens in their community life.

Bhinneka Tunggal Ika and Gotong Royong Cultural for Indonesian Citizens in Globalization Era

The phrase *gotong royong* as referred to in this paper is from the Indonesian National Language. The term of *gotong royong* is known throughout many Indonesian provinces in regional languages including:

1. *Sakai Sambayan* (Lampung)
2. *Sabilulungan* (West Java)
3. *Meuseuraya/Meuramin/Meuurup* (Aceh)
4. *Berterempoh* (Sintang, Pontianak)
5. *Kayuh Baimbai* (Banjarmasin)
6. *Massed di Majjama* (Bugis)

7. *Gandong La Mari Gandong/Masohi* (Ambon)
8. *Marsiadapari/Rap Manghobasi* (Batak Toba/North Sumatera)
9. *Sambatan* (Javanese people tradition when they built a house), and
10. *Huyula* (Gorontalo).

The Indonesian gotong royong culture has not been kind to textual documents because this value was so apparent in maintaining community activities and also relates to people feelings. With the situation we are facing today, like globalization, information technology and the development of social environmental issues, teaching can be used as an instrument to continue to safeguard our community solidarity in this era. So that is why we need gotong royong in place to reduce conflict, and eliminate negative opinions that are found in our community right now. These problems are at our doorstep and a plan is needed to restore and maintain our society environmental necessarily. All these problems can be addressed through gotong royong. The community entire Indonesian citizens must participate in moving towards a comprehensive working commitment for gotong royong. Action speaks much more cogently than words.

Gotong royong is not restricted to in-society plans. There are numerous ways citizen can do this in which they live. They can do this in class, in the office, and in another opportunity. Gotong royong is not only a physical action but also how to implement the frameworks of thinking for a better society. It is certainly possible for a thinking skills framework to be drawn up for each subject area. In my view, many benefits would flow from the interdisciplinary development of a common framework. The viewpoint that continuously excavated from people's life experience will be easier to develop and expand the knowledge and experience of the people to address societies' environmental issues. Many Indonesians see gotong royong as a characteristic of the Indonesian national identity and also a character of how to deal with the situation of our society nowadays. Characters, according to Lickona, are divided into several sections that are contained in it.

Character so conceived has three interrelated parts: moral knowing, moral feeling, and moral behaviour. Good character consists of knowing the good, desiring the good, and doing the good, habits of the mind, habits of the heart, and habits of action. All three are necessary for leading a moral life, all three make up moral maturity. When we think about the kind of character we want for our children, it's clear that we want them to be able to judge what is right, care deeply about what is right, and then do what they believe to be right, even in the face of pressure from without and temptation from within. (1991: 51)

Based on the opinion of Lickona above, it can be explained that character is made up of three other correlations between moral knowing, moral feeling, and moral behaviour. The character itself consists of, among other things, knowing the things that are good, having a desire to do good, and carrying out good, based on the thoughts and feelings, about whether it is a good thing to do or not, then doing it. All three of these can give you direction or moral good life experience, and give you maturity in being. Implementation of character values like wisdom in choosing which ones are good and which bad, justice, fortitude, self control, love, gave rise to a positive attitude, hard work, has a strong self integrity, be thankful for what we have today (gratitude), and have a sense of humanity (humility) deserves to be developed and implemented in our daily life activities. Thus good character can continue to flourish and realizethe purposes to consider in the future, as well as being able to generate positive activities. The development of the value of a character early on in children is needed in order to do the absolute values are displayed when they grow up will be better and understand all the differences that exist.

Providing the knowledge and skills required for effective participation and providing practical experience designed to foster a sense of competence and ability, developing and understanding of the importance of citizen participation is strongly needed with the competitiveness for human resources in the globalization period. The quality of civic education in emerging character should

be improved in light of the specific contexts where programs are being developed and implemented especially in social environment. In a globalization era we need to maintain gotong royong and internalize it. At present we can say that it is very difficult for a country in the world, not to say impossible, to be free from direct or indirect influence from what we call globalization. Globalization has positive and negative implications, depending on point of view. This is the explanation about globalization. Hershock et al (2009: 29) describe

Globalization has wrought transformation of similar scale: in how people live, work, identify and aggregate, communicate and engage locally, nationally, internationally, globally, and how they are educated. Changes are taking place in the nature of the state itself, in how states interact, and in the roles of supra and non-state actors in organizing and affecting human behaviour. At the core of contemporary globalization are transformations in how capital flows throughout the globe and is linked to production and consumption, in how energy is harnessed and consumed, in how information and knowledge are created, transmitted and conserved, how labour is employed and deployed, and how value is created, distributed, conserved and destroyed.

From various descriptions above, we can see one important factor, namely appropriate gotong royong arrangement/management for effective and efficient mechanism. In addition to being useful in the cooperation to manage Indonesians, this step will also make clear the particular goal to achieve with the basic message in the 1945 Constitution and Pancasila. Adjustment to the effective and efficient perception is viewed not only from the traditional conventional aspect, but it will be adjusted to the development of technology and information in globalization era.

Internalizing Gotong Royong and Kindness in Social Daily Life Activities

Gotong royong is part of Indonesian heritage especially for national, regional, and local identity. The relationship between kindness and gotong royong is about how citizens do a good thing, developing from the inside of their heart and implement this to all society in daily life activities. David S. Meyer (2005: 5) describes that social practices into “identities” are forged from the interaction between people and that state. It is obvious that all social, ethnic, professional, and religious groups have their own way of doing gotongroyong which can bring the solidarity and carry each other. In Indonesia, in accordance with tradition, gotong royong should not be distanced from the people of each region and their cultural characteristics. It should express national, regional, and local identity by implementing characteristics, cooperation, traditional values and togetherness to strengthen Bhinneka Tunggal Ika.

Gotong royong is essentially about bringing kindness, tolerance, self-awareness, humility, helpfulness, compassion, cooperation, caring interpersonal relationship, respect and responsibility. In our society today, we should be improving increase in empathy, in order to bring up kindness for all people at any situations. In reality, some people do not realize that they have to help other people when they are in a hard situation. For example, there is a family and a member gets sick and stays in a hospital. As a friend or neighbour we can offer a hand to that family, like we can cook for them, taking care of their children at home, or cleaning the house. Or, if someone gets hurt you should help him/her. So, when you need help they will help you. Helping people will make you a good citizen, and it also makes you feel better. That is why kindness develops a generalized empathy, the kind that sees beneath differences and responds to our common humanity towards those they know and care about. Many factors are in play to make gotong royong to be part of Indonesian character and to extend respect to other people.

What about the situations of Indonesia today if we view them from the economy, sociocultural, and religious aspects? Indeed, there are of course many problems although it does not mean there is no improvement or progress. Bakrie (2009) describes that the Indonesian government is expected to be able to manage the changes well so that starting from 2010 the economy of Indonesia will be relatively stable and developed in 2015, ... socio culturally, it is estimated that there is still a gap

between the poor and the rich, ... these group will emerge in all religions with their ideological variations ranging from the super conservative to the ultra-liberal.” Kindness, tolerance, self-awareness, humility, helpfulness, compassion, cooperation, caring interpersonal relationship, respect and responsibility make up the emotional side of our moral self especially the internalization of Pancasila values. These feelings about self, others, and goodness itself combine with moral knowing to form the source of our moral motivation. They help us cross the bridge from knowing what is right of doing it. It seems obvious that for most people being cared for themselves is a prerequisite to caring for others.

Gotong royong can respect the heritage of the past while also protecting the interests of the future. It is also spatial in nature in that it acknowledges the different levels of community which must be taken into account as we face and attempt to resolve global problems and issues which are manifested in regional, state, provincial, and most certainly, local circumstances. Saskia Sassin (2007: 6) from *A Sociology of Globalization* describes that although localized in national, indeed, in subnational settings, these processes are part of globalization in that they involve trans-boundary networks entities connecting multiple local or national processes and actors, or the recurrence of particular issues or dynamic in a growing number of countries or localities. If we think seriously about the need of citizens and youths for care and continuity of Pancasila and Bhinneka Tunggal Ika values, we can begin to assess all of our social life experiences in order to improve our community for today and the future. Nodding Nels (2002: 31) describes that care requires attention to individuals, and individuals have different needs and interests. Dewey argues the case this way:

The general aim translates into the aim of regard for individual differences among children. Nobody can take the principle of consideration of native powers into account without being struck by the fact that these powers differ in different individuals. The difference applies not merely to their intensity, but even more to their quality and arrangement. As Rousseau said, “Each individual is born with a distinctive temperament. ... We indiscriminately employ children of different bents on the same exercises: their education destroys the special bent and leaves a dull uniformity. Therefore after we have wasted our efforts in stunting the true gifts of nature we see the short-lived and illusory brilliance we have substituted die away, while the natural abilities we have crushed do not revive.” (1916, p. 116).

With this idea as an important point, we must take into account the two factors in building a strong gotong royong implementation management and the values for Indonesian citizen. How to deal with effective and efficient management for gotong royong, obviously we need the classification to achieve the target that we want to reach based on management mechanism to perform tasks and exercise control. Bakrie (2009: 21) describes that five steps, according to Beishline, must be taken in the drawing up of planning, namely:

1. Recognition of the problem; Understanding the mission from the tasks planned
2. Observation and preliminary analysis; It is important to make a profound and objective analysis of various conditions in achieving the objectives.
3. Building a hypothesis; after a preliminary analysis (with forecasting) has been made, then build a number of possible solutions.
4. To make an analysis; It is important to certain the choice is workable.
5. Testing; The solution chosen will be put to a test in a detailed manner in a condition close to reality.

According to Beishline, there are at least five characteristics of good planning. Good planning must be simple and clear and it must be balanced for all situations and conditions.

II. CONCLUSION

Gotong royong is essentially about bringing kindness, tolerance, self-awareness, humility, helpfulness, compassion, cooperation, caring interpersonal relationship, respect and responsibility. In our society today, we should be improving empathy in order to bring up kindness for all people in any situations. Gotong royong implementation will give rise to values for citizens. Indeed the formation of character and the development of virtue have for many years been seen as the very core of the citizen internalize in social life environment. The strong emphasis on gotong royong values is a part of the people solidarity and kindness. It encourages citizens to do their part in the life of their communities and the wider world.

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Confronting Consumerism as a New Imperialism: Students' Narratives in the Indonesian History Learning

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Abstract

This paper presents the result of a study focused on students' narratives and historical awareness on imperialism in Indonesian history learning. Historical awareness significantly needs to be developed in history learning considering economic and political changes in Indonesia since the last four decades. Due to Indonesia's policy on market economic system in the New Order and Reformation eras, the economy of Indonesia has increased dramatically. With the contribution of Indonesia in international trading organizations, it becomes a part of modern world system affected by neoliberalism. Consumerism among Indonesian society indicates economic growth on one side, and exploitation on the other. By referring to postcolonial theory, consumerism is considered as a new form of imperialism indicating power relation between capitalists and consumers. This research was focused on analyzing complex relation between consumerism as either economic exploitation or cultural hegemony. In this research, Indonesian history learning generated students' ability to narrate historical awareness on the significance of `research addressed a number of critical questions, including: 1) how far does consumerism influence historical awareness of individuals, group members, and members of a nation state? 2) how do students narrate their historical experience as critical, autonomous, and powerful consumers in dealing with the hegemony of new imperialism?

Keywords: New Imperialism, Consumerism, Postcolonial Theory, Teaching Indonesian History

I. INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of consumer society arising among industrial countries in the northern hemisphere around the 19th and 20th centuries (Buckler, Mc.K.H, 1988: 1210-1211) is similar to what has been taking place in Indonesia since the last three decades. Consumer society is the consequence of industrialization, technology transfer, foreign and domestic investment, foreign loan, and trading under global market economic system. Industrialization not only improves the economy, but also creates consumer society. The data released by McKinsey Asia Consumer Insight Center (Razdan, at al. 2013) in a report entitled *The Evolving Indonesian Consumers* shows that the trend of goods consumptions increases annually. In 2013, there were 70 million people belonging to urban consumer society on record. Each year, the number increases by five million of urban consuming class, equal to the number of Singapore residents. From that number, 10 percent of them usually do online shopping, and most people in big cities in Indonesia are among the most active Twitter users in cities in Asia. In addition, it was reported that 53 percent of urban residents contributes 74 percent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Another data from Indonesian government via Statistical Bureau (Biro Pusat Statistik) shows that since the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's Administration(2004-2014), the rate of average economic growth is about 6-7 percent. World Bank Data 2013 indicates that the development of Indonesian economy was mainly supported by high consumption and demographic bonus. Those data suggest that most Indonesian citizens have become consumer society - by adopting Baudrillard (1998) term related to the growth of middle-class (Ansori, 2009).

The data of Indonesian economy growth among Asian countries – a little lower than the growth of Chinese economy (Jacques, 2012) – may be examined using two historical perspectives; conventional history and critical history. In the perspective of conventional history, such data can support the materials for national history subject. The materials may develop students' nationality that this country was great not only during Sriwijaya and Majapahit era in the 11th-15th centuries, as the pioneer of national movement in the beginning of the 20th century, and as an inspiring contributor for the independence of Asia and Africa through Asian-African Conference in 1955 and for Non-Alignment countries, but also has a significance during the Reformation Era. In this perspective, history teacher will explain that Indonesia has developed to be remarkable among Asia Pacific countries, respectable in ASEAN, accountable in APEC and G-20 Forum and in other International forums. In conventional history, students can be supplied with empirical data of the number of export and import, foreign investment with annual improvement, and the larger number of middle-class (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2013).

Historical facts about the affiliation of Indonesia in international organizations and its roles in their forums are a conventional part of contemporary National History. Those facts glorify not only the past, but also the present to grow nationality spirit. In critical history perspective, those empirical data have to be comprehended critically, and also supported by other data related to the quality of ideological growth and changes behind economic and political policies selected. Data frequently used to enrich the materials of history subject are macro-economic data referring to international institutions and Statistical Bureau of Indonesia.

The founding fathers, such as Soekarno and Hatta, asserted that socialism a comparable ideology to capitalism relevant for diverse agrarian citizens of Indonesia. During the Old Order, President Soekarno realized that dependent state on foreign financial capital could intrude the sovereignty of Indonesian economy (Ricklefs, 2008). In Soeharto Regime of the New Order Era, the ideology of Indonesian economy was neither socialism nor capitalism. However, capitalism was, in fact, implemented in Indonesia. Positively, the economy improved rapidly. On the other hand, the accumulation of capital was negatively centered to a particular groups associated to the ruling regime and there was a wide social gap between the wealthy and the deprived groups (Dahana,

2015). This condition was not different during the Reformation Era in Indonesia. The development of economy was supported by consumption rate on numerous local and global products. Indonesian consumer society spent as many and varied products as other Asian societies did. They have become a global consumer society. In Trentmann's analysis (2009: 197-203), the global expansion of consumption took place in the context of empire. Consumer society, including that in Indonesia, is controlled by global capitalism empire.

As Indonesian history lesson puts an emphasis on independence and sovereignty, critical questions may arise. Those are on two aspects; does the Indonesian State have strong position in dealing with international corporations? Do Indonesian consumers have sovereignty in selecting products and the ability to go out of the control of the producers, i.e. multinational corporations? The first question can be useful for the development of Historical Curriculum to build the sense of nationality. Indonesian political sovereignty and economy dealing with global corporation and free market economy may improve students' national loyalty. The second question is related to students' competence as smart consumers, environment-friendly consumers, and anti-consumerism consumers. Thus, this research was intended to empower students in confronting consumerism by narrating their historical experience.

II. CONFRONTING CONSUMERISM IN THE POSTCOLONIAL ERA

Critical questions above can be developed in critical history teaching and learning process using postcolonial theory. This theory addresses the issue of power relation among countries in colonial era and it is still applied in cultural, political, and economic practices as those colonized countries have proclaimed their independence. According to this theory, imperialism are not ended until a country proclaims its independence (Ratna, N. K., 2008, Said, 1978). Today, imperialism has just turned into an invisible form co-opting not only a post colonized country, but also its society. That ideology is capitalism and it has formed consumerism currently performed by some groups (Harvey, 2003). According to Robinson (2004), capitalism is always imperialistic in nature and imperialism is perennially associated with capitalism. In Hamelink's view (2007), capitalism is a homogenizing cultural force and that global spread of consumerism constitutes a form of domination. The domination is retained by some particular groups; firstly, countries centralizing International Corporation toward countries receiving capital, such as, foreign investment; secondly, global capitalists as producers by free trade economic mechanism towards consumers; and thirdly, consumer society themselves that over-exhaust goods and treat them in unfriendly manner for the environment.

In the ideology, power relation is evident on the hegemony of producers or International Corporation over consumers. The hegemony may also be resulted from global corporation over a country receiving the flows of capital, services, and technology within foreign investment (Fuchs C., 2010: 215-247). In environmental perspective (Kahn, 2010; Gadotti, 2010), hegemony is created by consumer society over the environment and natural resources. Therefore, domination goes from powerful groups towards those powerless. Referring to Anderson (2000), some critical questions can be proposed; can Indonesia as a sovereign country have power and bargaining equal position to Exxon Mobile as the power of that oil corporation exceeds of Gross Domestic Product of Indonesia?; do Indonesian consumers have authority to accept or refuse various products of Unilever – centered in Netherland – that dominate Indonesian market?; and why Indonesian consumers have to pay the water they consume – rather than receiving it as a free good – as the consequence of water privatization by multinational corporation, like Danone and Nestle?

Consumers' loyalty for a particular product is a pattern of relation intentionally created by producers retained by global capitalists. By means of information technology in marketing processed products, consumers frequently become the object of hegemony from technology,

information, producers, and dominant ideology behind industrialization (Barber, 2008, Ritzer, 2001: 373-375). Indonesian history subject loaded with values to build the character of the nation needs to be able to address the issue of consumerism as an ideology filled with the hegemony of capitalists over the consumers.

In history subject, the great number of Indonesian consumers must become the power to deal with the hegemony of global corporation. In this global era, the massive flow of goods, capital, and services from one country to another is intentionally established by corporation to maintain significant relation between producers and consumers. By comprehending media and information technology, capitalists may construct consumers' images to be loyal for various products offered. According to Meyer (2008: 116-117), consumerism is part of cultural imperialism. Consumerism is an ideology intentionally created by free trade economic system controlled by capitalism. Consumers are controlled by capital, technology, image, and market. To Eriksson (2012), consumerism is a substitute for capitalism.

In the era of ICT development, Indonesia students can access various consumers' products from tens of Indonesian TV channels, hundreds of foreign TV channels, online media, and catalog and displays at the shopping centers in big cities in Indonesia. The offers from media are not always necessary for students. Several products, such as skin whitening product, hair coloring product, soda, fast food, cigarette, accessories, branded clothes, and some others are not among students' basic needs. Through continuous advertisement, students consumed various products, not due to their needs, but their desires. They are co-opted by capitalism covered by technology.

The transformation in the consumer society can be derived from critical theory proposed by Herbert Marcuse (1964). As one of supporters of critical theory of Frankfurt School, Marcuse describes consumer society as a society without opposition, or a society without autonomy and power to cope with consumerism. In *One-Dimensional Man* book (1964, see also Saeng, 2012: 243-251), Marcuse identifies consumer society as a society incapable to refuse offers of various products that may mislead them in particular conditions. He asserted:

“.....the system we live in may claim to be democratic, but it is actually authoritarian in that a few individuals dictate our perception of freedom by only allowing us choices to buy for happiness. In the state of “unfreedom” consumers act irrationally by working more than they are required to in order to fulfill actual basic needs, by ignoring the psychologically destructive effects, by ignoring the waste and environmental damage it causes, and by searching for social connection through material items”.

To Marcuse, modern industrial society are under control of hegemony holders, such as producers, media owner, and information holder, so that their consumption may only fulfill their false needs, which they do not necessarily require. Moreover, Marcuse affirmed:

“It is more rational in the sense that the creation of new products, calling for the disposal of old products, fuels the economy and encourages the need to work more and to buy more. An individual loses his or her humanity and become a tool in the industrial machine and a cog in the consumer machine. Additionally, advertising sustains consumerism, which disintegrates societal demeanor, delivered in bulk and informing the masses that happiness can be bought, an idea that is psychologically damaging”.

In the context of critical history learning, the discontinuity of consumerism and environmental damage in Indonesia demands for pedagogical movements. In this case, history learning may embrace ecopaedagogical approach as anti-consumerism movement intended to interfere or reduce consumption desire. Consumption reduction may positively decrease the exploitation of natural resource and emission or waste that contaminates the environment. Marcuse stated that there are

other alternatives to counter such life style. Anti-consumerism is a lifestyle that demotes any unnecessary consumption, as well as unnecessary work, waste, etc.”.

Certainly, Indonesian history lesson does not consider global corporation similar to VOC or East Indian Company existing during Netherland Indies in the colonial era. Therefore, confronting consumerism in history learning does not refer either to anti-global corporation or anti-foreign investments. Confronting consumerism here is dealing with confronting consumptive behavior on excessive and environmentally-harmful needs. According to Goleman (2009), most environmental damages in the world are resulted from high consumption. Similar condition also occurs in Indonesia. Over exploitation on land and sea natural resources and forest conversion for farming and agriculture is intended to meet consumer society’s needs. To reduce the hegemony of Indonesian consumers on the environment, pedagogical movement becomes essential. Ecopaedagogy aims to construct smart, rational, and sovereign consumers, called as green consumers or sustainable consumers. Hence, in the aspect of history learning, confronting consumerism means confronting “high level of consumption” (Swagler, 1994) or confronting “the selfish and frivolous collecting products or economic materialism” (Barber, 2008) and implemented them in daily practices.

III. RESEARCH METHODS

To provide students with the competence in confronting consumerism through contemporary Indonesian history learning, there were several stages conducted; at first, designing history learning curriculum; then, developing critical history learning approach focused on students as the actors of the era; and finally, developing ecopedagogy. Those stages were carried out through emancipatory action research collaboratively conducted by the researcher and a history teacher in one high school (SMA Negeri) in Bandung, Indonesia.

In designing the curriculum, we still referred to the National Curriculum 2013 (or History Curriculum Standard - Standar Kurikulum Sejarah - 2013) using history textbook written by the researcher himself (Supriatna, 2013). In line with the curriculum manual, we are given the autonomy to revise and develop it further by inserting contemporary issues. Some issues, such as consumerism, consumptive behavior, solidarity between wealthy and deprived groups, and the impact of consumption on natural resource exploitation and environmental damages, were included into the materials of contemporary Indonesian history learning. Materials on nationalism were critically examined by attaching postcolonial theory to identify the correlation between imperialism during colonial period and modern imperialism today. Consumerism was taken into account as a part of modern imperialism. Historical materials on anti-consumerism movement were not intended to establish anti-global corporation, foreign investment, and stock exchange movement, but to support the reconstruction of students’ consumptive behavior. Likewise, the concept of solidarity examined in the materials of the history of Asian-African Conference 1955 in Bandung was developed into solidarity concept from high consumer society to economically-low society in Indonesia today. Therefore, historical learning could be more contextual and relevant to students’ reality.

Since consumerism has influenced students’ historical awareness and consumptive behavior has negatively resulted in environmental damages, historical learning applied in this study employed ecopedagogy. This approach focused on the issue of human behavior’s impact on their historical experience towards the environment. For instance, the impact of consumer society on the exploitation of natural resource examined in conventional history of Industrial Revolution in England was attracted to industrialization period in Indonesia (The New Order Regime 1965 – 1998) that created consumer society desirous for natural resource. Such historical materials were designed to enable students to narrate their critical historical experience in dealing with the significance of combating consumptive behavior, becoming critical, autonomous, and green consumers, and expressing solidarity against poor consumers. To reach the goals, the researcher assessed students’

competence to narrate their historical experience and awareness in handling consumptive behavior by utilizing critical questions, including two mentioned in the abstract above.

IV. STUDENTS' NARRATIVE IN CONFRONTING CONSUMERISM

Most students in researched classes on history learning asserted that capitalism ideology has been assimilated to their daily life. They were unable to deal with the outbreak of a range of local or global consumption products. After studying contemporary Indonesian history learning that examined capitalism ideology, they realized that their consumption manner has been controlled by internal and external power. The external power comes through media (advertisements) encouraging them to purchase more. The internal power is their inability to refuse such offers. The consequence of updating information on new consumptive goods, such as gadget, music, film, accessories, and clothes drew them as a part of consumer society. Some students' narratives on consumerism are cited below.

Student 1: "it is realized that history lesson has opened my eyes to see that all this time, I was not different from my forefathers in the colonial era; we live under imperialism. The difference is that in colonial era, our nation was ruled by Netherland Indies, but I am now colonized by invisible power, i.e. consumerism. As a student demanding for trendy life and adjustment with world development, I need to use goods similar to my friends'. With that, I feel to come into my existence. However, such existence is lavishly fulfilled with money from my parents. I am not independent yet, and I do not deserve asking many things from my parents."

Student 2: "the flow of consumerism attacking developing countries like Indonesia leads to extravagant ways of life. Therefore, it is the right time to arouse war against consumerism. The war means critical attitude over consumptive practices and commitment to live economically, to set priority scale, to filter advertisement, and improve productivity. We must not let this nation to be as depicted by the literary scholar Pramudia Ananta Toer, as a rich begging country. A beggar with extravagant life is an irony."

Student 3: "we are proud of this nation with its enforcement on independence by defeating colonial rule in 1945. We are also proud that this nation's economy developed rapidly and equal to other Asian countries. However, the dignity of the nation is now forfeited with the deficient existence and identity. The establishment of shopping center, bank loan and credit card offer, and the ease for shopping various items from all over the world turn the nation into consumptive society. They forgot that all of it is simply the strategy of the capitalists to control the world through globalization".

In their narratives, most of them described their experience in consuming products supported by historical facts of the nation and their own as family members. The narratives present not only historical facts, but also tell what the past is about (Immerwahr, 2008: 2) and the narrative on their historical experience (Sjamsuddin, 2006). They realized that they live in an era different from the colonial era. Therefore, imperialism today cannot be confronted as it was in the past. A method to handle modern imperialism is by controlling themselves and countering consumptive behavior. Historical context on resistance is used in developing historical materials and become a resistance towards students' weakness as consumer. Some narratives are cited below.

Student 4: "learning from the history, industrialization has resulted in environmental damages due to over exploitation on natural resource. Indonesia should have learned from the difficulties of countries leading industrial revolution in Western Europe, that capitalism has exploited labors in the production process. Nowadays, capitalism has exploited consumers. If we do not learn from our historical experience, we as consumers will only become the objects of Global Corporations. To carry on globalization should not let us fall into consumptive culture".

Student 5: "government campaign to its citizens to appreciate local products is not effective if it is not complemented with cheap and quality products. In fact, Made-in-China products are cheaper than Indonesian products. For nationalism, do we have to purchase local products that are expensive

and low in quality? Historical experience of some figures to be green consumers is more relevant to be implemented today, by selecting and consuming environmentally friendly products only, even if they are imported”.

Student 6: “handling consumerism as new imperialism is practical. Anti-consumerism movement is less significant than local-product consumption movement. Consuming food produced by local farmers makes not only makes people and environment healthy, but also empowers local farmers whose life is threatened by globalization. Nationalism today is not for anti-global product movement, but to appreciate environmentally-friendly local product from local producers”.

“Student 7: “do we need to shop Singapore and enrich it, while items sold are originated from Indonesia? We need to remind Indonesian government to protect local producers from global corporation threat”.

Student 8: “in Asian African Conference 1955, Indonesia expressed and supported solidarity for colonized Asian African nations, and now we need to expand it for local producers by purchasing their products. Additionally, we have to do the same for those economically unfortunate by limiting out consumption”.

Some citations of students’ historical narratives above suggest that their critical thinking skill after taking history lesson correlated to consumerism issues in contemporary Indonesian society. The unanswered questions in this research is can their knowledge in confronting consumerism by becoming smart, environmentally-friendly, and local consumers be implemented in daily life? Students involved in this research were born from parents involved in consumer society as Indonesia’s recent economy becomes strong and equivalent to newly industrial countries in Asia.

V. CONCLUSION

In this research, students learning contemporary Indonesian history were able to narrate their historical experience about movement against consumerism as ideology of a new imperialism. Their historical narratives were based on facts of Indonesian history, the development of Neoliberalism, Capitalism, and Consumerism ideologies, and its impacts on students’ consumptive behavior. Based on emancipatory action research in historical learning, students were able to narrate anti-consumerism movement by tackling their consumptive behavior. In their narratives, anti-consumerism movement was not considered as anti-global corporation, but as a resistance over environmentally-unfriendly products, and lifestyle products as not a part of basic need. Anti-consumerism was conducted by empowering students through historical learning to make them smart, rational, and autonomous consumers caring with less consumer society, and able to distinguish their wants and needs. Indonesian history materials on nationalism correlated to consumer society issues will be more meaningful through students’ positive narratives in identifying consumptive behavior problem as national problem. Students’ narratives on confronting consumerism could depict their knowledge on contemporary history materials. Further research on confronting consumerism will be significant in dealing with students’ daily life.

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Not just another Crapshoot Development – The Challenges and Opportunities of Modelling after Las Vegas and Macao as an Economic Development Strategy in the 21st Century.

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Abstract

Recent decades highlight an extraordinary growth of casino gambling all over the world. In the race to build casino-cities, particularly to reap economic and social benefits, most aspirers look to replicate the development models of the most famous casino-cities known to date, Las Vegas and Macao. Countries that have modelled after the aforementioned casino-cities have had mix results of success; e.g. Singapore, which followed Macao, yielded considerable success, while other states of the US which modelled Las Vegas, such as Atlantic City, did not have as much luck. In this respect, the countries adhere to the words of the wise; “Standing on the shoulders of the giants”. Yet, perhaps explaining why no country can really replicate the successful development experiences of Las Vegas and Macao, most countries fail to see beyond the glitz and glamour to recognize the key challenges and opportunities that helped make Las Vegas and Macao; e.g. with respect to the presence of domestic organized crime groups. This paper delves deep into identifying the key actors and circumstances that made the aforementioned cities what they are today, elucidating the integral development strategies used during their formative years. Utilizing a Marxian approach to understanding the state and state-civil society relations, the paper elucidates why no country can really replicate the development models of Las Vegas and Macao without appreciating its socio-political characteristics and the intricate ties between the upper world and underworld during their formative years. In light of the findings, recommendations are provided for future research and pragmatic endeavours.

Keywords: Casino Development; Macao; Las Vegas; State-crime ties; Non-state actors; State actors; Instrumentalist Theory; South-South cooperation; Intelligence liaison

I. INTRODUCTION

In the last 25 years, the world has seen more casino developments among aspiring countries than any point in history. From Africa, to Europe, to the North, South, and Central America, to Asia, and even Oceania, aspiring nation-states have sought to tap into the potential of casino gambling for industry diversification, urban redevelopment, and mass job provisions for citizens (Global Market Advisors 2015). As a tool for economic development, casino gambling, or casino gaming as it is commonly referred to now, has always been somewhat of an elusive option for economic development; one which beckons addressing concerns of morals, well-being, national image, and religion. Yet, as the last 25 years have shown, casino developments have been rampant, both with its successes and failures among aspirators from the Global North and Global South. One common factor among all though, i.e. those who have developed casino-resorts and/or those who aspire to develop casino-resorts, is their reference to the ‘proof of concept’ for justifying the benefits accrued from casino-resort developments; that is, when lionizing the benefits of casino gaming and integrated resorts for economic development and entertaining the prospects of attaining such promises through developing casino-cities, the countries participating in the “new global race to become ‘world-class’ tourist and business centres” (Fu & Murray 2014) often reference, if not even model after, Las Vegas and Macao.

LAS VEGAS AND MACAO: PROOF OF CONCEPT FOR BECOMING A ‘WORLD-CLASS CITY’

In the mid-to-late 20th Century, the world witnessed unprecedented growth from two lands distant from one another; one in the East, located near Mainland China, and the other in the West, a Midwest state in the United States. Before this, both lands were struggling financially as one suffered from vicious cycles of economic crises (Pina-Cabral 2002) and the other was a barren land, waiting for intervention from the federal government or some ‘miracle’ worker (Gottdiener, Collins, & Dicken 1999). Moreover, both lands had a prominent presence of organized crime groups and street gangs (Gottdiener et al. 1999; Gunn 1995), who brought along with themselves relentless capacity for violence and other crimes. The political authorities, suffering from a limited statehood, of the two lands had no clear agenda for socio-economic development and the two lands remained institutionally underdeveloped, unattractive for foreign investment, and lagging behind the world’s advancement.

Despite how bleak the situation seemed for these two ‘boom-crisis’ cycle, gang-infested lands, during the mid-to-late years of the 20th Century, however, these two lands underwent a historic transformation which can best be described as ‘from Dust to Gold’; from backwater and barren, unattractive lands to world-renowned and celebrated Casino-driven capitalist societies in forty years-time.

Looking at the historical development of Las Vegas and Macao, it is clear that casino development projects promises great benefits for sustained socioeconomic and community development. The casino gaming ventures provide tax revenues for the government, jobs for the civil society, and acts as a secondary economic driver by stimulating commercial activity and infrastructure development around casino gaming (Global Market Advisors 2015; Rephann, Dalton, Stair, & Isserman 1997). This all, in turn, helps with community development and puts the casino-city on the forefront of tourism bulletins, hailed as the generic ‘Must-Visit’ locations for its vibrancy and entertainment value.

Yet, especially among those that look to Las Vegas and Macao as the ideal model for casino development, the mass proliferation of casino gambling all over the world will always fall short of replicating the exact successes of Las Vegas and Macao. According to Thompson (1998:21), a prolific writer in the area of gaming studies, the odds of replicating such a marvel is likened to the

odds of hitting a ten spot in Keno; that is, 8,911,700 to 1 (Vlcek2015). The reason for such a claim, however, was grounded with reference to the historical contexts or factors underpinning the development of the two celebrated casino-cities through a historical perspective. Thus, in line with the initial inquiry that began this investigation, how did Las Vegas and Macao get to be where they are today, who made this possible, and how?

Morris Dalitz and Stanley Ho: Kings of their ‘Gaming empires’

Miraculous as the transformation of Las Vegas and Macao may seem, it was not due to providence or chance. Rather, upon perusal of search results for the likely ‘history-maker’, the glory for transforming the cities goes to two businessmen – Mr. Morris ‘Barney’ Dalitz, also known as Moe Dalitz, for Las Vegas during the 1940s-1980s and Dr. Stanley Ho Hung Sun for Macao during the 1960s-2000s. These two businessmen, despite not having any advanced degrees in Developmental Economics or Casino Management, were able to be the ‘saviour’ the lands needed when the states and economic elites failed to find enduring economic solutions as they succeeded in promoting economic and social growth for the two lands. They were lauded with honorary titles and distinctions, often labelled as ‘King’ of their respective territories, both locally and internationally. However, upon a closer look, it becomes apparent that these two men were not ‘stand-up’ figures in society. During the nascent stages of development of the two gambling hubs, rumours and allegations that the two men had ties (and used those ties) to organized crime groups and criminal outfits surfaced. The same men who had ties to the government and statesmen and businessmen in their respective territory also had ties to organized criminal groups and outlaws. Thus, raises a puzzling question that builds on the initial inquiry: Just who were these ‘connected’ men and how did they transform the cities with ties to the underworld and mainstream society? How do we make sense of them and how can we account for their exemplary ability to guide the development of casino cities?

Upper world and Underworld in Governance

Popular thought during the 20th Century was that the state governed the society independent of elite and ruling class interest, and it was the state that set the agenda for its development (Dahl 1961; Hall & Ikenberry 1989; Skocpol 1979, 1992). Miliband put it best in his seminal piece, *The State in Capitalist Society* (Basic Books Inc. 1969:1): “It was once believed, and perhaps believed even so today, that man live in the shadow of the state. Individual or group achievement is largely based on the support or sanctions by the state. “If such popular thought persisted during the 20th Century, then why did the state assume a subservient role in the cases of the developing Las Vegas and Macao during the 20th Century, allowing Mr. Moe Dalitz and Dr. Stanley Ho to take the ‘development’ driving wheel and be hailed as ‘King’ of their respective empires? What exactly was its role in the formation of the casino-driven capitalist society? Against this wave of ‘state-centric’ theorists were the society-centric theorists, whose central tenets revolved around proving that the state was subservient to the control of the capitalist elites (Barrow 1993; Miliband 1977) The capitalist elites, in the tradition set out by Miliband’s instrumentalist theory of the state (1969), challenged state-centric theorists by claiming that the state was not autonomous but rather an ‘instrument’ used by the elites to fulfil the interests of the capitalist class (Barrow 1993).

Yet, even in this intellectual battle with the state-centric theorists, society-centric theorists were ‘upper world-centric’ and neglected actors of the ‘underworld’, i.e. not focusing on the relational powers of the elites in the underworld, such as organized crime kingpins. Previous studies have documented collusions between economic elites or political elites and organized crime groups (Hagedorn 2007; Simon 2008) in a wide variety of contexts, e.g. in a Chinese context (Chu 2000; Lo 2010), Dutch context (Van Duyne1993), and Indian context (Sreedhar2013). As of the 20th Century, organized crime groups have become increasingly ‘inter-twined’ into the webs of the political economy and become players in the ‘upper world’. Moreover, although not always, such

collusions between the ‘upper world’ and the ‘underworld’ also do occur in a triadic union of three; an economic-political-criminal nexus of sorts. This is particularly evident, albeit understudied, in recent cases around the world (see Chin 2003 for a look at Taiwan; Patrucic 2014 for a look at Montenegro; and the Research Institute for European and American Studies 2014 for a look at Ukraine). This neglect in study not only significantly hampers our understanding of the behavioural characteristics and organization of the “upper world-underworld symbiosis” but also exposes our gross ignorance of the relation between this symbiosis and our society. For example, and in line with another dimension of study the society-centric theorists oversaw, the dynamics of interaction among the ruling class and organized crime groups in the context of limited statehood.

This is particularly important when considering aspects of governance, where, according to literature (Amsden& DiCaprio 2012; Risse2013), non-state actors can overtake the state in functions of governance and assume responsibility in driving the development of a society with limited statehood, e.g. through ‘non-hierarchical steering methods’. Not much is known nor conceptualized on the triadic union and its impact on areas of limited statehood, which is where this study serves to contribute to; i.e. by examining the influence these ‘connected’ economic elites had on their respective ‘gaming empires’ and the similar and divergent strategies they used to transform the lands. This study will conceptualize the investigated triadic union by using the term “State-Crime Elites” to describe economic elites that strategically use relations with both statesmen and organized crime to pursue their interests. The term in no way suggests that the economic elite is a criminal himself, unless specified in the analysis; rather it emphasizes on the state-crime ties characteristic of the elite.

II. ABOUT THE STUDY

The theoretical light and perspective that the society-centric theorists sheds over examining the cases of Las Vegas and Macao proves as a suitable framework to follow in this study. Following the theoretical footsteps set out by Miliband (1969), Domhoff (1990; 1996), and Mills (1956), i.e. studying relations and interactions between state and non-state actors is imperative to developing an understanding of how the society dominates the state, this paper will begin with a historic perspective of the social actors and then a relational perspective of the social actors in their juxtaposed time frame. This is ideal for two reasons. 1) The historic perspective can elucidate the background and development of the social actor, shedding light as well on his ‘enduring’ connections 2) The relational perspective can elucidate the ‘key’ social relationships formed during the chosen time frame which helped the social actor transform the land and build his/her empire. Moreover, it can help highlight strategies used with respect to his/her social network. Employing this framework to examine the cases of Las Vegas Vegas and Macao and their ‘Kings’, Mr. Morris Dalitz for 1940s-1980s and Dr. Stanley Ho for 1960s-2000s respectively, presents a unique opportunity to elucidate how the triadic union would govern or behave in a context of a developing society with a weak state.

Taken together, results of this study have implications for both academic and pragmatic endeavours. On the former end, this study would be significant in advancing our understanding of the roles of state and non-state actors in areas of limited statehood and developing economies. Furthermore, this study would contribute to our understanding of the relational dynamics and powers of non-state actors of the underworld, especially in colluding with economic and political elites; i.e. to form a triadic union. On the latter end, the results of this study would be significant for advancing our understanding of casino-city developments; especially when it comes to demystifying previous thoughts on the development of Las Vegas and Macao and providing new insights from the past to inform future endeavours in casino development. As the Global South continues to entertain possibilities of developing gaming-resorts or a casino-city for socio-economic growth, such as in Sri Lanka and Fiji, it is imperative to take a step back and acquire

insights from the developmental histories of the ‘proofs of concept’ to inform future development. For example, taking insights on the challenges and opportunities of modelling is after Las Vegas and Macao in the 21st Century.

As the aforementioned questions set the fertile ground for a case-based historical sociological study, the following refined scientific inquiries serve as the drivers of this research study:

RQ.1: What were the common and divergent patterns and strategies used between the two state-crime elites, Stanley Ho and Moe Dalitz?

RQ.2: What influence did the state-crime elites have on the development of their respective gaming hubs; Stanley Ho on Macao and Moe Dalitz on Las Vegas?

RQ.3: What can we learn from the development of Las Vegas and Macao and how is it relevant for aspiring casino-cities in the Global South?

III. METHODS

The major research method employed in this paper is the comparative historical research method; three research strategies are used: the Case-based comparative strategy, Documentary analysis, and Social network analysis (Ego-centred network).

Case-based comparative strategy:

In light of the resemblances between two cases, a comparative historical research method is an ideal means for comparing the two cases and understanding how the focal actors used their relations with state and criminal agents to shape their respective ‘gaming empires’.

In comparative research, there are two strategies one can follow – Durkheim’s variable-based strategy or Weber’s case-based strategy (Ragin & Zaret 1983). Durkheim’s variable-based strategy conceives explanations from comparing and “testing propositions about general patterns of relationships among abstract variables” (Ragin & Zaret 1983:740). While it does have its advantages, it does not produce historically-grounded explanations and generalizations that accounts for causes and consequences of historical diversity (Ragin & Zaret 1983). Weber’s case-based strategy retains contextual effects of historical origins as it encapsulates a variety of factors pertaining to investigated cases. This paper will use the Weber case-based strategy. As such, the selected cases are defined as specific, empirical units.

Documentary and Archival Records:

Primary sources of data are drawn from the analysis of official documents, archival collections, biographies, newspapers and periodicals, and reports from government bodies and universities. All of the documents can be retrieved from online databases, university libraries, the Historical Archives of Macao, and government bodies. As previous criminologists have echoed (e.g. Varese 2012), studying criminals will always be a challenge; thus, reports from the FBI and other law enforcements that collect intelligence on the criminals would be of paramount importance. Secondary sources of data include books, dissertations, journal papers, magazine articles, and newspapers from online databases and libraries. All of the documents can be retrieved from online databases and university libraries.

Social Network Analysis (Ego-Centred Network):

In Social Network Analysis (SNA), a method used to study formal properties of social relations (Carrington & Scott 2011), there are two types of networks that can be made: Complete networks and Ego-centred networks (Martino & Spoto 2006). Complete networks involve mathematical models to analyse networks that can span cities and communities; whole networks from community data using quantitative methods (Carrington & Scott 2011). Ego-centred networks revolves around understanding the relations between actors (alters) and the focal person (ego) through documentary

sources, interviewing, surveying, and ethnographic investigations; personal networks from personal data using qualitative methods (Martino & Spoto 2006; Scott 2013). Thus, an Ego-centred network is often smaller and more comprehensive than Complete networks as it follows a focal individual and retains the contextual information surrounding his/her relations with the actors. This strategy has been popular among social movement studies, anthropological studies, historical studies, and even primary health studies. One exemplary study is that by Wong (2009) on the state-society relations in the Philippines. Although the network diagram was not included in the written piece, Wong (2009) was able to articulate comprehensive narratives which retained contextual backgrounds and elucidated relational dimensions of the ego with alters across time.

There are two broad strategies to specify the boundaries of networks: 1) Realist strategy 2) Nominalist strategy (Scott 2013:43). In the 'Realist' strategy, boundaries are thought to be real as they are informed by participants who perceive actual boundaries of social groups and organizations (Scott 2013). In the 'Nominalist' strategy, boundaries are formed by the researcher in categories based on analytical significance, e.g. relational properties and characteristics the separate actors share with the actor of interest (Scott 2013). This research will use the latter strategy as documentary sources cannot elucidate the 'true' nature of relations but can provide data which informs the formation of boundaries based on analytical significance, e.g. attributes, relational properties, and shared activities with potential members they share similar characteristics with (Martino & Spoto 2006).

This study will utilize SNA in its qualitative capacity, i.e. Ego-Centred networks, and use the Nominalist strategy to observe the selected social actors' networks and demonstrate how these actors tugged on their 'state-crime' webs of significance to achieve their self-interest; and thus steered the development of Las Vegas and Macao to what we know of it today. The study will rely on primary and secondary sources of data to identify alters with ties to the focal actors, and use the collected data to inform the research of the overall social embeddedness of the focal actors' networks during their respective selected time frames. This is an acceptable data collection strategy in SNA for acquiring recorded data on social relations (Scott 2013:41).

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

State-Crime Elites & their Empires

In the course of understanding the ways of these powerful state-crime elites, it becomes apparent that the glorious transformation of the casino-cities was no accident; rather, it was engineered. During the years before 1940s for Las Vegas and 1960s for Macao respectively, economic growth was not consistent. A series of economic boom-bust cycles persisted and social stability was threatened by the presence of organized crime groups. Both governments had no clear vision for the development of the societies and thus relied on interventions from the federal government or higher authorities and elites. In such cases of uncertainty and turmoil in a society, Mills (1956:27) argues that the "shifts in the structure of society open opportunities to various elites." Two groups of elites took the gambling concession before Dr. Ho, the Hou Heng Company in 1930 and the Tai Heng Company in 1937 (Pessanha 2012:51), and various elites attempted to revive Las Vegas economy before Mr. Dalitz came into the picture. Yet, they could not grab the right opportunities to reinvent the society. It took economic elites with ties to criminals and statesmen to resuscitate the economy and transform the society.

Morris 'Barney' Dalitz on Las Vegas (1940s-1980s)

In building his empire in Las Vegas, Moe Dalitz used his ties to statesmen, public officials, business elites, and Organized-Crime figures he had befriended throughout his life. During the forty year period, Moe Dalitz strategically 'tugged' his ties to statesmen, such as Patrick Anthony

McCarran (U.S. Senator from 1933-1954), Paul Laxalt (serving Las Vegas in government positions since the 1960s and U.S. Senator from 1974-1986), and the Reagan Administration (1981-1989), and public officials, such as J. Edgar Hoover (1924-1972), largely taking advantage of Nevada's democratic electoral system for political king-making and the national law enforcement agencies for covering his tracks, and protecting his friends, to do his bidding in creating favourable political and economic conditions for the developing Las Vegas and evading the law. For example, with regards to steering federal investigations on Moe Dalitz and Organized crime in Las Vegas, J. Edgar Hoover helped steer FBI investigations clear from Moe Dalitz and his associates throughout his term as head of the FBI (Newton 2009), Pat McCarran helped during the 1950s Kefauver hearings, and Paul Laxalt helped in the 1970s-80s with other federal investigations and silencing the media; with regards to earning more money by making void or reducing tax bills, Pat McCarran fought and negotiated the reduction of tax rate of federal tax bills from 10% to 0.25% (Las Vegas Review-Journal 1999a), and Paul Laxalt and the Reagan administration ensured that two federal tax bills were not passed (Newton 2009); with regards to protecting his hotel-casinos 'shady' operations, Grant Sawyer steered investigations into Desert-Inn in the 1960s (U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation 2001:2586); and, with regards to gaining a stronger foothold in the government and appear 'legitimate', Paul Laxalt and the Reagan administration appointed associates of Moe Dalitz in advisor positions for the Reagan administration (Newton 2009) and Moe Dalitz himself as a special assistant to Paul Laxalt after being elected to office (Orlando Sentinel 1987).

According to FBI files, the amounts that went into the pockets of the government and public officials were in the hundreds of thousands of dollars and it is not known just how many officials received payments, except that Moe had extensive ties which could help him 'cover' up anything and there were not many state or local politicians who were not financed by Moe Dalitz and his associates (Federal Bureau of Investigation 2001:184; 204). This 'strategic tugging' of social networks, was possible because of the instrumental use of his hotel-casinos, largely Desert Inn, which opened in the 1950s, and Stardust, which opened in the 1970s, and the Teamsters Union Pension Fund for political-king making, 'buying off' people, and an overall expansion of his legitimate portfolio of hotel-casinos in Las Vegas; which attracted more statesmen, economic elites, and public officials who would frequently patronize his establishments. Noting funds that flowed from Mr. Dalitz' establishments and related-operations – involving an legitimate economic elite 'front-man' for the hotel-casinos, e.g. Wilbur Clark (U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation 2001:219), illusory board of directors and stakeholders (U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation 2001: 183), which concealed the identity Mr. Dalitz's mob associates, such as Morris Kleinman and Samuel Tucker (Gottdiener et al. 1999), and umbrella corporations, such as the Nevada Hotel Association, to get licenses from the Nevada Gaming Control Board –, to the pockets of public officials and statesmen, although all merely speculation, the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation recognized a 'reinforcing smokescreen' that Mr. Dalitz created. This 'smokescreen' concealed large-scale and regular 'skimming' operations, largely from Desert-Inn and Stardust, which helped finance subservient statesmen to office, 'buy' amicable law enforcement officials, 'hire' ignorant economic elites, and overall 'secure' a development system that was impenetrable by internal and external interveners.

Behind the numerous 'fronts' Moe had set up, Moe and his mobsters were involved in money laundering, political-king making, and decision-making for future investments and current affairs in Las Vegas. None of the 'front' men had any power, including the 'presidents' like Wilbur Clark (U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation 2001:149), and the statesmen, such as Pat McCarran, Paul Laxalt, and Grant Sawyer, all abided to Moe Dalitz's will. FBI files indicate that, since the 1960s, Moe and his associates would actively contribute to political campaigns and support political offices through the Nevada Hotel Association, specifically the Desert Inn group and later Stardust group, by the aforementioned casino skimming operations (U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation

2001:184; 112; 89). This lasted well onto the 1980s. Moreover, FBI files indicated that Moe and his associates were in frequent contact with financed statesmen and, no matter democrat or republican, Moe directed his associates to support any candidate who shared their vision and readily accepted advice on how to run the campaign to win (U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation 2001:89). But just how did they finance so many politicians and government officials? While the FBI acknowledged that most of the local politicians were supported by the Desert Inn hotel group and other hotel-casino groups (U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation 2001:181), other politicians on a much higher 'playing field' or other parties often received their financial backings from the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT). The IBT, a labour union group often called Teamsters Union, was instrumental in Moe's building of the Las Vegas Empire. The Teamsters Pension Fund was often used as a back-up financial source for covering costs to expand when the earnings from the hotel-casinos could not cover it (U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation 2001:198). Similar to the umbrella corporations, Teamsters Union was under the strong influence of Moe Dalitz. Although Moe was not part of the Teamsters Union, he was the most influential loaner for the Teamsters Pension Fund (Newton 2009). Teamster Union officials, such as 1957 Union President Jimmy 'Riddle' Hoffa and 1983 Union President Jackie Presser, were intricately linked with Moe's previous syndicate, i.e. the Cleveland Syndicate, and the organized crime group in Las Vegas, and they let Moe Dalitz and his associates use the Pension Fund as their private bank (Newton 2009).

During the course of building his empire by wielding his legitimate and illegitimate instruments of power, Moe created a 'pro-gambling' atmosphere that not only influenced the political realm, but also the economic realm since the 1960s as Las Vegas officially recognized gaming as a legitimate business and had a clear direction of development – to be a Casino-driven capitalist society (City of Las Vegas, n.d.). In the 40 year time span Moe spent in Las Vegas, Moe also engaged in charitable works, such as funding the construction of a local hospital, and engaged in philanthropy, donating \$1.3 million dollars to various NGOs upon his death through a charitable trust (Las Vegas Review-Journal 1999a). He was awarded Humanitarian of the Year in 1976 and the Torch of Liberty Award in 1982 for his philanthropy and contribution to the society, particularly the gaming industry and recreation and tourism sectors (Las Vegas Review-Journal 1999a). Even after his death in 1989, the pro-gambling atmosphere and image of world-class recreation he helped foster encouraged secondary economic drivers to develop air transport infrastructure, conventions, and gaming-related services (Lang & Nicholas 2011).

Dr. Stanley Ho Hung-Sun on Macao (1960s-2000s)

In the 40 years spent to create his empire in Macao, Dr. Stanley Ho did not manipulate statesmen and public officials as much as Moe Dalitz, as the officials themselves wanted a "cozy relationship with the casino capitalist" (Lo 2007) and power to govern is often bestowed on economic elites by the colonial state (Risse2013), e.g. through monopoly licenses. Shifting political stances from anti-Japanese to pro-Japanese, Stanley Ho made his entrance into Macao in his early adulthood after halting his support for the resistance in Hong Kong and moving to work in the Macao Cooperative Company Limited (McGivering 1999). Securing a position in the company, and being a grand-niece of Sir Robert Hotung, opened a lot of doors for Ho to develop relations with the Portuguese government in Macao, the Japanese army, the wealthy Macanese, and later on the Chinese. It is during this war period that Ho, still in his early 20s, would accumulate his millions and accumulate social capital and extensive connections with resourceful businessmen and political authorities.

In 1961, realizing that the government-granted gaming concession in Macao was open, he joined with friends, Henry Fok, Teddy Yip, and Yip Hon, to form Sociedade de Turismo e Diversoes de Macao (Macao Tourism and Amusement Company) (STDM) to make the bid (McGivering 1999). STDM, with Ho holding the franchise name, won the bid in January 1st, 1962 and the building of

Stanley Ho's Macao empire began (Welker 2005; Milgram & Lichtblau 2009). Dr. Ho, having observed the dynamics and orientations between economic elites and statesmen in the colony since he first came to Macao, capitalized on the opportunity to expand his influence and control beyond the gaming concession he was allotted. In the 1960s, upon receiving the monopoly, he started financing educational and religious institutions in Macao, introduced the first ferry (Hydrofoil) to the Hong Kong-Macao sea route, and became active in community works (Welker 2005). In the 1970s, the long awaited casino, the Hotel Lisboa opened, Shun Tak Enterprises was established, the Jetfoil (upgrade of Hydrofoil) was introduced to shorten travel time between Hong Kong and Macao, and millions were being used to finance development projects (Welker 2005:59). The Hotel Lisboa, Ho's flagship hotel-casino, helped STDM make a net profit of over US\$20 million annually, with just under US\$5 million being allocated annually into development projects (Welker 2005:50-51).

This revenue, for both the state and Dr. Ho, skyrocketed in the 1980s when, in 1986, Dr. Ho's Grand Lisboa introduced VIP rooms, an exclusive gambling space catered for 'high-rollers' (Wang & Eadington 2008). VIP rooms became the core earners in casinos as a single VIP room of the Lisboa Casino could gross over half of the total revenue from Baccarat; Baccarat accounts for 65% of the total earnings in casino (Pinho 1987). This market brought in the majority of all gaming revenue in Macao (Pessanha 2012:112). Of course, this also meant a lot more profit for STDM and Dr. Ho in particular, since he gained total control of STDM in mid-1980s (Milgram & Lichtblau 2009). But just how was this new 'VIP' system so successful? It was later discovered that the latest attraction in the Grand Lisboa involved 'shady characters' and housed 'shady businesses', all of which Dr. Ho supposedly sanctioned because the VIP-room contractual system was not codified in law and thus STDM, with Dr. Ho as its leader, played the dominant role in establishing rules and managing the system (Wang & Eadington 2008). It was soon discovered that triad societies had been running the VIP rooms (Canadian Intelligence Resource Centre 2004). According to a special report by the State of New Jersey Department of Law and Public Safety (Milgram & Lichtblau 2009:8-9), "The VIP room structure, introduced in 1986, facilitated the involvement of Asian Organized Crime in STDM casinos...The VIP rooms in the STDM casinos provided organized crime entry into the gaming market that it had previously lacked...STDM created a "lawless space" that allowed organized crime to gain a foothold in the Macao gaming industry." Having triad societies, such as the 14K or Wo On Lok, operate in one's establishments was a violation of Art 288 of the Penal code of the Macao gaming law, which provides for the offence of criminal association (Chan 2012:127). While triad societies have always been notorious for their illegal gambling activities in Macao (Coates 1978), reports showed that Dr. Ho was and still is letting the organized criminal gangs "operate and thrive" within the premises of his casino establishments (Asia Pacific Post 2010; Milgram & Lichtblau 2009).

Reports hold that the triads involved in VIP rooms also ran loan sharking, prostitution, selling of drugs, and even participated in money laundering operations (Canadian Intelligence Resource Centre 2004). However, despite sanctioning their operation, Dr. Ho denied any 'foul play' and simply stated in response to allegations: "to be associated with or to know someone is completely different (from being one)" (Pablo & AFP 2000:2). Dr. Ho was not dismissing allegations he was affiliated with them, he just dismissed allegations that he held triad membership. So, not being a triad member, just how did Dr. Ho come to be acquainted with the triads? Dr. Ho had several ties to organized crime-affiliates; that is, individuals with notable ties to members of Organized crime groups, such as Mr. Yip Hon. In bidding for the concession, Dr. Ho chose Yip Hon as a partner specifically because "I needed someone who knew the inside of the business...who was a professional gambler" (McGivering 1999:111). Yip Hon, as reports show, was not only a professional gambler who knew the insides of the casino business, but he also had a triad background (Asia Pacific Media Services Limited, n.d.).

While Dr. Ho was ‘passing through the law’ with the questionable working arrangements of the VIP rooms, the state officials and public officials simply turned a blind eye. Macao was profiting from the VIP room high-rollers as it fuelled the development of Macao’s infrastructure and community. Thus, why would they stop Dr. Ho from doing something that benefits Macao, although it violates the law? In the late 1980s, due to the significant rise in revenues from the VIP rooms, Dr. Ho invested in TDM (Teledifusão de Macau), Macao’s most popular television network, and Macao’s new International Airport, which would open in 1995. Nearing the end of the Century, the span of investments STDM had nearly covered the whole of Macao’s economy (Pessanha 2012:52). Dr. Ho’s instrumental use of legitimate and illegitimate powers not only helped him engineer a Casino-driven capitalist society, but also achieve prominence and recognition worldwide. All his work to improve the financial outlook and social stability of Macao got Ho, in the 1980s, to be elected to high positions in various associations, for example Vice president of the Macau SAR Basic Law drafting committee, and earn numerous accolades, including two honorary doctorates and honorific Insignias (Welker 2005:59). Dr. Ho’s personal net worth was estimated at US\$1 billion (Milgram & Lichtblau 2009).

Similar and divergent strategies:

In building their empires, Mr. Dalitz and Dr. Stanley Ho shared similar ‘game plans’; accumulate vast amounts of money and power, evade allegations of wrong-doings, and acquire the ‘good guy’ image. However, the strategies they employed to do each of those activities had more variation.

In regards to the similarities in their strategies, both state-crime elites used bridging social capital and linking social capital to accumulate money and power and evade allegations. Moe Dalitz used bridging social capital to stay in touch with his out-of-state organized crime associates and business-affiliates out-of-the country. Mr. Dalitz, moreover, used linking social capital to be affiliated with higher political authorities, such as President Reagan, enabling access to greater power and resources. Likewise, Dr. Stanley Ho used bridging social capital to maintain relations with organize-crime affiliates, e.g. Yip Hon, and businessmen, e.g. Henry Fok, in Macao and overseas. Dr. Stanley Ho also used linking social capital to climb up the ladder during the 1930s-1940s when he socialized with various higher political authorities in the Portuguese and Japanese administration. Such motivations, to use social capital to rise to locate legitimate and illegitimate opportunities and exploit it, coincided with the results of Lo (2010), who examined the use of linking and bridging social capital in the Sun Yee On triad and Chinese government.

Another shared similarity is the decision to remain apolitical, which reflects their ‘neutrality’ and ‘anything goes’ attitude; although both of them did become advisors to political power-heads. Neither Mr. Dalitz nor Dr. Ho chose to run the race for political office because they already had access to state power bestowed by the state through relations with complacent statesmen. This is unlike the results from Chin (2003) who found that organized crime figures turned legitimate businessmen would often run for office. A probable reason for the contrast may be due to the conditions in which the actors are in; there was more opportunity as a businessman to accumulate material and immaterial values in the context of a developing economy than as a statesman.

Mr. Dalitz and Dr. Ho differed on three strategies used to build their empires. The first difference relates to their social network and their interaction with the key players in that network. Moe Dalitz had direct contact with each and every key player in his network; Mr. Dalitz had direct connections with the statesmen, criminals, and even public officials. Stanley Ho, on the contrary, did not have direct contact with criminals, but did have direct connections with statesmen and organized crime-affiliated businessmen, who acted as intermediaries or representatives of the criminal. Illustrations of Mr. Dalitz’s and Dr. Ho’s network can be found in the ‘Illustrations and figures’ section of the paper.

The second difference involved the need to shift identities, e.g. to cope with a change in political climate or evade the law. Moe Dalitz, following the footsteps of his parents, frequently adopted pseudonyms, changed birth dates, residences, and occupations in official documents (U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation 2001:296). Moreover, Mr. Dalitz established a number of ‘fronts’ to protect himself, his income channel, and his investments. Mr. Dalitz almost always used ‘front’ men to hold positions of ‘authority’ in his many enterprises, always had income channels coming from legitimate enterprises to ‘cover’ his more lucrative income channels coming from illegitimate or quasi-legitimate enterprises, and often established umbrella corporations to increase the red-tape and smokescreen over his illegitimate or quasi-legitimate enterprises. Dr. Ho, in contrast, used his ambiguous upbringing to dabble between allegiances and affiliations so that his allegiance and affiliation falls in line with the dominant political atmosphere; e.g. dabble between pro- and anti-Japanese affiliations and political appearances depending on the context. This is what Wong (2009) refers to as being a ‘Chameleon’. According to Wong (2009:61-62), the ‘Chameleon’ has the ability to “remain ‘in position’ during regime changes by changing their political appearance and affiliation flexibly.” Dr. Ho did not have to create or mask his identity. Rather, Dr. Ho used his Janus-like characteristics to adapt to the different regimes and political climates; one moment Macanese, another moment Chinese.

A third difference relates to how they handled allegations. Mr. Dalitz, with his vast influence over statesmen and public officials, was able to play down rumours and allegations of ‘foul play’ to the point where he was never convicted in his life, despite being under the spotlight for more than half his lifetime. Transitioning to a respected businessman in Las Vegas, illegalities had to be kept hidden, and Mr. Dalitz did just that by utilizing his ties to people of the ‘underworld’ and ‘upper world’. Stanley Ho, in contrast, did not have to deal with any of these problems. Dr. Ho had the ‘bestowed’ power to do whatever he wanted and controlled, rather than influenced, a number of institutions, including the media (TDM). While he could not stop international papers from printing accusations about his ‘shady’ businesses and ties, local investigations into his unsavoury ties and questionable business ethics were deficient and no one dared to cross him during his time in power. Moreover, in the case of violating laws, administrators and public officials looked the other way, so there was no need to avoid allegations except when projected from the international community. Sutherland (1940:8-9) puts it best, “Law is like a cobweb; it’s made for flies and the smaller kinds of insects, so to speak, but lets the big bumblebees go through.” In the cases of Mr. Dalitz and Dr. Ho, they had such a widespread influence and control over the societies that they could pass through the law easily; effectively, being ‘unchallenged’ architects of their empires.

The Nature of the State in a Casino-driven Capitalist Society:

In the course of investigating these two actors, it became apparent that the states in the respective territories assumed subservient roles to the ruling elite. They were the instruments of the elites rather than active entities of authority and change. Dr. Ho’s unlawful practices in the casinos were not curtailed by orchestrated efforts of the authorities; rather, they turned a blind eye and watched state revenue from gaming increase. In the case of Mr. Dalitz, political corruption was rampant among statesmen as the mob financed anybody who had pro-gaming attitudes. McCarran, Sawyer, Laxalt, were just some of the statesmen that assumed the interests of the mob in driving their actions in office. In fact, most, if not all, state and national statesmen were directly or indirectly connected to the mob and Moe Dalitz, and were financed as they adhered to the interests of Moe Dalitz. As the state-crime elites assumed dominant positions in society, their influence, as seen from the results, was widespread and constructive.

This credits the instrumentalist Marxism tradition of the society-centric approach as the state was not autonomous and the statesmen were not independent of the schemes of the elites; rather they were ‘instrumentally’ used to adhere to the state-crime elite’s ‘master plan’. However, the

results also expand the instrumentalist Marxism tradition as it rejects the idea that state domination is an act exclusively for ‘upper world’ actors or the ruling class. Both investigated actors dabbled between the two worlds and took advantage of the ‘upper world-underworld symbioses’ to dominate governance; in the words of Risse (2013), it was a case of ‘governance with government via networks’ using non-hierarchical steering methods. The ruling class of the ‘upper world’ was used by both actors, either as cover-men or for business expansionism, and the state was subservient to both actors. Moreover, organized crime groups played an important role in the focal actors’ grand schemes and governance activities. In this sense, the state-crime elites created a secured environment that ‘contained’ their operations from any interventions; they had established both legitimate defenders, i.e. state actors, and illegitimate defenders, i.e. organized crime, to secure their casino-driven capitalist system.

Challenges and Opportunities for Aspirators in the Global South:

Reflecting on the aforementioned results and discussions, it becomes clear that replicating the Las Vegas and Macao model in the 21st Century would simply not be possible. Perhaps, unsurprisingly, most, if not all, of the challenges faced in trying to replicate the 20th Century development model of Las Vegas and Macao are related to the impact globalization has had on state and non-state actors, the global atmosphere, and the internal affairs of nation-states. It is not possible to replicate such a model because the very nature of the ‘underworld’ has changed, i.e. becoming less predictable with the rise of transnational organized crime and an enlarging ‘shadow economy’, the competition stiffened over gaming rights, and ideologues about casino-gaming in constant flux. This does not only make gaming development projects vulnerable, but the aforementioned challenges also have potential to misappropriate benefits accrued by a gaming-resort or casino-city (as an example, see the recent case of Canadian billionaire Michael DeGroot and organized crime involvement in his casino development venture).

Gaming resorts have proven themselves as economic drivers for socio-economic and community development, but key considerations must be in place to ensure its stability and protection. So, what are the elucidated opportunities evident from this study? In line with the relational perspective and framework used, we see the integral value of networking and instrumentally ‘tugging’ those networks to fulfil goals and objectives otherwise not possible. It has potential to both make and break development. Thus, to protect gaming development projects, ensuring that the economic driver benefits the socio-economic development of the community, we see the importance of establishing intelligence-gathering institutions and the importance of the executive handlings of a ‘determined and unmoving’ state over casino project developments and long-term maintenance. Before intelligence-related institutions can be established, it is important to ensure that casino development is within the interest of the state. Enduring support from the state is a key to protecting economic drivers. If indeed casino development projects are in the interest of the state, and the state wants to accomplish organizational goals set out, then intelligence must be valued and acted upon (Wilensky 1967).

While still a burgeoning practice and concept, since 1989, great hopes lie in it as the cold-war intelligence architecture begins to lose ground and the Global South starts to look to their own, rather than the US, for intelligence liaison and related-practices (Shiraz 2013). Casino developments, especially if in interest of the state, can provide an appropriate context for which to form an intelligence community that focuses more on ‘internal’ and ‘domestic’ protection of assets rather than ‘confronting’ and ‘waging wars’ against an elusive enemy, which is characteristic of the Global North’s approach in using intelligence to support foreign policies (Shiraz 2013). Here, in the spirit of cooperation, alliance, and friendship, South-South intelligence liaison holds promise for two reasons. 1) There is a dire need for intelligence liaison knowing that casinos are used as ‘points of transmission’ for terrorist financing, money laundering, and the like of ‘networked’

activities that compromise the interests of the state 2) it would put South-South cooperation on a new front that has not been embarked on before – intelligence cooperation for the purpose of protecting a niche economic driver, i.e. casino gaming resorts, by means of informing policy-making decisions and countering ‘comprising’ influences on casino-related projects.

V. CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, first and foremost, this paper has come to show that the emergence of the two celebrated casino cities was no ordinary development nor was it a crapshoot development; rather it was the result of instrumentally concerted actions by economic elites with extensive and strategic ties to statesmen and organized crime groups. In the face of continuous failures by the state and economic elites to resuscitate the ‘boom-crisis’ economy of Las Vegas and Macao, it took non-state actors with intricate ‘webs of significance’ to state and criminal actors to govern the development of a society under limited statehood; transforming the lands into celebrated gaming & recreation hubs.

Yet, in this realization, i.e. that the Las Vegas and Macao development models are not ideal in the 21st Century, a number of intriguing insights are also gained. Drawing from these two cases, opportunities for closer South-South cooperation and alliance-building, especially on the fronts of intelligence-sharing and governance bodies, are elucidated. The race for casino-cities in a highly connected world gives rising importance to the need for a secure environment that can preserve the interests of the state; be it core economic drivers, such as developing gaming-resorts, or other interests of the state. Adhering to the spirit of Asia-Africa cooperation, in the context of intelligence-sharing alliances and governance bodies for protecting the development of casino-resorts and casino-cities, trust and respect for one another is a necessity in this time of heightened global uncertainty and change. Only then, can the Global South truly rise together and live up to its principles.

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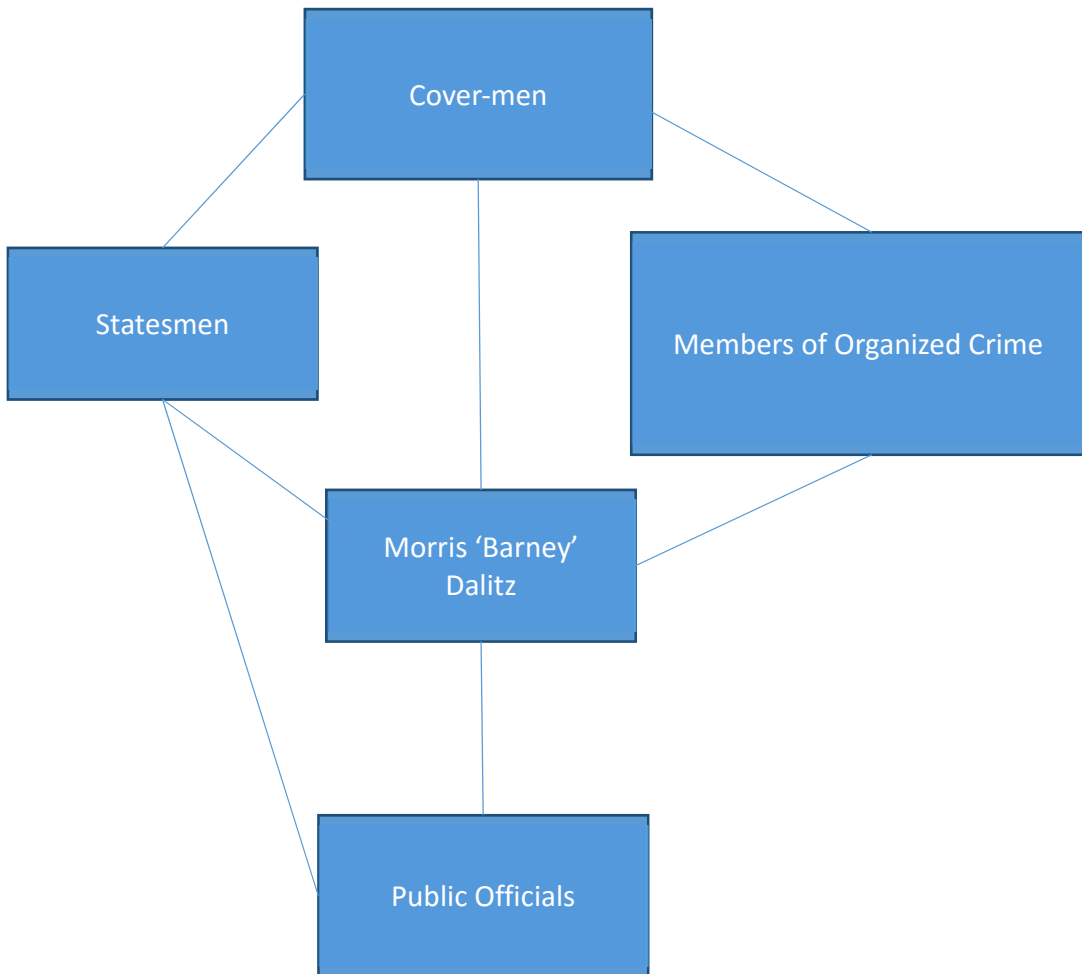
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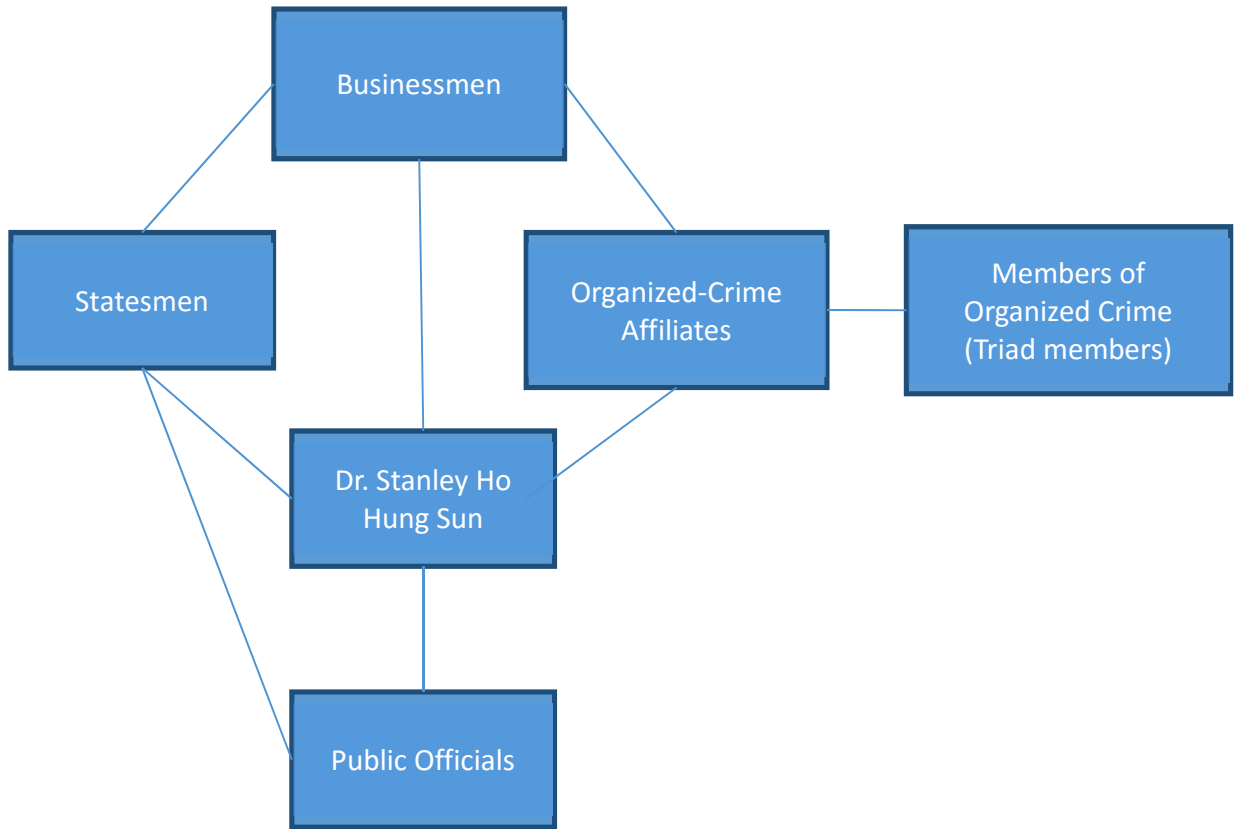
Illustrations and figures

Mr. Morris Dalitz Network



The Ego-Network of Moe Dalitz with respect to the key groups Mr. Dalitz used to shape Las Vegas.

Dr. Stanley Ho Network



The Ego-Network of Dr. Stanley Ho with respect to the key groups Dr. Ho used to shape Macao.

Solidarity of the Traders in Pasar Raya Padang (the Main of Padang Market) after Earthquake that Concerning about Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Policy

Rinel Fitlayeni, Elvawati, Marleni, Afrizal, and Indraddin

Abstract

The earthquake that was going in West Sumatera at September 30, 2009 ago, has affected the destruction, disadvantages and causing the economy activity is being low in Padang city. That situation need a policy that should have take attention by local government for rehabilitation and reconstruction form, whereas that form should not interfere the rights of traders as earthquake victims, by engage the traders itself to make a policy together with local government. The fact is, the discussion process that will be held by local government to fix this problem is break off by local government with using force fences in the market buildings, whereas it is coincide with 1 Syawal 1432 H (Muslim calendar) and build up the emergency kiosk that incompatible by traders, because that buildings makes their income is being low, desolate. That is make the traders to collect any supports from others to against the policy from local government that concerned about rehabilitation and reconstruction form by large demonstration from traders of Pasar Raya Padang to the representation of Padang council (DPRD Kota Padang). Beside that, they are also invite some of organization that concerned about that and giving a lawyer to PBHI (the association of Indonesian law assistance and human rights)

I. INTRODUCTION

Market is important for economy foundation. Beside that, market is also like a container for economy social activity, the function of market itself to unite or collect the economy agents. Market also have a function like an economy tools for the measure in increasing the income of one region. The activity in Pasar Raya Padang has broken since the earthquake at September 30, 2009 ago which affected the damage of Inpres buildings in Pasar Raya Padang, especially for Inpres I building. As a consequence, it need quickly handling by government to revitalise by building the emergency kiosk like small building in entire of the road in Pasar Raya Padang. And half of traders disagreed about that. They are demand to local government to dismantle kiosk with the reason their income is being low, desolate. The local government has closing Angkot (mini bus) track, whereas this area often using for buyers many long times ago. But, government still defends the emergency kiosk because it has spent out the billion Rupiah. This situation has changed to long conflict between traders of Pasar Raya Padang and local government of Padang along five years (2009 – 2014), but there is no agreement yet so far about it for both of side. Technically, the process of handling disaster in reconstruction and rehabilitation, should follow the valid laws No. 24 year 2007 about disaster reduction.

The rehabilitation and reconstruction in Inpres market buildings of Pasar Raya Padang cannot separate from the civil rights of traders itself, accordance to the agreements between local government and traders. Processing of rehabilitation and reconstruction cannot abolish from the civil rights of traders as earthquake victims. Therefore, for the process of rehabilitation and reconstruction, government have to engage the traders as earthquake victim to make decision together.

The policy of local government to build force fences in Inpres II, III and IV buildings in Pasar Raya Padang by invoked the Army, Police and Satpol PP (guards of local government) which has end up create a victims in traders side, that is wrong step from local government. That step is one of the violation of the human rights. Beside that, that fence has building on August 31, 2011 and it is coincide with 1 Syawal 1432 H (Muslim calendar), whereas on that date is a holy day for Muslim (Idul Fitri) and it is hurts for Muslim peoples. Local government have a commitment to solve the problem about rehabilitation and reconstruction in the beginning of the August 2011 by organize a meeting with traders of Pasar Raya Padang which is they are getting earthquake victim, but government is not consistent with what they already decided, it is delayed until August 31, 2011.

The destruction of buildings in Pasar Raya Padang, make the local government to looking for a place “relocation” for traders. They are building emergency kiosk in entire of the Pasar Raya Padang road; Sandang Pangan and Pasar Baru street. But, there is a traders is not agreed about that. They are which is not getting the earthquake effect for seriously, and because of that their shop is closing because processing of relocation in Inpres I, II, III and IV and they are cannot accept that policy just like that(www.padangnews).

When the policy of local government to build the emergency kiosk has getting a fights by half of traders. They are demand to dismantle that buildings with reason economy is being low and desolate. Lots of large demonstration has organize by traders of Pasar Raya Padang which is join with Padang citizen forum (FWK) to the representation of Padang council, ask them to accept their aspiration; local government should have dismantle the emergency kiosk. But, the government still defending that building with reason, it has spent out billion Rupiah.

It is been five years the conflict between local government and traders in Pasar Raya Padang (2009 – 2014), but there is no agreement yet for both of side so far. The conflicts between them are open conflict, the effective way to solve this problem is outside of judicature. So, the background of this writings to review or analyzing the traders strategy to collect any supporting against the government policy, because there is no agreement yet so far.

According to Damsar in his book, *Economy Sociology* (2011), market is divided into 2 types, they are market as place and just market. Market as place is a physical form which is the commodities and services has been brought up to the market and sell it (Damsar 2011). Meanwhile, the definition of market by sociology as a social institution, it means a social structure whose prepared some of goods or service as solves the problem of the requirements in economy basic within goods and service distribution. It is seems like a social relationship series which is structured in sale something valuable. Whereas, Belshaw (1981) more complex to define the market is the place that having social elements, economics, cultures, politics and others, a place for buyers and sellers met each to organize transaction or barter.

To know about the social solidarity form that happened between traders of Pasar Raya Padang is using the solidarity concept that has founding by Emile Durkheim. The appoint of solidarity is on the situation of individual or group relationship which has based on moral feeling and the belief which is believe together which is powerfully by emotional together (Jhonson, 1994, 181). Durkheim has divided the social solidarity into two types to analyze, society or groups.

First, mechanic solidarity is depend on the individuals that having same characteristics and believe the same belief and having the same normative pattern also. The special characteristics that solidarity based on the high homogeneities level in belief, sentiment, and others. Second, organic solidarity is a solidarity based on the high dependence as result and specialization additional in job division, which is possible increasing the differentiation also in individuals (Jhonson, 1994, 183-184).

II. RESEARCH METHODS

This article is a report from the research that funding by Dipa Dikti trough Pekerti (the collaboration all of university researchers) at 2015. The research has conducted by qualitative approach with descriptive research. The research has been taken in Pasar Raya Padang, West Sumatera. Pasar Raya Padang has been chosen because this market getting the serious effected from earthquake at 2009 ago, and the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Pasar Raya Padang after earthquake, that is causing the conflict between local government and traders.

There are also other informants whose engage in this conflict, they are the traders of Inpres I, II, III, IV, VII phase and Batu Bagonjong, local government (government of Padang city), IKAPI (the coalescence of Indonesian traders) and PBHI (the association of Indonesian law assistance and human rights). The processing of collecting the data is collect the document of conflict that happened during 6 years, from media, notes of a meeting, reports and journal. Beside that, it also collected data by using observation on the situation in Pasar Raya Padang after rehabilitation and reconstruction that caused by earthquake. To get powerful and valid data, it also used an interview among them.

III. PASAR RAYA PADANG AFTER THE EARTHQUAKE

The shake of earthquake with power 7.9 SK, and suddenly break out all of activity (Singgalang, 2009 October 30). Peoples getting panicked and running away from the buildings when all of this happens. They are afraid of falling down the buildings, it is become everyone get panicked, after the earthquake has stopping, peoples still panicked. The mainly reason they are panicked is there are Tsunami issue. In their knowledge, West Sumatera is Tsunami territory because Sumatera island has locateon the broken fragments of the ring of earthquake. That fear makes a thousands of Padang society evacuate to the east when the earthquake has stopping, because east area of Padang is the highest place as Tsunami evacuation.

After the earthquake, Padang city is like a ghost city, desolate, without light, without water and without communication network. The tectonic earthquake with power 7.9 SR which was going

on September 30, 2009 ago in West Sumatera has destructed any infrastructure and any service tools, one of area whose getting serious effectis Pasar Raya Padang, whereas that area as trading central of Padang city.

Issue of Tsunami in West Sumatera, especially in Padang city as sensitive of one region for earthquake, this Issue is appears since Tsunami in Aceh at 2004. After earthquake and Tsunami has occurred in Aceh, Tsunami issue is being popular topic in Padang, because that city is near with coast. Central of Padang city and all at once also for the economy central of city whereas the distance from the coast only 1 kilometers, so that is way the peoples is scaring of Tsunami issue, it makes peoples around the coast getting panic. When earthquake in September 30, 2009 has occurred, so many traders in Pasar Raya running away to the outside of the buildings and running away to the highest place for survive and leave their commodities. They are just running for looking save place to the east of Padang as the Tsunami evacuation like other societies without thinking their commodities.

Structure and infrastructure of the trading in Padang city has broken by earthquake, so the society is losing their market with fully equipped. Many traders lost of their livelihood. The economy system has being low because there is a little money rotation in Pasar Raya Padang. The decreasing of income which is there is no trading in Pasar Raya Padang, and it causing the social problem is appear, that are losing of livelihood.

When the disaster was coming, thousands of people run to look for the highest place with vehicle and by walk. It causing the traffic jam, the communication network is broken off, the electricity off and that situation getting more panic and there is nothing to do, even they are willing by walking teens of kilometers to get the highest place for survive.

More or less one hour after earthquake there is a fire in Inpres I building in Pasar Raya Padang that occurred by explosion one of the gas burner traders and the fire becoming widely and burn Inpres I, II, III and other buildings

In the processing of extinguishing in Inpres buildings of Pasar Raya Padang, only two fire engine available when the disaster is coming. And that fire engine is not maximal in extinguishing, because after the water inside of the fire engine has been running out and then there is no refill for extinguish the fire that occurred at the Inpres buildings in Pasar Raya Padang.

According to the traders, the fire that occurred in building Inpres I, that is mainly causing the falling down the building in Inpres I and the fire has collapsed all of that buildings. But, according to the government that the mainly causing of falling down the Inpres I building because there are so many continuation earthquakes after the primary earthquake with power 7.9 SK, like a picture down below



Picture 1. The situation of Pasar Raya Padang after earthquake



Picture 2. The situation of Pasar Raya Padang after earthquake

In the third day after earthquake, Padang city is still like ghost city, desolate and no electricity, half of traders starting to rebuild their activity in Pasar Raya Padang with clean up the buildings, saving the good one commodity from thousands of ruins. In Inpres II floor 1, Inpres III and Inpres IV which was a traditional market place with fully equipped for daily citizen needed, the trading activity there is being normal again in the third weeks after disaster has coming. In Inpres I almost 100 % the buildings has falling down by earthquake, some of traders there try to clean up and trading again around in the collapsed building with rest of their save commodities. Market and economy activity starting normal again, meanwhile the evacuation of victims in another place still going on.

The condition of Pasar Raya Padang, especially in Inpres buildings area is not comfortable anymore for traders and buyers. The pipeline access has broken, so there is a puddle of water. Around in the market has been puddle by water, so it makes market has being desolate.

To recover the economy of Pasar Raya Padang, the department of market service (government official) builds the emergency kiosk to receive the traders who's getting the earthquake effect. In the placement the traders to the emergency kiosk, the local government only giving the emergency kiosk to the traders who's their old kiosk has falling down by earthquake. It is one of the government policy about that, build up the emergency kiosk for a while to recovering the economy of Pasar Raya

Padang, especially for the traders. The department of market service pulling down and rebuild Inpres buildings which is not deserve to use on the laws below;

1. Recommendation of DPRD (representation of Padang city council) No. 189.05/DPRD-PDG/2010 about recommendation for the market relocation, terminal and the assistance of earthquake year 2007.
2. The letter of Governor Decision No. 360-13990/SK-2009 about the implementation of the emergency case and recovery disaster reduction of the earthquake in province of West Sumatera.
3. The decision of Mayor No. 952 year 2009 about selection the Satgas Batalyon Zeni Kontruksi 13/KE (army) as the implementation for the emergency kiosk building for Inpres market in Pasar Raya Padang.

There are lots of kiosk that built by government, about 1103 of kiosks, with give the priority to the traders in Inpres I, whereas in Inpres I almost 100% of the buildings has been collapsed. And for the next, the department of market service make a list of traders and placement for the traders in Inpres to the emergency kiosk at the stages II.

Table 1
The data of emergency kiosk location

Lokasi	Jumlah
Pasar raya	156
Pasar baru	447
Jl. sandang pangan	374
Pangkalan bemo	96

The kiosk that has been built by government as many of 1103 units which has spread out into 4 locations; in west of Pasar Raya 156 units, in Pasar Baru 447 units, in Sandang Pangan street 374 units and for the rest in Pangkalan bemo (the terminal of local public transportation) 96 units. The measurements of emergency kiosk about 2 x 2 meters with iron roof, the floor from cements and for the wall from plywood (Fitriani, 2012, 52-53).

IV. THE CHRONOLOGY OF CONFLICT IN PASAR RAYA

The earthquake that occurred in West Sumatera at September 30, 2009 ago makes Padang city has changed, especially in Pasar Raya Padang. Before earthquake, Pasar Raya is like normal market in general, selling, and buying and money rotation. But after earthquake at September 30, 2009 the situation in Pasar Raya has changed because the traders have to divide their attention, that are keep an eye for the processing of buildings Pasar Raya through rehabilitation and reconstruction policy of local government.

In implementation and planning of the rehabilitation and reconstruction, government never engages the traders as one of the earthquake victim. But, the government just conveying the notification from mayor of Padang to the traders No. 5111.2.72.1/ Ps-2011 dated on 2011, January 19 about the dissolution of market service in Inpres II, III and IV. In notification, the traders have to vacating the market (Inpres II, III and IV) because that place would be dismantle and reconstruction. Besides that, the government is never to verification for how many percentage the building has damaged or proper to use and conveys to them.

Concerning about the government's way to deliver that notification to the traders. The traders answer that notification through organization like Petak Batu Bagonjong, Pasar Inpres II (KPB), the association of Inpres market II floor 1 (IPPI), the communication of Pasar Raya Inpres forum III floor 1 (FKP2-I) and the leader of small traders of the regional council (IPK) of Padang city. They are conveys to government just repair the buildings and facility of the market, the purposing

is to make the market feel comfortable again and the fluency of trading activity. They have a reason that old buildings is still proper to use. Their reason is strong trough a letter from Gapeksindo Peduli Sumbar No. 55/Gapeksindo/2009 dated 2009, November 2 declare that the buildings in Inpres II, III, and IV are still proper to use.

Considering the dismantle and rebuild planning for Inpres, II, III dan IV, that is one of rehabilitation and reconstruction activity after earthquake September 30, 2009 ago, so that activity should have based on the valid laws in disaster reduction No. 21 year 2008 about the implementation of disaster reduction and the regulation of the leader of BNPB (the disaster reduction national corporation) No. 11 year 2008 about the instruction of disaster reduction implementation after disaster. But, the government is still ignore the valid laws in disaster reduction law to implementation the rehabilitation and reconstruction and threat the rights of traders in Inpres II, III and IV. In this case, the traders felt strongest to against the government policy because government is not comply with the disaster law.

The government effort to discharge and rebuild of Inpres II, III and IV that occurred by government of Padang with relocate the traders of Inpres II, III and IV to occupy the kiosk, but the traders denied that kiosk because they're think the building of kiosks is not match with they're amount.

According to the traders, there is a significant differentiation between the amount of emergency kiosks and from the amount of traders of Inpres II, III dan IV, whereas the emergency kiosks as many as 624 units, and the amount of traders for entire in Inpres II, III dan IV about 907 traders; 379 traders in Inpres II floor 1, 60 traders in front of Begonjong market, 249 traders in Inpres III floor 1 and 219 traders in Inpres II floor 2.

This situation makes the activity in Pasar Raya Padang become increasingly than before, whereas in Pasar Raya Padang before that conflict has occurred only for economy activity and for right now, since that conflict has appear there is more activity that are, the social politic fire of Padang society especially for Pasar Raya Padang society. And that is starting since the government produce the policy about the rehabilitation and reconstruction has got a fighting from traders of Pasar Raya Padang. The fighting from traders is like demonstration. This is the new stage of their conflict between the Government of Padang and the traders whereas it would be the resistance series between them that concern about rehabilitation and reconstruction in the building of Pasar Raya Padang after earthquake on September 30, 2009 ago (Fitriani : 47-48).

Sometimes the conflict between them is not just demonstration, there is a physical conflict between traders and security official. It has been counted two times the physical conflict about it and end up with arresting the leaders of traders. First, the conflict that occurred on February 10, 2010 in front of mayor house service with end up throwing stone and the defacement in mayor house service. Second, the conflict that occurred on August 31, 2011 that related about the process of fence implementation in Pasar Raya Padang area that would be reconstruction.

V. SOURCE OF THE PROBLEM

Talk about conflict, it cannot separate from society because conflict is created when somebody or group disagree with something. Usually, conflict would happen because there is something not analogously. The conflict that occurred in society is not only for micro level, but it also happen in macro level that is to the group level organization, society even country. One of that sample conflict that explained above between the government of Padang and traders of Pasar Raya Padang, it happened since 2009 after the earthquake was going on in Padang with power 7.9 SR.

That condition makes Padang city is like ghost city, no electricity, no communication network for days. Especially in Pasar Raya Padang, that is one of serious area who's getting earthquake effect. Pasar Raya is the biggest market in Padang, fully equipment needed. The broken of Pasar

Raya Padang makes the economy activity is weak because there is no money rotation. The conflict that occurred since the earthquake 2009, that is because the policy from government of Padang about rehabilitation and reconstruction for the traders in Pasar Raya Padang. Even the conflict is still going on until now though the earthquake happened 6 years ago, basically, it because there are no agreement yet between government and traders. The government still want to build the Inpres buildings in Pasar Raya Padang for entire is like investment mechanism, but the traders wants to build the Inpres buildings in Pasar Raya Padang accordance to valid laws. There are some reasons of the different opinion that causing the conflict is still going on until now, they are:

1. Price of the Kiosk

Inpres Market (traditional market) is renamed into Blok 1 with different building from its previous structure. This is done due to its construction is meant not only for modern market but also for shelter for people in case someday 9SR Earthquake and Tsunami attacks Padang in the next coming years. As modern market, market Blok 1 is equipped with various facilities such as escalator, mosque, and toilet, shelter light and so on. So that it is expected that the traders and also visitor will feel safety and comfort while doing their trading activity in the market.

With the various facilities, local government is forced to raise the price for the kiosks in market Blok 1. Speaking of it, the price is offered variously starting from IDR 61.167.600, - to IDR 102.618.000, - with 10% of down-payment. Though the price is expensive, the Government also bridges the traders with Bank BPD in order to get loan from it. In the other hand, according to the traders the price for kiosks in Pasar Blok 1 is way too expensive and burdens them. Traders from the old market Inpres 1 are mostly small-scale trader, regarding their trading goods.

According to lawyer of PBHI, the kiosks in the Blok 1 market are supposed to be free of charge. This is based on act chapter 60, line 1 UU No. 24 tahun 2007 about the overcoming of disaster which states that the overcoming of disaster becomes mutual responsibility between central government and local government. It states that peraturan pemerintah Republik Indonesia (government's rules) No 22 tahun 2008 about funding and managing fund aid that (1) Funding for overcoming after-disaster problem should become mutual responsible of Central and Local Government, (2) the overcoming disaster fund as stated in previous line (1) should be taken from APBN, APBD and/or people. In chapter 20 of act is said that the fund should be use for rehabilitation and construction after the disaster falls.

However, according to Unit of the department of market service, the current newly build kiosks cannot be free of charge because the buildings are completely new and equipped with various facilities. According to the unit, the traders as the yellow card (trader identity card) holder are actually only given rights for using and managing the kiosks. Trader's different perspective from Government is also believed to be the trigger of the conflicts.

2. Layout of Market Blok 1's Structure

Aside from none of socialization from government, the layout of the market also becomes the trigger of the conflict. The design which is released by local government is apparently argued by the traders. According to them, the design which is constructed by PT Fais Jaya cannot accommodate the traders' need because the kiosks in it are very small and narrow for them.

Besides the highly offered price by the government, another factor which makes the traders does not want to move to the newly built kiosks in Blok 1 is their sizes which are small or narrow as stated before. Stone tables (table for putting trading goods on) provided by the Government are also too small and high, incompatible with kinds of daily needs goods which are mostly traded such as vegetables, cassava, coconut, chili etc.

3. Reconstruction of Pasar Inpres II, III, dan IV

Beside the structures of Pasar Inpres I, local government also wants to reconstruct Pasar Inpres II, III, and IV buildings. The decision is stated by the local government through written announcement which is released by government unit of market in November 10, 2009. In the announcement, local government instructs the traders to empty their old kiosks in preparation to move until November 13, 2009. In case the traders cannot comply in the meantime, they will be forcibly removed.

The reconstruction on Pasar Inpres II, III, and IV is based on study and test of suitability and function of market which is done by team of Forensic Engineering Politeknik Negeri Padang. The result of the study can be explained in some points as follows:

- a. Pasar Inpres II
 - Regarding of its structure's suitability by considering mitigation of Earthquake, Pasar Inpres II's structure is no longer steady
 - Regarding of its function suitability based on a market function as comfortable place for shopping, Pasar Inpres II is not suitable.
- b. Pasar Inpres III
 - Its whole structures are in level of unsafe for supporting trading activity
 - Its structures are not suitable for giving comfort to the buyer and trader, so that its function as market is also deemed to be unsuitable.
- c. Pasar Inpres IV
 - Structures are not suitable and safe for surviving another Earthquake, so that the market only has a slight level of safety.
 - The building also does not have suitable function as market.

On the other hand, according to the traders the condition of traditional market II, III, and IV still proper for supporting their activity. It is proven by research and observation done by team of Technical Unity of Entrepreneur (Gapeksindo) branch Padang which finds that the structure of Inpres market II, III, and IV are still suitable and proper to be occupied. Based on the result provided by the Gapeksindo, the traders oppose the reconstruction which is done by Padang Local Government.

VI. THE TRADERS' STRATEGY TO GET SUPPORT AGAINST THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT'S POLICY

The condition of Pasar Raya which is highly damaged forces the government to make some actions by constructing emergency kiosks. The building of emergency kiosk apparently starts conflict between traders and local government. The conflict is caused by less of socialization from the government which makes the traders as the earthquake victims feel step aside. This is

contradictive with acts which states the overcoming of disaster should be done in participative way by involving the traders as the victims.

To gain support from many third parties, the traders make various strategies to oppose the government's policy regarding on the market reconstruction and rehabilitation. Strategies which are applied are meant to build support from many groups and parties which have the same opinion as they do. The effort is done by building solidarity between those who suffer from the Earthquake. According to Emilie Durkheim, solidarity refers to a condition of individual or group relationship which is based on mutual moral feeling and trust and strengthened by mutual emotional feeling (Jhonson, 1994. 181). Solidarity which is applied by the traders is poured in the various strategies as follows:

a. Demonstration

Demonstration which is done by the traders of Pasar raya is one of ways to oppose the government's policy which puts them in uncomfortable situation through the policy of doing reconstruction and rehabilitation of the market after the Earthquake. The demonstration is done due to government's less response which is seen not democratic regarding the traders' demand.

The demonstration which is done by the traders is begun as response for Market division Unit of government's letter of announcement No: 900.169.XI/PS-09 10 November 2009 which instructs the traders in market Inpres I, II, III and IV to empty their kiosk or store and move to temporary kiosk before November 13, 2009. On Wednesday, November 11, 2009, Grand Market Traders Alliance (APPR) makes peaceful protest by involving 2000 traders to the legislative (DPRD) of Padang.

In response to it, DPRD (legislative) of Padang city rereleased recommendation No: 175/057/DPRD-Pdg/2009 dated November 11, 2009 which is signed by vice chairman of legislative, Budiman. It requires the local Government of Padang to disassemble the shelter kiosks and arrange a meeting with legislative and representative of the traders in doing the recommendation. However, it turns out that the recommendation is not responded by Padang Local Government by not disassembling the emergency kiosks as suggested

In the other hand, instruction to empty the Inpres Market I, II, III, and IV is kept run and even done by force to small numbers of traders in Inpres I by using force of Satpol PP Padang (local area law enforcement) and Brimob Polda Sumbar (Police) to make them move and occupy the emergency kiosks. Besides, the Major of Padang city himself declares that he is going to sue those who dare to disassemble the emergency kiosk. The enforcement to empty the old kiosks is followed up by stopping access to electricity in Inpres market III and III by National Electricity Company (PLN) based on local government instruction (Firdaus, 2014, 34-35)

Afterwards, on Wednesday February 10, 2010, the traders of Pasar Raya (grand market) make an action to close their stores and stop trading activity all at once with Padang Citizen Forum (PWK) which involved 3.000 mass of people. The mass of people make their walk to the Major residence and set demonstration. Fail to meet the Major, the mass are provoked to make a riot and collision with Police. local government's policy in rebuilding Inpres Market I, II, III, and IV is seen by the traders do not match their need and out of context for overcoming disaster. Though the conflict is still on, local government keeps doing reconstruction of Inpres I. The early plan is to rebuild the market starting from Inpres I to Inpres IV by using IDR 237 billion of budget. The reconstruction of Inpres Market I also results in the rename of the market into Blok I.

The action is due to the size and layout of the new Blok 1 market is not appropriate to accommodate the traders' need. The sizes of the kiosks which are built by the government are very small and narrow, and the tables for putting on trading goods are too high and small as well, which are not suitable for kinds of goods especially foods and vegetables. Furthermore, the price which is offered for a kiosk is also very expensive. Those things make great numbers of traders keep their trading activity outside of the Blok 1.

Meanwhile, according to the department of market service, the kiosks in Blok 1 are currently appropriate and suitable to concept of modern market, so are the prices deemed to be relevant regarding their facilities. Conflict between the traders and the government is predicted to rise since the early building of emergency kiosks (October 23, 2009) till nowadays, which has been 6 years. The conflict involves many elements of people such as: PBHI, DPRD of Padang, and Komnas HAM (Human Rights Committee).

Then, on Thursday February 11, 2010, the traders alongside Forum Warga Kota/Citizen Forum (FWK) make their action to DPRD of Padang for the second time. DPRD sets plenary meeting and releases 5 recommendations as follows:

1. Requesting displacing of the emergency kiosks in Jalan Pasar Baru and Pasar Raya Barat to the Major of Padang.
2. Realization of public transportation station in area of Pasar Raya Padang before the end of the year (2010)
3. Distributing aid funds for those who suffer the Earthquake in two months.
4. Making arrangement for retailers which unfurl their portable kiosks in Pasar Raya.
5. Recontracting Inpres market I, II, III, IV by using funds of APBD and APBN.

There have been many demonstrations done by the traders regarding local government's policy, but they bring no significant results, though the demonstrations are sometimes end up in collision and ruckus. It is reflected from the undergoing reconstruction and renovation after the Earthquake which is instructed by the government.

b. Lobby

Lobby is an effort to approach and influence other parties for some purposes. Its target is to open up possibilities for negotiation and influence any decision or policy which will be made. Lobby is done by the traders by following the scheme of demonstration and showing aspiration. Lobby is done to institutions which concern on issue they about to blow in demonstration and showing aspiration. The first lobby is done by the traders due to less response of local government regarding their demands in the previous demonstration to the Major's which demands disassembling of emergency kiosk. Lobby is not only done to DPRD in level of city but also to DPRD in level of province, and Governor (Firdaus, 2014, 36).

One of lobbies done by the traders is by coming to governor's office on Thursday, July 21. Their coming is to request local government of West Sumatera to make their move regarding the issue, since local government of Padang is not able to give a peaceful answer but it just makes them feel treated unfairly. Moreover, Padang local government has plan to close area of Pasar Raya and demolish its buildings on Monday, July 25.

However, red thread of meeting between representatives of traders with local government of west sumatera is led by assistance ii of economy and secretariat of province, Drs. Syafrial and the head of satpol pp, edi aradial, sh., in governor's office building. According to asisten ii, the numbers of traders who come to the governor's office building are about 100, and those are representatives of Inpres market I, II, III, and IV, Batu Bagonjong and sector VII. Their coming is escorted by their lawyers from Perhimpunan Bantuan Hukum dan Hak Asasi Manusia Indonesia (PBHI) Sumbar.

The traders convey their aspiration face to face. Among them are traders from shopping center sector VII, Arman sirin who complains on condition of his and other traders' condition after demolition of floor and removal of the roof of Matahari Department Store, which make their trading goods damaged because of rain, and there was even burning trial.

The traders from the floor I, below the Matahari are about 500 traders in numbers and 250 of them are retailers (PKL). They are given ultimatum to leave their kiosks in 4 months. However, they agree to defend their kiosks with their lives.

The traders from Inpres market I floor 1 and traders from Inpres II floor 2 complains about their misfortune after the disassembling of emergency kiosks. Most of them are kiosk-less now. With no place to sell their trading goods, they just come to the market but cannot do anything. H. Sutan Kasim, a trader from Inpres market I, has occupied the place since 1958. He thinks that the Government does not concern about its people. They are likely oppressed. He said that most of them have bill to Bank, and now they are forced to buy kiosks with strangling price, IDR 27 Million per meter.

"We used to occupy kiosks with size of 3 x 3 meter, but the new expensive kiosks are just 1, 5 x 1, 1 meter, it is too narrow and small, how come traders can buy it" Sutan Kasim said it in shuddering voice. Just like Sutan Kasim, Amran said that the structures of Inpres market II, III, and IV are just need rehabilitation instead of demolition. It is also supported by result of many Universities' research in the location which recommends the structures to be repaired only. However, the local government insists to demolish the building and build a new one as shopping center of tourism.

The misfortune of the traders in square of Petak Bagonjomg is likely the same. As stated by Suhardi Khatib, a numbers of persons threat them by saying that Pasar Raya (Grand Market) will be closed and restricted with fence. It makes them cannot make any trade cause there are no customers come. Even At the current time, numbers of visitors in Pasar Raya are only 40% of normal situation before the Earthquake. Moreover, Suhardi just occupy the Petak Bagonjong Square since 6 years ago, and he still has loan to pay. Having loan to Bank, and with Ramadhan and Idul Fitri days will come, the traders have many hopes to gain more money than ordinary days. "We have suffered from the Earthquake; our old kiosks can still be used, so the government just needs repair it instead of demolition and reconstruction".

According to lawyers of the traders, PBHI Sumbar, Samaratul Fuad, said that as the victims of Earthquake, the traders have rights to get facilities for their kiosks repairmen from the local government, especially when the buildings are not recommended to be demolished. "We have had name for winner of Pasar raya reconstruction tender, PT Faiz Jaya. We do not want

demolition and forcibly instruction to empty the kiosks. We have made claim to Padang Local Government and PT Faiz”, he said.

Somehow, the traders still worry about violence acts in order to empty and demolish the Inpres market I, II, III, and IV. In accordance to it, they ask the governor of West Sumatera to coordinate with Polda Sumbar (Police) to protect the traders due to issue that there will be intimidation from group of people in order to empty and demolish the market structure. Syafrial says his deepest condolence for what happen to the traders. All of aspirations from the traders will be forwarded to the Governor of West Sumatera to be discussed with the local government of Padang (Haluan 22 Juli 2011).

Alongside doing lobby to the governor of west sumatera, the traders also do lobby to DPRD through channelization opinion. Based on PBHI’s data, the activity has been done several times by the traders to the DPRD regarding the rehabilitation and reconstruction plan of the local government. Speaking of it, the channelizing opinion which has been done by the traders can be seen as follows:

1. On Friday, February 4, 2011, the traders with PBHI channelizing their aspiration about issue of reconstruction and rehabilitation of Grand Market.
2. On Tuesday, February 4, 2011, the traders with PBHI also share opinion with DPRD of Padang in consultation room 2nd floor of DPRD building, regarding on the problem of Pasar Raya.
3. Monday, March 21, 2011, again, the traders with PBHI share opinion with DPRD Padang in consultation room.
4. Monday, June 13, 2011, the traders and PBHI share opinion with DPRD Padang in office building of DPRD.

Even though the traders have tried to make lobby in form of sharing opinion, the local government of Padang still ignores the recommendations which have been released, one of them is recommendation from DPRD. Furthermore, the governor of West Sumatera cannot involve himself too much, since it is not his authority to take care of the grand market which is under care of local government. So that the governor cannot take over the problem.

It means that the lobby done by the traders to related institutions does not make any significant result since the reconstruction is still being done by local government. Lobby effort to gain support seems not effective and efficient.

c. Entrusting Law Matter to PBHI

On Wednesday, Februari 16, 2010 at 23.00, there was arresting to 5 activist of traders and 1 official of FWK without procedure regarding crime accusation on vandalism to Padang Major’s residence on Wednesday, February 10, 2010. This event makes the traders terrified and it tests their solidarity to stay by their arrested friends’ side while under Police’s interrogation.

In the other hand, pressure from the government to empty the Inpres market I, II, III and IV keeps going on. Then, in November 2010, Local Government reinstructs the traders to empty the Inpres markets due to demolition which will be done. Realizing their power, the traders have initiative to ask law assistance from PBHI of West Sumatera. Escorted by their lawyers from PBHI, the traders and also LBH Padang (Law Aid Organization) and some advocates make pre-

justice lawsuit. The traders win the claim based on verdict No.2/Pid..Pra/2010 PN. Padang. The arrested traders are finally released.

Since December 20, 2010, it is estimated that there have been 1100 traders entrust their problem to PBHI in order to make the government run the reconstruction and rehabilitation of September 30 Earthquake based on rules and acts which are valid.

Pattern and strategy which are used by the traders and PBHI are not in form of Demonstration. Every single trader who has rights in law entrusts its problem to PBHI and given strengthening about substance of its rights and obligation as the victim of disaster based on UU (acts), and given knowledge on law regarding overcoming disaster. The strengthening is done by PBHI with purpose to give the traders an understanding about their direction and purpose in their struggle. So those, with the strengthening, the traders are able to set strategy for their effort individually or collectively.

Protest which is done by the traders with PBHI is a law approach that is in line with valid UU (acts) especially about disaster. It is expected that the traders will never do demonstration again as their strategy. Strategy which is used by the traders with PBHI is more about strengthening their internal position in law. For external one, the traders make an approach to organizations in gaining support for their effort. By using law approach, strategy which is used by the traders is dominantly about correspondence with related organizations especially those which concern on overcoming disaster in Pasar Raya Padang.

Other than entrusting their law matter to PBHI, the traders also try to build alliance with Komnas Ham (Human Rights Committee). It means that the Komnas HAM also has important rule in taking over the conflict between the traders and Padang Local government. Komnas HAM's role is as mediator in mediating the both sides. It is due to the endless conflict between the two sides with complicated problems in it.

On February 22, 2011, Komnas HAM send letter of notification No. 51/R/3.5/II/2011 to local government and DPRD Padang regarding on resolving grand market rehabilitation and reconstruction problem. Komnas Ham has done mediation between the traders and the local Government for 3 times: 9, 23, and 24 of September 2011. Somehow the mediation which is finally done in Major's residence also results in vain. This is caused by disagreement between the two sides regarding on the price of kiosks which are set expensively by the government. Whereas, the traders who become the victims of Earthquake sell daily needs goods. So that, the two sides stick with their own opinions since agreement is hard to come.

On November 8, 2011, there is also mediation between the traders and the government. It appears that after two months of agreement signed by the two sides, it does not run well as agreed before: no access of electricity to shelter kiosks, unsuitable kiosk, damaged, or less of kiosks availability. The statement is made by Komnas HAM regarding on dynamic situation in executing mediation agreement with letter of notification No 043/K/mediasi II/2012. Komnas HAM hopes that the two sides always try to create better and more conducive situation and sit together as big family of Padang citizens.

Strategies done by the traders to gain support from any party through demonstration, lobby to governor of West Sumatera and DPRD, and handing over their law matter to PBHI and building alliance with Komnas HAM do not bring any success yet. It means that the strategies are not

effective and efficient to stop the government's plan to reconstruct the market after the Earthquake. It is proven by the government's action which keeps the reconstruction undergoing, though many institution and parties of people oppose it.

VII. CONCLUSION

Solidarity which is shown by the traders to oppose the government's policy is an effort to struggle for their cause. It is triggered by different point of view between the traders and local government of Padang regarding reconstruction of Pasar Raya Padang (Grand Market). The government wants the damaged building and structures of Pasar raya to be rebuild from the base while the traders want the government to repair them only by obeying rules and valid acts. The difference point of view is believed to be the root of the conflict.

Having aspiration ignored by the government, the traders try to gain any support from any elements and parties by doing various strategies. Looking at them closely, the strategies are not only done in form of social movement such as demonstration, but also involving dialogue with DPRD and governor of West Sumatera

Based on research, it is recommended for the policies maker, in this case Padang local government to build or rehabilitate Pasar Raya Padang (Grand Market) by referring to valid rules and acts especially rules in overcoming disaster.

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Teaching and Learning Based Resources (Literature)

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Abstract

Learning resources is one of the important components in teaching and learning. So, teacher understanding towards the importance of learning resources is very urgent. It is because the presence of learning resources can provide more tangible and direct experience to the learners. Besides, the provision of learning resources help learners to solve problems not only in the global but also in specific scope. The implementation of learning resources can be in the form of messages, information, people, media, tools, techniques and also background. These components form and complete the process of learning resources-based teaching. However, the empirical facts show that nowadays many teaching and learning process not really concern on learning resources-based teaching. This phenomena can impede teaching and learning process which make the unsatisfactory result. In this case, teachers only focus on what they teach without concerning on the completion of learning resources that they used. Later, this condition can make a learning condition in which can not provide direct and live experience and contact to the learners. Thus, teachers should be able to use learning resources based approach in their teaching to make learners get real learning experience.

Keywords: Learning Resources, Literature

I. INTRODUCTION

The educational success in Indonesia is a hope for every person especially for the learners, parents, teachers, schools and also for the country. In order to make this dream comes true; it requires an active participation from all of the education components and also stakeholders. It is amust that the country should make this hope comes true and as the way to educate young learners. The government has started to provide the school facilities, infrastructures and other supporting equipment as the efforts to increase education quality in Indonesia. Many efforts and initiative have been taken by the education managers especially teachers in order to improve and support the learning process as the way to have an effective and efficient learning condition. From various factors that determine the equality of education, learning resources becomes an important component that creates the success of teaching and learning at schools.

There are many kinds of media that can be used as learning resources. Library in general can be used as part of school services to fulfill learners' interest in reading. It also can be used as learning resources for learners where library provides reading materials or a collection of literature and other kinds of information especially materials that relates to the school subjects. Today, many libraries at school do not yet give good satisfaction service for the users as because the library do not manage professional. In addition, the library does not have complete and enough collections; so, it cannot fulfill the need of the learners. The other problem with the library is the school does not have a standard ability to manage the library. Thus, it is important to have good library management as to increase the students' interest in reading, and possibly can accommodate and facilitate these needs.

Many kinds of learning resources have to be preserved and managed in schools. Learning resource have roles in pushing the affectivity and optimalization of learning processthrough the implementation of various functions such as services function, provision and development of learning media and other functions that are relevant as to increase learning effectivity and efficiency. Thus, it requires the best effort in order to improve the use of library asa center of learning resources. Library is one of media and effective learning resource to improve learners' knowledge through several of reading materials. Different from knowledge and skill that learnt classically at school, in different way library may provide range of books that individually can fulfill the interest of the students. The provision of variety of books may create chances for everyone to choose books that suit their need. Thus, if the students have their favorite library and regularly come there; later it certainly will broaden the students' knowledge and give equal knowledge on several school subjects. If we are agree that the improvement of education quality is determined by the increasing of students' knowledge and skill; so it is believed that the provision of a library in school may influence the quality of its students. Based on the explanation above, this article will discuss the usage of learning resources based-teaching and how the implementation of certain learning resources in learning activities.

II. THEORITICAL BASE

In general meaning, learning resources can be defined as a teaching and learning component that provide educative messages through visual and audiovisual such as books and other printed materials. Siregar (t2010:127) states that learning resources are every kind of things that teacher used in the classroom that can facilitate the process of learning. The learning resources include messages, people, materials, techniques, and also the environment that use individually or it is combined with other learning resources that later can facilitate the process of learning.

Based on the content of the learning resource, the characteristics of learning resource can be divided into four categories. They are:

- a) Learning resource that have energy and power as to provide what is needed by teachers in teaching and learning process. So, although a learning resource has certain energy but cannot fulfill the teachers need and cannot meet the teaching aims, then this media cannot call as a learning resource.
- b) Learning resource may change the attitude of the students to be better based on the aims of learning. If certain learning resources bring the negative effects to the learners; so this learning resource cannot call as a learning resource. For example, after a student watched a movie and later the content in the movie suggests someone to act negatively then this learning resource cannot call as a learning resource.
- c) Learning resources can be used individually or separately but cannot be used as a combination such as learning materials maybe combined with devices and strategy (method). Learning resources like modules can be used alone with no other additional learning resources.
- d) Based on the form of the learning resources can be differentiated as: a) designed learning resources and ready-used learning resources (utilization). Designed learning resources are the materials that are specially designed for learning activities whereas ready-used learning resources are things that do not meant to as a learning resource but later it can be used as a media of learning. The main characteristics of ready-used learning resources are: the content does not arrange systematically, do not state the learning aims explicitly, and it is used only for certain aims of learning that is relevant to the learning resource itself.

Further, Vernon S. Gerlach & Donald P. Ely (1971) classified the learning resources as people, materials, environment, tools and equipment and activities which describe as follows:

a) People

In teaching and learning process, people can be used as learning resources. There are two groups of people that can be used as a learning resource. The first group is people that specially prepared for the learning resources such as through education; they are teachers, counselors, education administrators, tutors, and etc. The second group is people who do not meant to be prepared for learning resources but they have certain skills that relate to teaching and learning process such as doctors, health counselors, farmers, policemen and etc.

b) Materials

What is meant by materials here are several of things that consist of messages/information that can be used as learning materials. The messages can be in the form of textbooks, videos, movies, globes, graphs, interactive CDs and etc. These kinds of form are called as learning media. As to people, materials that are used as learning resources also divided into two groups: materials that purposely designed as learning resources and other materials that are used to support and give relevant explanation towards learning materials or topics.

c) Environment

Environment that can be used as learning resources is the environment that can give particular learning condition. There are two kinds of environment that can be used as learning resources. The first is the environment that is specifically designed for sources of learning such as laboratories, classes and etc. The second is the environments that are used to support the success of learning process such as museum, zoos and etc.

d) Tools and equipment.

Learning resources can be in the form of tools and equipment that used to produce and performing other learning resources such as television that used to make distance learning program. The other tools like computer also used to design computer based-learning, tape recorder is used to make audio learning program as for English teaching which often used as listening tool, and etc.

e) Activity

Generally activities that can be used as learning resources are the activities that may support the accomplishment of learning process. These activities often combine the presentation techniques and learning resources that can facilitate the learning process. These activities include discussion, observations, tutorials and etc.

Based on the explanation above, the process of learning at schools and universities, working place or companies must put efforts toward learning or at least prepare a skillful, responsible group of people that have certain roles to create learning resources in order to support and improve the effectively and efficiency of the learning process. Therefore, it is a need to establish an institution that conceptually named as Learning Resource Center or it can be a group of people that have roles to manage and make used of several kinds of learning resources like what have been explained before. The establishment of learning resource center is an effort to increase the effectively and efficiency of learning process. An educational institution cannot run well if teachers and learners do not have good learning resources to support the process of teaching at school.

Colin Rose and Malcolm J. Nicholl (2002) in their book *Accelerated Learning* highlight six steps of meaningful learning, they are: (1) motivating mind, (2) obtaining information, (3) investigating meaning, (4) triggering memory, (5) exhibit what is known by learners, and (6) reflecting how the students learnt. So it is clear that a learning process must be meaningful for learners and the way to make it happen is by providing chance and opportunity to access information and to investigate about the topics and subjects that they learnt. This effort is make learners understand how important the materials that they will learn in their life.

III. DISCUSSION

The Roles of Learning Resources

Many kinds of problem that are faced in the distribution and expansion of education access, quality improvement, relevancy and educational competitiveness only may be resolve by implementing educational technology especially by developing and make use of various learning resources not only designed learning resources but also utilizing learning resources. It has to be remembered that learning resources in education technology include educators, teachers, curriculum and also learning environment. The question is how to develop and make use of these learning resources in education especially in the learning process? Based on the definition of education technology in 1977 and redeveloped in 1994 and 2004 the main concern of education technology is aim to find the solution about the problems that related to teaching and learning by applying particular process and the components of technology more widely in learning which later called as learning resources (Seels & Richey, 1994:4).

Learning resources in the area of education technology has wider and unlimited meaning which is not limited only to audiovisual materials. Learning materials are every kind of things

that has information that can facilitate learners to have the information that they need to support the process of learning. Based on this definition, learning resources are categorized into six groups; they are messages, people, materials, tools, techniques, and also background (AECT, 1986: 2, Januszewski, 2001:53-54). What is meant by messages is learning material that is learnt in the form of concepts, theories, ideas, facts, meanings, or data and also curriculum. People can be used as learning resources because its function to deliver the messages both from teachers and education administrators. Materials are things that contain messages such as textbooks and soft wares. Tools are media that can distribute the messages or often called as hardware which include learning media and computers. Techniques are procedures or the process of how materials, people, tools and environment can deliver the messages. This also includes approaches, strategies, and also methods in teaching and learning. And last background is the environment where the messages are sent and receive (AECT, 1986: 9-10).

Kinds of Learning Resources

Learning resources based learning includes many ways and facilities. This approach provides many ways of learning such as teachers' counseling and independent learning. Learning resource based teaching (BEBAS) is a system that concern on learners where the process of learning uses independent learning resources or materials that is prepared by teachers. Learning resource based teaching (BEBAS) also can be called as learning approach that oriented on learners that use optimally the humanistic and non-humanistic learning resources (Brown & Smith, in Siregar, 2010:131).

Further, Dorrell (in Siregar, 2010:131) states that learning resources based learning can be divided into open learning, distance learning, flexible learning, learning resources, and resource based.

- a) Open learning is an open learning principle for everyone. In other words, there are no such pre-qualification criteria such as age, social status, economy and etc. The learners can choose where, when and how they are going to learn and they are free from any interruption.
- b) Distance learning is an education mode that connects the learners from different long areas with the learning resources. The materials that are used in distance usually similar with open education.
- c) Flexible learning is a kind of learning that use several sources in many variety of forms. Flexible learning can be applied for any education mode that uses learning resources.
- d) Learning resources are the source that can be used as learning media which include videos, books, cassettes, audio CBTs, TV, and the combination of these media.
- e) Resources based learning is a learning mode that adopts students centered learning and uses variety of learning resources. The wide application of this mode of learning can also be implemented on open education, distance learning, and also flexible learning.

Learning Resource Center

As already explained above, many learning resources can be used for variety of learning aims. Education institutions like school usually have a library as its learning resources. Beside library, some other institutions also have many types of laboratories such as science lab, language lab and various practical instruments and audiovisual aids. In order to maintain and make use of these learning resources effectively, the schools need to have professional people that manage these resources in a working unit which later can be called as Learning Resources Unit – Unit Sumber Belajar (USB) or Learning Resource Center - Pusat Sumber Belajar (PSB).

The support from various parties is needed in order to revive and develop a library. It is not the responsibility of library boards and members only but also the responsibility of school as the institution and other parties that wish to develop and improve education quality. The additional efforts like revising and re-examine the provision of library is also urgent as to intensify the use of library as a learning resource center. Thus, a library needs to have and give better service in the provision of and information services in supporting the main task and function of home institution. Best service means librarians' attitude should use people-based services principle and also provides excellence services. It is hoped that these services can satisfy the users, increase the users' loyalty and possibly can increase the number of the users.

The library should be able to make a new performance or new move, not only from the head of the library but also from the employees that work in the library. The new performance or new move here means a breakthrough and new paradigm that can change the society or academician perspectives on the library; from library that only provide books to library that full of information. The dependence on the head of the library should be left out and try to move and create the systematic creativity and innovation. The head of the library should allow all of the people who work in the library to make new policy and let their creativity flow to develop and improve the library quality and services.

Further effort is how the library managers establish close relationship with other parties or institutions and make mutually cooperation as to improve and develop the library. Not only the relationship with other institutions, but also the library has to improve the relationship with all of the students such as providing mobile library, trainings on how to write an academic paper, and school competition like writing synopsis, article, and opinion, etc. It is hoped that these efforts may increase students' reading interest and increase their achievement.

The Management Principles of Learning Resource Center

a) Information Center Management Principles

There are several principles in establishing information center as one of learning resources center that must be fulfilled by the library boards; they are: thereports that received from other unit then will be sent to unit facilities that used computer laboratory system and later make the preparation to publish the report. Some of the data will be sent to documents reproduction unit the microfilm, microfiche or copies will be made based on these data. Then, a part of these products will be sent to refence center in each faculty and the other part will be printed in university printing house. The best approach in order to determine several things that are needed by the system areby learning how to keep the files in orderly fashion and also how to provide the information to the customers. The other way to know the information from a system is by investigating where the system obtained the information. In addition to that, the library also has to put the concern on how the filingsystem is arranged and kept. Further, it also has to put attention on how the reports are made, which include the requirements on how to write a report,whether it is an annual reportandwhat sort of information that should be include and how the report will be made and etc.

b) Services management principles

Learning resource center services are the activities that are done in the library such as finishing activities, procurement, coaching, and the arrangement and delivery of books to the visitors or the users. This is done in order to make use of printed and non-printed materials that can maximally use by the users and haveeasy and quick access.To make it happen, a library should provide a proper and better service to the users. There are several things that

can determine a service in the library, they are 1) Books collection, the availability of books can provide the services and not do used as decoration and display only and also how the collection of books are arranged and developed; 2) Facilities which include the kinds of services, the system, service procedures, and location, and etc.; 3) Services and or the librarians function as a bridging source. They can be the experts, technicians, or hiring the technician; 4) Users, an individual that make use of library services that can be an expert, learners/students or, common people in the society.

c) Instructional Development Management Principles.

Instructional development that works in a particular learning resource should have particular competencies in this field which can be gathered through special education or trainings in order to have enough experience, knowledge, and confident performance and have capabilities in evaluation and assessment that later allow them to work maximally in their work.

d) Production Management Principles

Production management principles relate to the function of the production unit itself; that is the function as a unit that has the responsibility to provide the materials or instructional materials that obtain from other sources. Thus, there are three stages of production management: 1) Identifying and examining communication problems; 2) Designing and producing messages; 3) Administrating facilities and media production personnel. What is meant by administration here is the implementation of production arrangement which includes supervision, planning development, internal and external communication, and also evaluation.

In general, the function of learning resource center can be developed based on the need of school or institution. Further concern on the establishment of learning resource center is the effectively of each function to achieve the aims and learning competencies. However, there is a main function in every learning resource center; that is the function as instructional development system. The other functions are: learning media services, production, trainings and administration function. (a) Instructional development system; this is the main function because it is the core of all activities in learning resources center which then spread to other functions. This function can help teachers, lecturers and facilitators in designing learning activities in order to improve the effectively and efficiency of teaching and learning process (b) Functions of learning media services; this functions give services for teachers, lecturers, and facilitators toward the need of learning media. The services can be in the form of choosing suitable media, techniques in using the media, and also the other services such as the utilization of other types of learning media. The services are not only limited for teachers only but also for learners. The services such as individual or group learning service based media especially for audio-visual media or other kinds of electronic media (c) Production function; this function relates to the provision of learning media in which these media unavailable in the market, so it must be made to fulfill the need of curriculum. (d) Training function; this function is responsible towards human resource development, both for teachers and other administration staff. Through this function, teachers can improve their teaching competency especially the competency in using learning media and other resources. In the other way, training function can help the administration staff in managing and arranging learning resources and improve the services for learning resources center users (e) Administration function; this function is responsible for the services management, learning resources, and administrating of the other functions. Thus, it is hoped that the services system may improve and run in orderly

manner. It has been stated before that a learning resource should not always have all of these functions, as long as they can give better services and reach the goals and learning competencies.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

The effort in improving the quality of learning is very important. The optimization of learning is determined by the availability of learning resources that use by the teachers in teaching and learning processes. The completion of materials taught to students depends on the kinds of learning resource used by teachers. It is because learning resource is an important component to reach the goals of learning. A learning process that uses a complete and maximal learning resource can increase students' learning interest. These interests emerge because the students get more knowledge and understanding from the learning resources.

Thus, it is hoped that teachers can understand and implement learning resource based teaching in the classroom. Teachers should be aware that the completion of learning materials cannot be reached without proper and suitable learning resources. Teachers in this case should be able to make use of school library as media to improve students' reading interest. Reading habit should be the characteristics of the learners and should not be ignored in the process of teaching and learning at school. So, teachers must be able to use learning resources and other relevant media that fit with their students' needs and characteristics.

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Reshaping the Non-Aligned Movement: Challenges and Vision

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I. INTRODUCTION

The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) is the foremost international entity of the states of the Third World. Obviously, not aligning with any of the superpower military alliances of the Cold War era was one of the stated objectives of the movement. The Cold War ended and it is argued that with the end of the Cold War, the NAM also lost its relevance. For example, Carsten Rauch recently pointed out that “the end of the Cold War and the resulting rapprochement between the former blocs” have rendered the NAM irrelevant.¹ This article is written on the premise that the end of the Cold War was only one of the international developments that warranted a re-evaluation. Perhaps it was the straw that broke the camel’s back. Many of the movement’s objectives lost relevance as major grievances began to be resolved. Therefore, a re-evaluation was in order for a long time. This article looks at the current state of the movement in the backdrop of a rapidly changing international order and argues that several of the originally declared objectives of the organization are no longer relevant.

However, the need to continue still remains valid. The movement’s need to continue is justified on the grounds that some of the old issues have taken a new form and new issues that affect members of the NAM as a collective entity, have emerged. Moreover, the international system or to be precise, the dynamics of the new world order are constantly changing. This also necessitates the need to continue because the system could end up with several rival blocs or power centres in the future. In order to continue and be relevant and efficient, the movement must be revamped and reshaped. This paper argues that reshaping should take three specific forms: (1) symbolic changes, (2) structural changes, and (3) policy changes. This article was written with the purpose of igniting a public and intellectual debate on the subject of reforming the movement. Therefore, no argument is presented as final thoughts. This paper relies on secondary data for analysis.

II. ORIGIN AND OBJECTIVES

Most of the Western world from the inception of the NAM viewed the organization and its agenda with a sense of suspicion and negativity. The negativity was also extended to scholarship on this subject. Peter Willetts, in one of his critical analyses of the non-aligned, contended that “while I maintain non-alignment was not born until 1961 as a coherent group of ideas propounded by a group of relatively like-minded states, it has also been maintained by other people that non-

¹ Carsten Rauch. 2008. *Farewell Non-Alignment? Constancy and Change of Foreign Policy in Post-Colonial India*. Frankfurt: Peace Research Institute Frankfurt. P. 3.

alignment did not live beyond 1961.”² It was in 1961 that the organization that people in the Third World celebrated as one of their major international achievements, was formed. This notion suggests that the spirit of the institution died in the immediate aftermath of its launch. Willetts also did not believe that it was the Bandung Conference that catalysed the movement. He argued, “One of the more frequent ways in which non-alignment is given *false roots*(emphasis mine) is by referring back to the ‘Asian African Conference,’ which was held in the Indonesian city of Bandung in 1955.”³

However, many people in the Third World and some political commentators in this part of the world believe that the Bandung Conference paved the way for the NAM. For example, Christopher Waters argued that the “membership and agenda” of the Afro-Asian Conference in Bandung in 1955, “brought sharply into focus the questions and problems relating to decolonization and the cold war...”⁴ In fact these were the two issues that later defined the non-aligned movement. Alluding to the evolution of the NAM, Carsten Rauch argued that “the first step on the path towards establishing this organization was the Bandung Conference in Indonesia in 1955...”⁵

It is however, imperative to note that the Bandung Conference primarily was not about non-alignment. The Bandung Principles, which were released at the end of the conference, referred to tenets such as respect for fundamentals of human rights, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Asian and African states, independence, equality, non-interference in internal affairs, peaceful resolution of international conflicts, promotion of mutual interest and cooperation. Naturally, some of these were the primary concerns of the newly independent or decolonized states of the Asian and African regions. However, nobody could argue that the idea of non-alignment was not part of the Bandung spirit. Bandung Principle 6(a) emphasized the “non-use of collective defence pacts to benefit the specific interests of any of the great powers.”⁶ Therefore, in Bandung an incipient desire to stay out of the superpower rivalry war was expressed. It was the solidarity and the spirit of cooperation and collaboration that brought the 29 states together in Bandung that eventually shaped the Non-Aligned Movement. The argument that Bandung was unconnected to the NAM is unfounded. Equally significant is the fact that Yugoslavia under Marshall Tito played a major role in moving the initial solidarity into the Non-Aligned Movement with relatively clear ideology and purpose.

Twenty five states attended the first summit in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. Positivists thought that the talks that led to the formation of the organization were marked by “belief, confidence and idealism.”⁷ The movement had the promise and potential to be the third force in world politics,

² Peter Willetts. 1978. *The Non-Aligned Movement, the Origins of a Third World Alliance*. London: Frances Pinter Ltd. P. 14.

³ Ibid. P. 3.

⁴ Christopher Waters. 2001. After Decolonization: Australia and the Emergence of the Non-aligned Movement in Asia, 1954 – 55. *Diplomacy & Statecraft*. 12 (2). 153. (153-174).

⁵ Carsten Rauch. 2008. *Farewell to Non-Alignment?, Constancy and Change of Foreign Policy in Post-Colonial India*. Frankfurt: Peace Research Institute Frankfurt.

⁶ Ministry of External Affairs of the Government of India. 2012. History and Evolution of Non-Aligned Movement. <<http://mea.gov.in/in-focus-article.htm?20349/History+and+Evolution+of+NonAligned+Movement>> Last checked April 21, 2015.

⁷ Martin Evans. 2007. Whatever Happened to the Non-Aligned Movement? *History Today*. P. 19.

which hitherto was dominated by colonial states and the new superpowers. The organization originally had two primary objectives: (1) non-alignment, and (2) national liberation or decolonization of Third World states. The first two conditions specified for membership were as follows: (1) the country should operate an independent policy based on coexistence of states and non-alignment, or demonstrate a tendency towards implementing such a policy, and (2) the country should permanently support national liberation movements. Describing the primary objectives of the movement, John Graham maintained “the first objective was the formation of a buffer of ‘non-aligned’ states in opposition to external pressure to take sides in the Cold War. The second was the creation of international political leverage to hasten the decolonization process which remained.”⁸ In line with the anti-colonial and anti-racist ideologies, the organization had specific country related objectives. One of the most prominent was its opposition to the system of apartheid in South Africa.

III. END OF IDEOLOGIES?

Most of the states that played a pivotal role in the formation of the NAM were former colonial states, which gained independence through sustained campaigns against colonial control by the European states. For example, India, Indonesia, and Egypt managed to break out of colonialism after the Second World War. Therefore, they were avowedly anti-colonial and had an interest in freeing the rest of the Third World from colonial rule. Moreover, colonialism was one of the factors that unified most of these states. Meanwhile, despite the general anti-colonial sentiments that were gaining currency internationally in the immediate aftermath of the World War, many states, especially African societies, faced the prospect of perpetual colonialism. It was pointed out that “...the Colonial Office in London still believed that self-government for West Africans was decades away and that the prospect for East and Central African colonies was even more remote.”⁹ Therefore, it was natural for a Third World movement to focus on the problem of colonialism and declare decolonization one of its primary objectives.

However, colonialism did not last forever. By the time the NAM came into force, all of the South Asian states and some of the Middle Eastern colonies were freed from European Colonial control. African societies had to struggle hard to earn their freedom. However, they had models and successful cases to inspire them in this struggle. For example, Indian and Mohandas Gandhi’s strategies were adopted in several of the liberation struggles in Africa. Due to the combined effect of these difficulties and the changes that were taking place within the international community especially after the World War, many African societies were decolonized or liberated one by one. For example, Ghana, Nigeria, Tanzania, Kenya and Zambia were decolonized gradually and Zimbabwe was liberated from the White minority rule in 1980. Decolonization in Southeast Asia was accelerated in the 1960s and 70s. Brunei was one of the last to gain independence in 1984 in this region. The British returned Hong Kong to China in 1997. The remaining territories are not too eager for independence as they are either too small or too poor to seek decolonization.¹⁰

⁸ John A Graham. 1980. *The Non-Aligned Movement after the Havana Summit*. Trustees of Columbia University in the City of New York. Pp. 153-160.

⁹ Cheikh Anta Babou. 2010. Decolonization or National Liberation: Debating the End of British Colonial Rule in Africa. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. 632. Pp. 41-54.

¹⁰ John Springhall. 2001. *Decolonization Since 1945*. New York: Palgrave. P. 186.

Nevertheless, one of the two primary objectives of the NAM was realized as European colonialism eventually came to an end in most of the states. Today, colonialism is not considered an issue in the Third World region.

Freeing South Africa from minority rule and apartheid was another cornerstone of the ideological basis of the NAM. It was pointed out that South Africa “has been at the core of the NAM’s efforts to uphold the principles of freedom, justice and quality.”¹¹ The beginning of the end of apartheid in South Africa started with the ascendancy of F.W. de Klerk as president of the country. De Klerk removed the ban on the African National Congress (ANC) and released the long imprisoned Nelson Mandela from jail. The negotiations between the de Klerk government and Mandela led to the gradual dismantling of the majority rule and apartheid. Another basic objective of the NAM was achieved with the election of a new ANC-led government with Mandela at the helm in April 1994.

As newly independent states, many of the NAM members had to face the challenges posed by superpower rivalry and the Cold War.¹² Non-alignment was the policy response to this difficult reality. The Cold War between the United States of America and the Soviet Union, which started immediately after the Second World War, continued with varying degrees of intensity and schemes of expansionist ideology by both superpowers. Most of the Third World countries were affected by this rivalry as they turned into a target for superpower projects to expand their spheres of influence. According to Lawrence Freedman, “as both sides searched beyond their core alliances for strategic advantage, the Cold War began to affect the trajectories of states and political movements across the globe.”¹³ The danger of nuclear war was also looming large in this period. Therefore, many of the Third World states were keen to stay away from the superpower rivalry. This was conceived as crucial for their national interest, independence and survival. As Willetts pointed out one of the reasons why the first summit took place in 1961 was the “sudden increase in tension” between the two superpowers in this period.¹⁴ The states that came together to form an organization decided not to get involved in the Cold War rivalry and demanded the dissolution of the Cold War military alliances. It was in this backdrop that non-alignment turned into one of the primary objectives of the organization.

It was proved, however, that Cold War rivalry was not permanent. Mikhail Gorbachev, the new leader of the Soviet Union, introduced a series of unilateral measures to reduce tension emanating from the Cold War rivalry, especially in the areas of disarmament and arms reduction. Many believe that Gorbachev’s actions were influenced by domestic socioeconomic compulsions. The reform programs the new leader introduced culminated in the dismantling of the socialist bloc states and eventually the Soviet Union itself bringing the Cold War to an end.¹⁵

¹¹ Pratiksha Chhibha. May 16, 2011. South Africa and the Non-Aligned Movement: Still Relevant or a Relic?. <http://www.consultancyafrica.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=756:south-africa-and-the-non-aligned-movement-nam-still-relevant-or-a-relic&catid=57:africa-watch-discussion-papers&Itemid=263> Last Checked April 24, 2015.

¹² See, G. H. Jansen. 1966. *Non Alignment and the Afro-Asian States*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger.

¹³ Lawrence D. Freedman. 2010. Review: Frostbitten: Decoding the Cold War, 20 Years Later. *Foreign Affairs*. 89 (2). Pp. 136-144.

¹⁴ Willetts. 1978. P. 10.

¹⁵ Alan R. Collins. 1998. GRIT, Gorbachev and the End of the Cold War. *Review of International Studies*. 24 (2). Pp. 201-219.

The end of the Cold War had an inescapable impact on the NAM. As its nomenclature suggested, the existence of the NAM was justified by the Cold War rivalry. Critics contended that without the Cold War, there was no need for the NAM to continue. Justifiably, the relevance of this Third World Movement was questioned. One critic asked whether the movement is a “relic.”¹⁶ Others asked “non-aligned against what?”¹⁷ Another captioned his analysis, “Farewell Non-Alignment?”¹⁸ Critics in the post-Cold War era overwhelmingly used negative terminology to describe the movement. For example, such terms as “anachronistic,” “irrelevant,” “emasculated,” and “substantially redundant” were commonly used.¹⁹ One of the primary arguments that emanate especially from the West is that the movement has no rationality to continue, hence it should be disbanded. A keen observer of the NAM, in 1989, maintained that the organization “now has little or nothing to do with nonalignment as such.”²⁰

It is true that the end of the Cold War has dealt a major blow to the NAM, but NAM’s major problems, for example colonialism and apartheid, were also terminated one by one. Conscious of this fact, the movement was moving goalposts in every major meeting. For example, self-determination for the Palestinians was endorsed later. It is cumbersome to keep track of all the goal statements which were made in the later part of its history. The point is that some of the original goals of the organizations have clearly become irrelevant progressively. Unlike many of the Western commentators and political leaders, the Third World leaders do not believe in disbanding the organization just because its original goals have become irrelevant. This is one reason why the NAM summits and ministerial meetings continue unhindered even after the end of the Cold War. However, almost everyone who matters within the organization and in the Third World region agrees that the movement cannot continue in its present form. The consensus is that reform must take place. This paper endorses this view. The NAM must be revamped and reshaped to deliver better results in the future.

IV. JUSTIFICATION

Elsewhere in this paper we have highlighted the fact that there is a school of thought, especially in the Western world, that in view of the changes that have taken place in the international arena, the Non-Aligned Movement should be discontinued. In order to continue, albeit with a reformed structure and agenda, the movement requires concrete justification. This section explores three major factors that justify continuation of the movement: (a) there are still unresolved and new issues facing the Third World that require collective action, (b) the member states can promote their national interest through the organization that unifies countries of the Global South, and (c)

¹⁶ Pratiksha Chhibha. May 16, 2011.

¹⁷ Antoinette Handley. 1998. *Non-Aligned Against What? South Africa and the Future of the Non-Aligned Movement*. Johannesburg: The South African Institute of International Affairs. P. 1.

¹⁸ Carsten Rauch. 2008.

¹⁹ Antoinette Handley. 1998. P. 1.

²⁰ G.H.Jansen. September 17, 1989. Save Nonalignment From its Cumbersome “Movement.” *Los Angeles Times*. <http://articles.latimes.com/1989-09-17/opinion/op-385_1_nonaligned-nations> Last checked, April 25, 2015.

the international system is dynamic and constantly changing. Below, we examine these three factors in detail.

(a) *Unresolved and New Issues*

One of the arguments we have made in this paper is that a number of the original objectives of the NAM have been realized. Some of these goals were achieved without any serious contributions from the organization. However, this does not mean that all of its concerns have been addressed. Some of the old issues still remain, others have taken a new form and shape, and new issues that require collective action of the Third World states have emerged. Examples of these issues abound. Poverty and underdevelopment still remain a major problem in this region. Despite the almost total elimination of colonialism, the essence of colonialism such as control and hegemony of external forces continues in different forms. Neo-colonialism has evolved into a major concern of weak societies in this part of the world. Environmental degradation, climate change, disarmament, underdevelopment, external debt, state and non-state terrorism, and violence emanating from ethnic and religious conflicts are some of the common issues facing the NAM states today. External actors, including sympathetic states, can hardly resolve these issues for the Third World. In addition, depending on external actors to resolve Third World problems goes against the very essence of independence that the NAM states were seeking relentlessly. These issues may be easily handled and resolved through internal mechanisms and collaboration among the states of the Third World. NAM could and should continue to focus on these issues.

(b) *National Interest of Member States*

The current international system and institutions favour the strong and resourceful states. As Daniel W. Drezner pointed out, the present global institutions have conferred “untold benefits for the United States.”²¹ Drezner also highlighted the fact that the European states had been unwilling to reduce their “overrepresentation” in international multilateral institutions.²² Since an overwhelming majority of the states in the Third World region are either small or weak, they find it difficult to compete with powerful states, mostly from the Global North. In order to safeguard their independence and protect national interest they need the assistance of either powerful states or a regional organization. Many of these states are a part of regional organizations. The NAM, in its position as the largest Third World organization, could provide a strong forum to advance their interest.

Despite the problems of the NAM, many states are eager to be a part of the organization because they perceive it as a useful platform and a support system. In the immediate aftermath of the end of the Cold War, a Western diplomat who was observing the Jakarta summit opined that “a lot of these tiny nations are praying that the (Non-Aligned) movement...can survive and advocate on their behalf” because “most of the nation’s just aren’t capable of doing it for themselves. No one pays attention to them anymore.”²³ This reality has not changed yet. Third

²¹ Daniel W. Drezner. 2007. The New New World Order. *Foreign Affairs*. 86 (2). P. 34. (34-46).

²² Ibid. P. 35.

²³ Philip Shenon. September 7, 1992. Non-Aligned Movement Decides It is Still Relevant. The New York Times. <<http://www.nytimes.com/1992/09/07/world/non-aligned-movement-decides-it-is-still-relevant.html>> Last checked April 25, 2015.

World societies are not individualistic; they are collective communities. The leading states in this part of the world have a responsibility to support the small and weak states. If the continuation of the NAM could assist small states of the Third World to operate independently and with more confidence in the international arena, that itself should be a reason for the NAM to revive and persist.

It is however, erroneous to assume that it is only the small states that need and could use the NAM as a platform. Upon examining the reasons for South Africa's continuous participation in the NAM, Pratiksha Chhiba concluded that national interest based assessments is one reason for the country's active participation in the activities of the movement.²⁴ He further argued:

The main thrust of SA's foreign policy is the pursuit of its national interests and priorities. Firstly, in the conduct of its international relations, South Africa is committed to garner support for its domestic priorities, to promote the interests of the African Continent, to promote democracy and human rights, uphold justice and international law in relations between nations, seek the peaceful resolution of conflicts; and promote economic development through regional and international co-operation. In pursuit of these principles, the SA Government adheres to and strongly supports a multilateral, rules-based system. If one considers the Principles of the NAM and the priorities and principles of SA's foreign engagements outlined above, there are similarities that cannot be ignored.

Secondly, the Strategic Plan for 2011-2014 labels South-South cooperation and multilateralism as fundamental pillars in the realisation of the country's foreign policy priorities. It further directs SA to consolidate relations with the South in order to advance the development agenda. According to the Department of International Relations and Cooperation, (DIRCO), the NAM is the "flag ship of the South", and hence it believes that the movement is well-positioned to lead the debate on current challenges. In this regard, NAM serves as both a platform for multilateral engagements and a component of South-South cooperation as it constitutes one of the largest groupings of developing countries. Thus, one could say that SA's membership of the NAM is aligned to its foreign policy priorities.²⁵

South Africa is certainly not a small or weak state. If a powerful country can make use of the organization to promote its national interest, one can imagine the desperate needs of small states. Furthermore, South African reality is not unique. Other major states could also be part of the NAM for the same reason. Therefore, despite the absence of the Cold War, the organization has a purpose to continue.

(c) Changing International Dynamics

One of the underlying assumptions of those who advocate the dissolution of the NAM is that the post-Cold War international system will stay static. In other words, they believe that the so-called new world order created by the dismantling of the Soviet Union will remain permanent. This is not true. The present system, like the previous ones, is dynamic and evolving. The end of the Cold War led to a unipolar system and many expected the unipolar international structure to continue in the long run. This vision or reality did not last long as two major trends began to emerge: (1) the

²⁴ Pratiksha Chhiba. May 16, 2011.

²⁵ Ibid.

United States has been witnessing a decline, and (2) new states emerged with power and capacity to influence the system.

Some believed that the US was in a decline even in the late 1980s.²⁶ In the recent past American decline has been more evident. Its economic growth rate has been stagnated below three percent. This is comparable to what was once called the “Hindu rate of growth.”²⁷ Unavoidably, economic troubles of the country are impacting its military capabilities as well. According to Bill Gertz, a security analyst for the *Washington Times*, American military power is diminishing due to the constant budget cuts.²⁸ Reflecting on this general trend, Admiral Samuel of the US military pointed out that the “historic dominance (of the US).....is diminishing.”²⁹ A stagnated middle class, increasing national debt, deteriorating working culture and growing public opinion against employing American men and women as foot soldiers, for example, have seriously dented the surviving superpower’s capacity to sustain the status as the undisputed leader of the new world. Some observers argue that what we have today is a “post-American world.”³⁰

Meanwhile, China and India are emerging with enhanced economic and military capacity. According to one assessment “China and India are emerging as economic and political heavyweights: China holds over a trillion dollars in hard currency reserves, India’s high-tech sector is growing by leaps and bounds, and both countries, already recognized nuclear powers, are developing the blue water navies.”³¹ Daniel W. Drezner, quoting the National Intelligence Council of the United States, also highlighted the potential of these two countries to emerge as the second and fourth economies of the world by 2025.³² According to the assessment of former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, India, China, Brazil, Egypt, Indonesia and South Africa will shape the global history in the 21st century.³³ It is imperative to note that an overwhelming majority of these states are from the Global South. The point is that the unipolar system has been moving in the direction of a multipolar world. The multipolar international structure could recreate the difficult realities of the past.

There is also the potential for global bloc politics again. The United States still maintains its military alliance, the NATO, which has been expanding with new members. Meanwhile, Russia under the stewardship of Vladimir Putin, through its recent policy decisions, not only has rekindled the memories of the Cold War, but is also striving to build a new coalition. Putin presently is pursuing an idea called the Eurasian Union, which seeks to bring together states that were formerly

²⁶ Eric A. Miller and Steve A. Yetiv. 2001. The New World Order in Theory and Practice: The Bush Administration’s Worldview in Transition. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*. 31 (1). Pp. 56-68.

²⁷ A term used to denote India’s slow growth rate.

²⁸ Bill Gertz. 2014. China Rises as America Weakens. *Commentary*. (May 2014). Pp. 32-36.

²⁹ Ibid. P. 33.

³⁰ Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth. 2009. Reshaping the World Order: How Washington Should Reform International Institutions. *Foreign Affairs*. 88 (2). P. 50. (49-63).

³¹ Daniel W. Drezner. 2007. P. 34.

³² Ibid.

³³ Quoted in Daniel W. Drezner. 2007. P. 40.

part of the Soviet Union. As a precursor, agreement for an economic entity called the Eurasian Economic Union was signed in 2014. Presently Russia, Kazakhstan, Belarus, and Armenia are members of this organization. The likelihood of a military alliance with the leadership of Russia emerging from this initial union is not completely ruled out by keen observers of global power politics.³⁴ Putin is also searching for new allies and alliance partners in the Latin American region, especially among socialist-leaning states in the region. China seems to be working closely with Russia in this scheme as it has become a member of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, which consists of Central Asian states of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan and China and Russia.

Therefore, one cannot completely rule out the possibility of another round of major-power rivalry and bloc politics. This is certainly one of the possible future scenarios. Such a scenario could force the Third World countries into yet another dilemma similar to what the community of states faced in the 1950s and 60s. If and when the world moves into another phase of bloc politics, the Third World countries may have to decide whether to align or not with one or the other centres of power. They cannot and should not try to reinvent the wheel, because the community already has the institutional mechanism to face such a reality. That mechanism is the NAM. This is exactly the primary reason why the organization should be reformed and sustained.

V. REFORM

One of the premises of this paper is that the NAM, in order to be effective and competent, should be reshaped and reformed. A reformation program must be introduced because of the prevailing organizational culture. The conventional wisdom is that the organization is inefficient and does not deliver desirable outcomes. Critics point out that the organization is inefficient because it produces only long speeches and documents followed by little or no action. For example, Ran Kochan maintained that there is a general feeling within the NAM community that regardless of the speeches made by leaders of the member states and the summit declarations, “no positive practical action would ensue.”³⁵ This observation was made in the early 1970s. Yet, there is no evidence to argue that this general trend has changed. In fact, it has become more acute. Another observer pointed out that the movement follows what he called “cumbersome and often painful procedures,” leading to inefficiency and clear outcomes to demonstrate.³⁶ Therefore, a substantial reform program must be introduced to continue and be effective. In this section we briefly explore the areas which need to be transformed. Three major types of changes are recommended: (a) symbolic changes, (b) structural changes, and (c) policy or agenda changes.

(a) Symbolic Changes

Symbolically, the most fundamental element that needs to be changed is the nomenclature of the organization itself. In a way, the name of the organization, the Non-Aligned Movement, is a misnomer. One, as we argued elsewhere in this paper, non-alignment was not the only goal of the NAM; it was formed on diverse objectives. Therefore, defining the nomenclature through one of the objectives was a mistake. It is this mistake that led to the call for dissolution with the end of the Cold War. Proponents of dissolution, not without reason, focus more on the title rather than

³⁴ Alex Newman. 2014. Putin: Key Player in the “New World Order.” *The New American*. October 6.

³⁵ Ran Kochan. 1972. Changing Emphasis in the Non-Aligned Movement. *The World Today*. P. 504.

³⁶ Graham. 1980. P. 153.

the essence or the spirit. Two, in reality, most of the member states were aligned with one or the other two superpowers. An overwhelming majority of the states were pro-socialist and pro-Soviet, while a small number of states were working closely with the United States. Most of the non-aligned states were not really non-aligned. Continuing with the same nomenclature, therefore, will perpetuate the present challenges.

Hence, the organization should be renamed taking into account the larger characteristics that unite the member states and the fundamental objectives of the NAM today. Two factors are significant in this regard: (1) roughly defined, all of the NAM states are from the Global South, and (2) there is a sense of solidarity among the member states based on common colonial history and socioeconomic conditions. These two factors may form the basis for the new title of the organization. One of the options is to call it the Southern Solidarity Movement (or something like that). Non-alignment denotes a sense of negativity as the organization has been defined as something that is not. Southern solidarity on the other hand could infuse much needed positivity into the community of states that are involved.

Most of the contemporary leading international and regional organizations are defined by the geographical factor. European Union, African Union, North Atlantic Treaty Organization are some of the prominent examples. The Russian envisioned supranational organization will be called the Eurasian Union. Therefore, defining the organization through the regional characteristic cannot be such a bad idea. The term Global South does not only denote a region but also a socioeconomic condition, as most of the states of the Global South are economically challenged states. All states of the Global South could be members of the organization, except power-centres such as China. This should not be a problem because China is not a member state currently, but enjoys an observer status. The status quo could continue. The term “solidarity” means that the primary objective of the organization is promoting unity and collaboration among the states of the south. The change of nomenclature in this manner will further reinforce the already operating notion of South-South collaboration. Moreover, the solidarity of the Global South could continue unchallenged regardless of the changes that will take place within the international system in the long term.

The term “movement” became part of the nomenclature due to the connections most of the original member states of the NAM had with the ideology of liberation, that is, liberation from colonial control. The original member states seem to have an emotional connection with the term “movement.” If this is the case, the term “movement” should be continued as part of the nomenclature. Some of the Third World organizations have adopted the term “union” taking a cue from the European Union. For example, the Organization of African Unity was recently replaced by African Union. Since different forms of colonialism will continue to be resisted and member states will strive to be independent, borrowing titles from European states should be avoided. Therefore, the term movement will serve the purposes of the revamped organization.

(b) Structural Change

Interestingly enough, an organization that has about 120 member states has no permanent secretariat. This factor has been linked to the organization’s weaknesses by many observers. For example, in 1972, Ran Kochan pointed out that “the growing impatience of the more militant nonaligned states with meetings that produce numerous unimplemented resolutions is likely to lead to the demand for a permanent secretariat being met.”³⁷ The idea of a permanent secretariat

³⁷ Ran Kochan. 1972. Changing Emphasis in the Non-Aligned Movement. *The World Today*. 28 (11). P. 506. (501-508).

has been resisted by some of the major states within the organization, for example Yugoslavia, India, Indonesia and Ghana, from the inception. Leaders of these countries feared that such an institution could be costly and could expose internal differences and conflicts. They also probably did not want a small group of countries to hijack the organization. However, it is clear that the absence of a permanent secretariat has contributed largely to the limited success of the organization. This has allowed NAM leaders to converge during summit meetings, make grandiose statements and forget about the whole issue until the next summit.

The fears of a permanent secretariat are baseless. The United Nations with its vastly diverse membership, despite some of the inherent problems, has proved to be useful and is still surviving. In terms of cost, member states are not as poor as they used to be in the 1960s and 70s. As Sally Morphet pointed out, the Global South “contains rising great powers and major centres of economic growth.”³⁸ Therefore, the organization should be able to sustain an adequately devised permanent secretariat. Differences among member states are not as sharp as they were under the condition of the Cold War. In fact, the contemporary common issues have the potential to forge greater unity among member states. A permanent structure should not cause or create division within the organization. Therefore, the organization should seriously consider setting up a permanent secretariat.

If the decision to set up a permanent secretariat is made, initially, the concept of “rotation” may be followed in terms of the location of the secretariat and the personnel that would serve in such an institution. Initially, a simple secretariat should be established in one of the original member states from the Asian or African region. The structure could be expanded depending on the needs and availability of resources. A permanent secretariat would immensely enhance the image and capabilities of the organization. Additional institutions such as an economic development council and an instrument for internal conflict resolution could be established later due the significance of these issues.

(c) Policy/Agenda Changes

Originally, the NAM was launched as a political entity as global political issues dominated its concerns and agenda. Later in the process, it adopted economic issues as several member states of the organization faced some very serious economic problems such as acute poverty and underdevelopment. Based on the notion that it is the policies and practices of the West that led to the grave economic problems in the Third World region, the organization demanded a new international economic order. Thus, the organization evolved into a politico-economic institution. This should continue. The reformed and reshaped organization should dedicate equal weight to political and economic issues facing the Global South.

Politically, the notion of non-alignment should be retained, not as the fundamental objective of the movement, but as one of the guiding principles. However, the notion should be redefined and it should be given a clear meaning by the organization itself. This paper argues that the notion of non-alignment is still valid despite the absence of a Cold War. An “alliance” is defined as “a union or association formed for mutual benefit,”³⁹ or as “a union between people, groups,

³⁸ Sally Morphet. 2004. Multilateralism and the Non-Aligned Movement: What is the Global South Doing and Where Is It Going? *Global Governance*. 10 (2004). P. 517. (517-537).

³⁹ See, https://www.google.com/?gws_rd=ssl#q=define+alliance+.

countries, etc.”⁴⁰ Therefore, an alliance has the meaning of forming a union or becoming one through an institutional setup. Alliance denotes that the union is not ad hoc or short term; it is a relatively long term commitment. On the other hand, the NAM, as an entity that strives to stay independent, does not want to form a “union” with the present Western alliance or any other future power-centres. In that sense, non-alignment is still a valid notion. The culture, values, concerns, and ways of operation of the Global South are substantially different from the Western world. There is no need to form an alliance with the West. Staying non-aligned with the West makes sense even in the post-Cold War international milieu.

However, the notion of nonalignment should not be construed as not cooperating with the West or other present and future power-centres. The organization cannot aspire or continue to be a group of protesters.⁴¹ While promoting solidarity within the Global South, the movement must devise mechanisms to constructively engage the West and other centres of power. One of the means to achieve the objective of constructive engagement is to focus on selective collaboration. The movement should be able to work with major international actors including centres of power on selected issues rather than becoming permanent allies or enemies of one or the other actor. This approach would have the potential to facilitate better outcomes from the perspective of the movement.

Economically, the movement should become more introspective rather than continuing to depend on the West and rich nations for development aid and investment. The need is to devise mechanisms to gain control over natural resources that could be exploited, and promote rich and resourceful nations within the region to invest in the member states of the movement. Most importantly, the organization should seriously consider setting up a bank in line with the ideas of the World Bank or Asian Development Bank.⁴² In essence, the movement internationally play the capitalist game rather than continue to call for a new international economic order. This is not a feasible project. Development from within perhaps is a more useful ideology than a new international economic order.

VI. CONCLUSION

The call for the Non-Aligned Movement to dissolve gained currency with the end of the Cold War. The reality, however, was that some of the principal objectives of the organization became irrelevant even before the Cold War ended. For example, colonization ceased to exist. The end of the Cold War contributed to the perception that the organization has been rendered irrelevant. This paper argues that there is a need for the movement to continue due to the unresolved issues that still haunt the Third World states, the fact that these states still need institutional support to effectively operate within an international order that is dominated by powerful Western interests, and the reality that the international system is evolving and may very well end up in a multipolar world. This paper also argues that in order to continue and be effective the organization should be reshaped and reformed.

⁴⁰ See, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/alliance>.

⁴¹ Many view the NAM as a protest movement. For example, Ran Kochan claimed “..the movement as a whole ... can be regarded as no more than a Third World body of protest aimed against big-power monopoly in both the economic and political spheres.” See, Kochan. 1972. P. 502.

⁴² Perhaps it could be called the Southern Development Bank.

In order to promote further discourse on this subject, this paper recommends three primary changes: symbolic changes, structural changes, and policy or agenda changes. Since the nomenclature of “Non-Alignment” is a misnomer, the name of the organization should be changed. One option is to call it the Southern Solidarity Movement. Structural changes should focus on setting up a permanent secretariat in one of the original member states from Asia or Africa. In relation to agenda the present political and economic emphasis should continue. Also, the reshaped and reformed organization may retain the notion of non-alignment as one of its guiding principles, but be willing to work with the West and other centres of power on the basis of constructive engagement. Economically, the movement should strive to become independent through mechanisms to promote South-South collaboration and control over natural resources within the region. The rich and resourceful states of the region should be encouraged to invest within the member states. The movement should also consider setting up a southern development bank to promote economic development within the region.

Sub-Saharan Africa's Engagement with Emerging Partners: Opportunities and Challenges

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Abstract

The aim of the paper is to analyse the economic impact of Sub-Saharan Africa's (SSA) engagement with emerging partners (China, India and Brazil BICs) and to determine the opportunities and challenges of the increasingly engaging with the new partners. In order to achieve the aim of the paper it estimated the most effective variables that determine the trade intensity between SSA and China using Gravity model approach. The paper concluded that the most important variables that have the major effect on the value of exports of Sub-Saharan Africa to China were rate of mobile telephone in China (infrastructure variable) and China FDI to Sub-Saharan Africa because much of China's outward direct investment (ODI) in SSA is closely linked to trade. Africa's exports to the BICs are dominated by fuels and primary commodities (mainly to China and India); the BIC's exports to African countries are dominated by manufactured goods. Chinese FDI can be categorized as resource-efficiency- and market-seeking investments.

Key words: Sub-Saharan Africa; BICs; Trade; FDI; Official Development Assistance.

I. INTRODUCTION

Africa has a history of cooperation with the South. Its formal involvement in South–South cooperation dates back to 1955 when African and Asian nations, most of them newly independent, held a conference in Bandung, Indonesia, to promote economic and cultural cooperation and bring an end to colonialism. The Bandung Conference called for the promotion of world peace and underscored the need for developing nations to reduce their dependence on industrialized countries by providing technical assistance to one another. Furthermore, the Bandung Conference provided inspiration and impetus for the development of various South–South alliances in the 1960s and 1970s. For example, it led to the creation of the Non-Aligned Movement in 1961. It also provided impetus for the creation of the Group of 77 (G-77) during the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in 1964. The G-77 has established itself as the leading voice of the South in the global arena. It has also played a lead role in establishing a conceptual framework and guiding principles for South–South cooperation.

After a long history of reliance on trade with and investment from Europe and North America, Sub-Saharan African countries are increasingly engaging with other partners, during the past decade, Sub-Saharan African countries have increasingly started exploiting new markets, marking what seems to be a historic reorientation of their trade and investment toward new partners.

Emerging partners are now a major source and destination of trade with and investment in Sub-Saharan African countries, and this trend is most likely to accelerate in the coming years. Sub-Saharan Africa's exports with non-traditional partners accounted for about 50 percent of its total exports and almost 60 percent of its total imports during 2010. This reorientation is driven mostly by the large economies of Brazil, India, and China (BICs). A similar reorientation is also taking place in investment flows, with China accounting for 16 percent of total foreign direct investment (FDI) flows to the region; other emerging countries are also making considerable investments in Sub-Saharan Africa.

The aim of the paper is to analyse the economic impact of Sub-Saharan Africa's engagement with emerging partners through analysing the following main Pillars: 1) Theoretical Issues: International Cooperation Theory; 2) Africa-South Cooperation: Background; 3) The Methodology; 4) Reorientation on Sub-Saharan African Countries toward new Markets; 5) Opportunities, Challenges and Policy implications, and 6) Conclusion.

II. THEORETICAL ISSUES: INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION THEORY

The role of BICs in Africa is best analysed through the optics of international cooperation theory for Africa's trade with, and investment and aid from the BICs.

1. The Role of Trade

The economic literature postulates that an internationally integrated economy offers a substantial increase in demand and simultaneously more potential for economies of scale than a closed economy. Many studies conclude that trade has a positive effect on economic growth.

Trade also helps economies to specialize, increase their resource productivity, raise aggregate output, create jobs, generate income and relax foreign exchange restraints. Export-led approaches and export promotion lead to high growth, returns to entrepreneurial effort increase with exposure to foreign competition.

Trade transmits economic growth through three main channels: economies of scale, efficiency gains and the technology cycle. Economies of scale are directly related to the monopoly profits in production for niche markets. Efficiency gains are linked to reduced-cost effects through foreign competition that eventually become evident in a falling rate of inflation in the domestic economy. Finally, the technology cycle refers to the growth effects that derive from the profitable adoption and application of foreign technologies in domestic production processes. (Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) 2013:6-7)

Yet Africa must take into account several risks in its trade cooperation with the BICs. **First**, trade-led growth of national output may have little impact on employment and development, particularly when most of the trade is in primary commodities with few linkages to the rest of the economy and when many export earnings accrue to foreigners, which not only bias the economy in the wrong direction but also reinforce internal and external dualities and inequalities. **Second**, the growth of China and other BICs suggests that Africa may find it harder to break into exporting in non-primary commodity sectors as well. However, with wages rising in China-often steeply-new opportunities may emerge for African countries.(Uma Subramanian and Matthias Matthijs 2007:5)

2. The Role of Foreign Direct Investment

The development literature encompasses several positions on the degree to which FDI affects economic growth. One view is that it may affect it directly because it contributes to capital accumulation, and the transfer of new technologies to the recipient country. Others contend that FDI enhances economic growth indirectly where the direct transfer of technology augments the stock of knowledge in the recipient country through labour training and skill acquisition, new management practices and organizational arrangements. FDI thus enhances employment in the recipient country via the newly acquired skills as well as the management and organizational arrangements often referred to as "entrepreneurship" for the host country population. (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) 2005:37)

The effects of FDI on economic growth in the host country differ by growth model-neoclassical or endogenous. With the former, FDI can only affect growth in the short run because in the long run, diminishing returns to capital set in. It also postulates that long-run growth can only arise from both exogenous labour force growth and technological progress. Endogenous growth models, in contrast argue that FDI promotes economic growth even in the long run through permanent knowledge transfer, as via technology spill overs from advanced to lagging countries (Qimiao Fan Et.al 2007:74).

3. The Role of Development Assistance

The theoretical and empirical literature does not reveal an automatic, beneficial impact of development assistance on a recipient country: the mode and type of aid as well as the country's socio-economic and political environment are important in enhancing its growth impact.

Studies on aid's impact on growth and development follow four main strands of thinking. **One group** of studies argues that aid has either no effect on growth or even undermines it. Generally, they share a view that aid is counterproductive in that it generates a low-growth economy where aid dependency expands public spending and wipes out domestic savings.(Ali Zafar 2007:106-108)

A second set of studies finds an average significant positive impact of aid on growth. This set argues that those contending that aid does not enhance growth have only a partial argument, in that aid has supported poverty reduction and growth promotion in many countries-thus even if aid has not stimulated growth in all circumstances, on average it has had a positive effect.

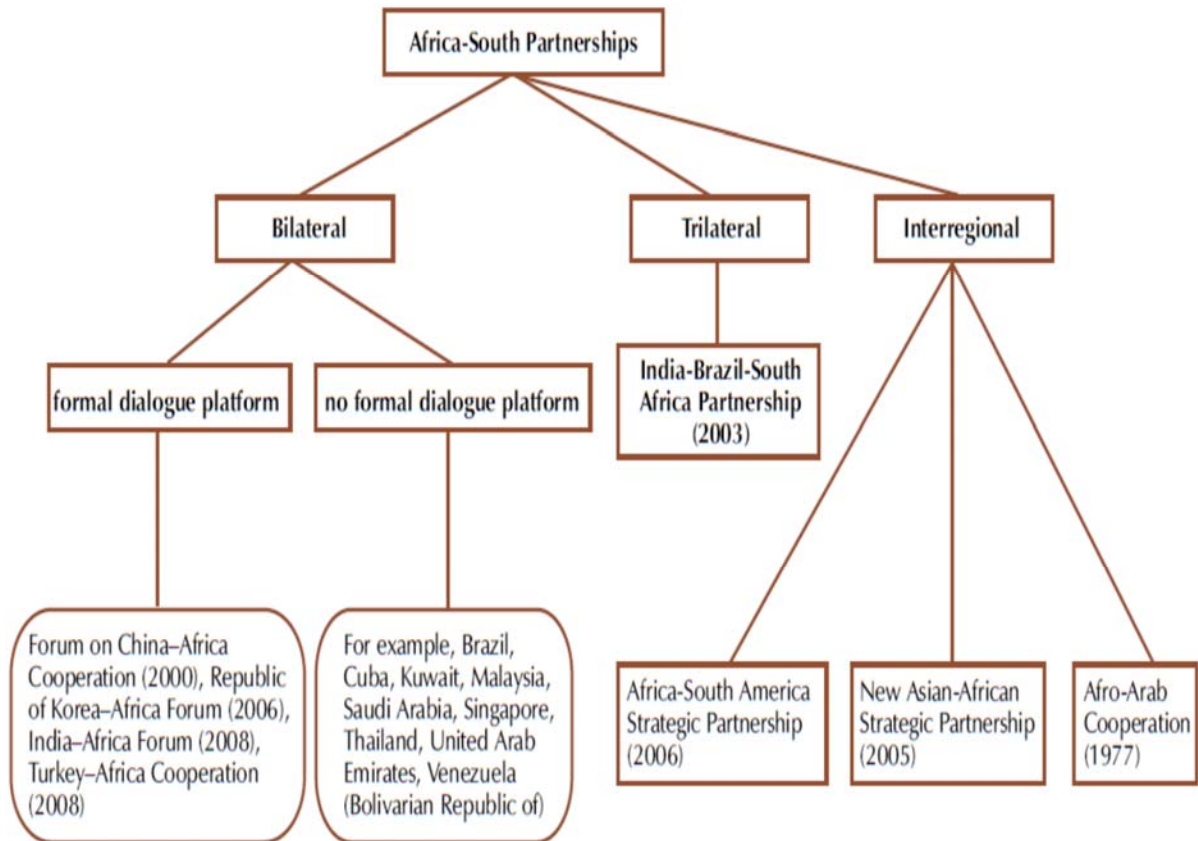
A third group of studies argued that aid has a positive relationship with growth only in certain conditions, including the characteristics of both recipient and donor practices, while the average effect of aid is close to zero.

The fourth set attempted to match aid flows to realistic period over which they could influence growth (EAC 2013:8-9).

Africa-South Cooperation: Background

Africa's cooperation with the South is generally of three types. **The first** form of cooperation arrangement is bilateral, between African countries and a developing country in another region. For example, it includes, among others, bilateral partnerships between Africa and developing countries such as China, India, the Republic of Korea and Turkey. **The second** form of cooperation is trilateral in the sense that it is between an African country and two developing countries in different regions. The main cooperation framework in this category is the India–Brazil–South Africa (IBSA) partnership. **The third** form of cooperation is at the regional level between Africa and other developing country regions. The three main cooperation arrangements in this category are the New Asian–African Strategic Partnership, the Africa–South America Initiative and the Afro–Arab Cooperation Initiative. (UNCTAD 2010:11)

Figure (1)
Africa's Cooperation with the South



Source: UNCTAD , 2010. "South- South Cooperation: Africa and New Forms of Development Partner Ship ", Economic Development of Africa Report, New York12.

1- China-Africa partnership

It should be noted that China's engagement with Africa has evolved over the years, Since the 1990s; there have been renewed efforts to strengthen cooperation with the region. This began with a visit to the region by Chinese President Jiang Zemin in 1996 where he unveiled plans to create the Forum on China–Africa Cooperation (FOCAC). (UNCTAD 2008:7-9)

The launching of FOCAC in Beijing in 2000 ushered in a new era of relations between China and Africa, driven mostly by commercial and economic interests rather than political ideology as in the past. The new relationship is also marked by the intensification of high-level visits to Africa by Chinese officials as well as an increase in trade, finance and investment. The broad priority areas of cooperation identified by China and African countries include: political affairs; international affairs, economic and development issues; peace and security; and cultural and people-to-people exchanges.

FOCAC has become the platform for coordination of China-Africa relations and for dialogue between African countries and China. The meetings are held every three years mostly at the ministerial level, although they are often attended by heads of state and government. (Viven Foster Et.al 2008:1)

There are several interesting and novel features of China's engagement with Africa that are worth emphasizing. **First**, is that it uses FOCAC as a platform for making pledges and commitments to the region. These are usually multi-year commitments and their forward-looking nature makes Chinese financial support increasingly predictable. **Second**, FOCAC meetings are used to monitor progress in the implementation of existing commitments to Africa. This inbuilt monitoring mechanism increases the likelihood that commitments will be fulfilled and has become a model for other Southern partners. **Third**, China has made addressing climate change an important area of its support to the region. **Fourth**, China is increasingly making efforts to integrate the private sector into its Africa relations, although the latter is still a passive participant in the FOCAC process.

China's growing engagement in Africa has generated interest and debate on its contribution to economic and social development in the region. In general, the new partnership with Africa has led to closer political and cultural ties between China and Africa. Both sides have had frequent exchanges of high-level visits in recent years and provide support for each other in multilateral affairs. China has also made contributions to maintenance of peace and security in the region. Trade and finance are two key areas where China's engagement has had very significant impact in the region. China has also contributed to economic development in the region through the provision of concessional loans and grants, support for infrastructure, generous debt relief, the opening up of its market to Africa goods and support for human resource development and medical care. (UNCTAD 2010:11-16)

2- India-Africa partnership

India has also had close relations with African countries since their independence in the 1960s. Until recently, India's relations with Africa focused more on the provision of technical assistance and capacity-building and there was no formal dialogue platform for cooperation with the region. In 2008, the Indian Government decided to create a new architecture for its engagement with Africa and this led to the convening of the First India–Africa Forum Summit in New Delhi from 8–9 April 2008. At the summit, India and Africa agreed to enhance cooperation in the following broad areas: economics; politics; science, research and technology; social development and capacity-building; tourism; infrastructure, energy and environment; and media and communication. The summit is held every three years at the level of heads of state and government.

India's cooperation with Africa has had positive impact in Africa. There has been a significant increase in the volume of trade and investment flows between India and Africa. India has also contributed to Africa's development through loans, debt relief, technical assistance, peacekeeping and infrastructure finance. (UNCTAD 2005:31)

3- Brazil-Africa Partnerships

Brazil has bilateral cooperation arrangements with individual countries in the region for which there is no formal bilateral dialogue platform, and has provided support to them through projects in areas such as health, infrastructure and agriculture. Brazil is also key driver of interregional cooperation partnerships between South America and Africa. Furthermore, it is active promoters

of cooperation among developing countries in multilateral negotiations and reform of the international financial architecture.

Brazil has a unique partnership arrangement with India and South Africa that has attracted international attention. The IBSA partnership is a trilateral alliance between Brazil, India and South Africa aimed at boosting their bargaining power and clout on global issues and strengthening economic and political ties amongst the three countries. Since its inception in 2003, it has become a powerful force in setting the agenda and pace of multilateral negotiations. It also plays an important role in ensuring that the concerns and interests of developing countries are taken into account in global responses to the financial crisis and the reform of the international financial architecture. (UNCTAD 2010:16-20)

III. THE METHODOLOGY

Estimation Determinates of Sub-Saharan Africa's Trade Intensity with China

1. Brief Overview of the Gravity Model Methodology:

The gravity model has been widely used to identify determinants of bilateral trade, though it is often criticized for lacking a strong theoretical basis. Despite its use in many early studies of international trade, the model was considered suspect in that it could not easily be shown to be consistent with the dominant Heckscher-Ohlin model explaining net trade flows in terms of differential factor endowments. In a typical gravity model, bilateral trade flows are determined by the size of the two economies and the distance between them. However, it is always possible to expand the model to include other relevant determinants of trade. The following standard gravity model is specified and estimated to examine the potential for Sub-Saharan African's trade with China:

$$T_{ij} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 (Y_i Y_j) + \beta_2 [(Y C_i Y C_j)] + \beta_3 Dist_{ij} + \beta_4 (Area_i Area_j) + \beta_5 |Y C_i - Y C_j| + \left[\beta_6 \sum Z_i + \beta_7 \sum Z_j \right]$$

Where: T is bilateral trade between country i and j; Y is GDP; YC is GDP per capita and Z_i and Z_j are other relevant variables grouped under “infrastructure” (paved road length as per cent of total, number of mobile telephone per 1,000 people), policy (FDI in reporting countries, tax on international trade in partner country), “cultural and geographic” distance between the capitals of the trading countries, common official language, sharing border, being landlocked) and membership in regional groupings.

Expected signs: β_1 and β_2 are expected to be positive; β_3 , β_4 and β_5 are expected to be negative. Infrastructure variables, sharing border and common official language, membership to a particular REC as well as FDI are expected to be positive, while being landlocked is expected to be negative. (EAC2010,392)

According to gravity model paper designed the following equation to estimate determinates of SSA's trade Intensity with China.

$$Y_{ij} = f(X_1, X_2, X_3, X_4, X_5, X_6, X_7, X_8, X_9)$$

Where:

$$Y_{ij} = \text{Bilateral trade between SSA and China (value of exports from SSA to China during 2000-2013 in Billion dollars)}$$

- X₁ = China Gross Domestic Product (GDP) during 2000-2013, in real constant price 2000 (100 million Yuan).
- X₂ = per capita indices of China Gross Demotic Product (during 2000-2013)
- X₃ = China population (during 2000-2013, 10000 person)
- X₄ = length of High ways in China (during 2000-2013, 10000 Km)
- X₅ = Rate of mobile telephone in China (during 2000-2013 sets/ 100 persons).
- X₆ = Dummy variable about political stability in China, takes one where is apolitical stability and takes zero where is apolitical instability (during 2000-2013).
- X₇ = China FDI to Sub-Saharan Africa (during 2000-2013 in million dollars)
- X₈ = China Average Applied Import MFN Tariff Rates on non-Agricultural and non-fuel (during 2000 – 2013)
- X₉= Dummy Variable takes Value of 1 if there is bilateral trade agreements between China and Sub-Saharan Africa and takes 0 if there isn't

2. Source of Data:

Paper collected time series data about variables defined in the model, data collected covered 14 year (2000-2013) from the following reports:

- UNCTAD Hand Book of statistics
- China Statistical Year Book
- Statistical Bulletin of China

3. Model results:

Detailed results of the model are shown in statistical annex; paper concluded that the most effective variables that have the major effect on the value of exports of Sub-Saharan Africa to China were (X₅) rate of mobile telephone in China (infrastructure variable) and (X₇) China FDI to Sub-Saharan Africa because much of China's outward direct investment (ODI) in SSA is closely linked to trade.

IV. REORIENTATION ON SUB-SAHARAN AFRICAN COUNTRIES TOWARD NEW MARKETS

After a long history of reliance on trade with and investment from Europe and North America, Sub-Saharan African countries are increasingly engaging with other partners, including those in their region. This is not unexpected, as emerging markets have maintained significantly faster economic growth than advanced economics over the last few decades. It is also consistent with the higher natural resource intensity in emerging partners compared with advanced economies and Sub-Saharan Africa's natural resources abundance. As this section describes, emerging partners are now a major source and destination of trade with and investment in sub-Saharan African countries, and this trend is most likely to accelerate in the coming years.(Harry G. Broadman 2007:84)

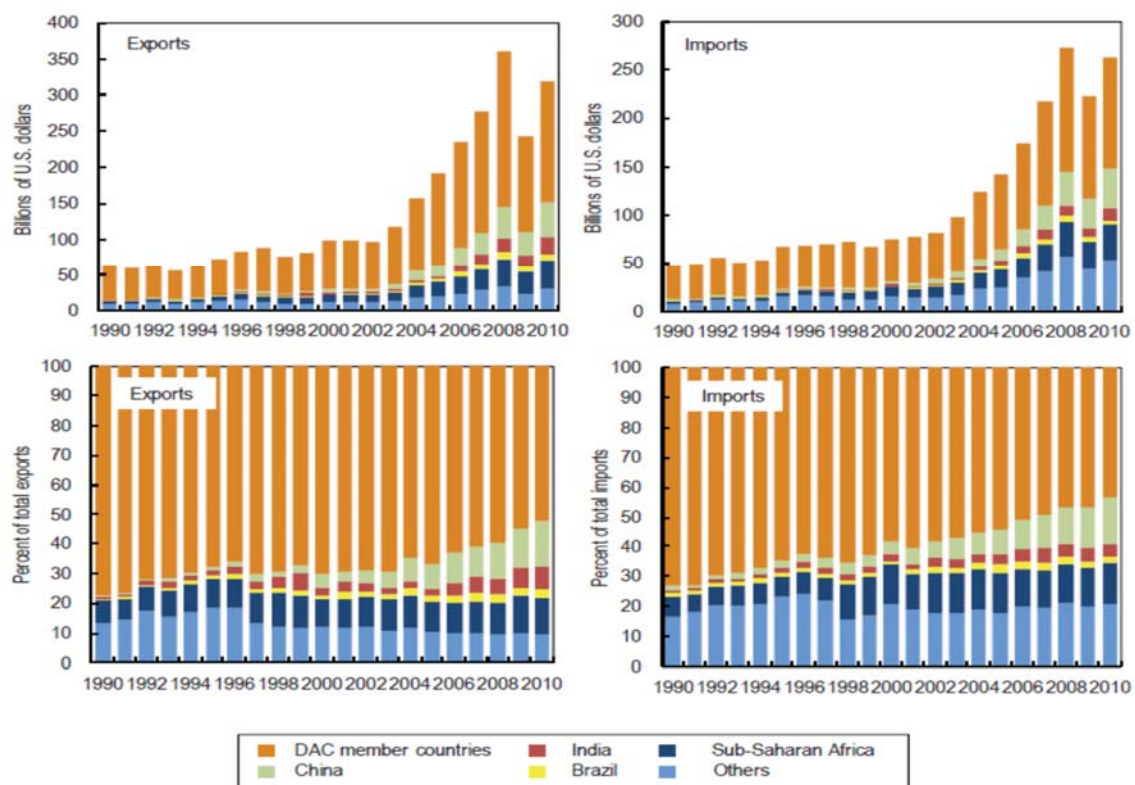
1. Trade

During the past decade, with unprecedented high growth in their exports and imports, Sub-Saharan African countries have begun engaging with emerging economies in other regions and with other countries within Sub-Saharan Africa.

This trade reorientation toward new partners is taking place relatively fast, driven by increasing trade with a few large emerging markets economies and by intraregional trade, in a way that is largely homogenous across the region. Specifically, this trade reorientation is:

- Fast-paced. Between 1990 and 2010, the share of Sub-Saharan Africa's exports to advanced economics declined from 78% to 52%, and the share of Sub-Saharan Africa's imports from those countries declined from 73% to 43%. Most of this reorientation has occurred during the past 15 years, as the share of both Sub-Saharan Africa's exports to and imports from member countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development's Development Assistance Committee (DAC) declined from about 70% in 2000 to approximately 50% in 2010. The magnitude of the reorientation in Sub-Saharan Africa's trade was not determined solely by oil-related trade, as non-oil-exporting Sub-Saharan Africa countries also saw the share of DAC countries in their total trade decline by an amount of the same magnitude.
- Driven mostly by the large emerging economies of Brazil, India and China. By 2010, the share of Sub-Saharan Africa trade with Brazil, India, and China reached approximately 3%, 6% and 17%, respectively, rising from negligible shares in the 1990s.(International Monetary Fund(IMF)2011:40-41)

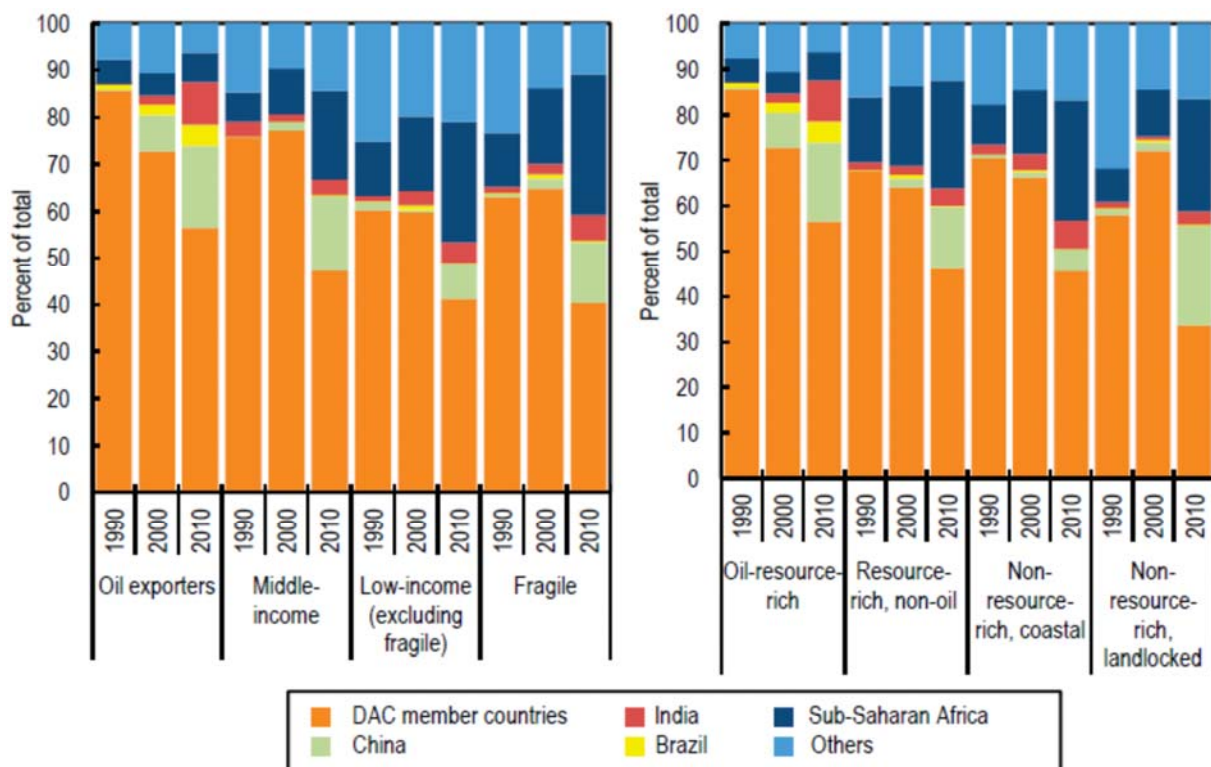
Figure (2)
Sub-Saharan Africa: Total Exports and Imports by Partner



Source: IMF, 2011. "Sub Saharan Africa sustaining the Expansion", Regional Economic outlook, World Economic and Financial survey, Washington D.C41.

All Sub-Saharan African subgroups (oil exporters, Low-income countries, middle-income countries) are exporting a lower share of their products to traditional DAC partners than they were in 1990 and all are now exporting more to China. Except for oil-exporting countries, all sub-groups have also seen an increase in their share of trade to other Sub-Saharan African countries. On the other hand, the reorientation toward Brazil and India appears more heterogeneous across subgroups. In regard to imports, all subgroups of Sub-Saharan African countries have seen a considerable reduction in their imports from traditional DAC partners, and all are increasingly relying on Chinese and intraregional imports. (IMF2011:42-43)

Figure (3)
Sub-Saharan Africa: Exports by Partner

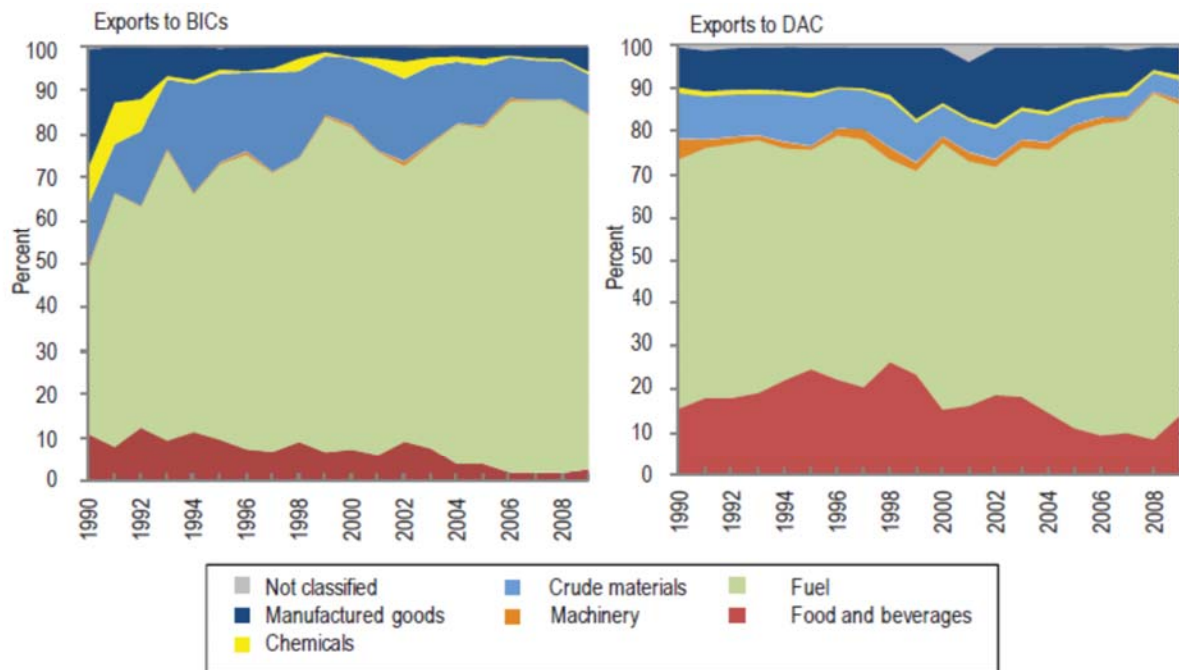


Source::IMF, 2011. "Sub Saharan Africa sustaining the Expansion", Regional Economic outlook, World Economic and Financial survey, Washington D.C43.

Sectoral Composition of the Reorientation **Exports**

- Sub-Saharan Africa exports to BICs are heavily concentrated in primary products, mainly oil. By 2008, oil accounted for about 70% of all Sub-Saharan Africa exports to BICs and for more than 80% of exports if South African exports are excluded. Note that Sub-Saharan Africa exports to BICs are more concentrated in oil and gas than exports to DAC countries, as Sub-Saharan African countries tend to export more food, beverages, and manufactured goods to DAC countries than to BICs.(IMF2011:45)

Figure (4)
Sub-Saharan Africa: Exports to BICs by Product Composition

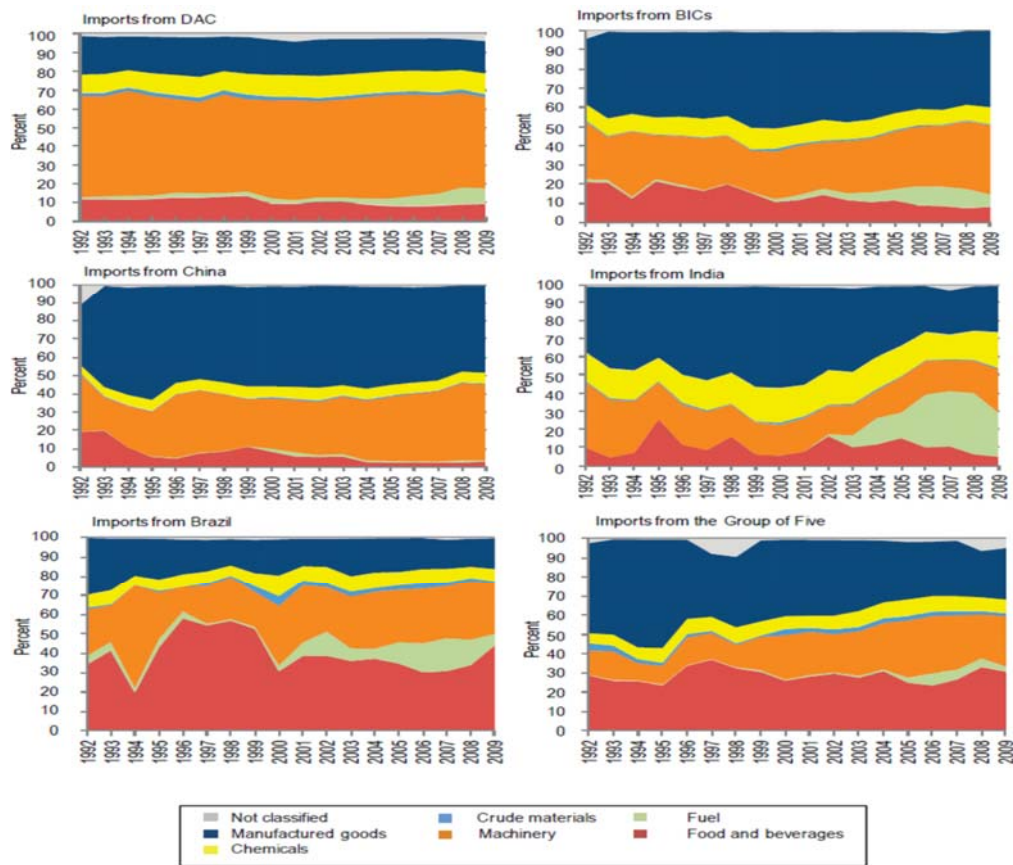


Source: IMF, 2011. "Sub Saharan Africa sustaining the Expansion", Regional Economic outlook, World Economic and Financial survey, Washington D.C, 45

Imports

- They are largely machinery, chemicals, and manufactured goods, although there is some heterogeneity across trading partners. Sub-Saharan African imports from BICs are actually more concentrated in manufactured products-especially from China-than is the case with imports from DAC countries, the latter being more focused on imports of machinery. Imports from India are more concentrated in machinery and fuel (refined oil), and imports from Brazil are most concentrated in food and live animals. Imports from the Group of Five are quite diverse, with significant shares for food and live animals, animal and vegetable oils, manufactured goods, and machinery. (IMF2011:46)

Figure (5)
Sub-Saharan Africa: Imports to BICs by Product Composition



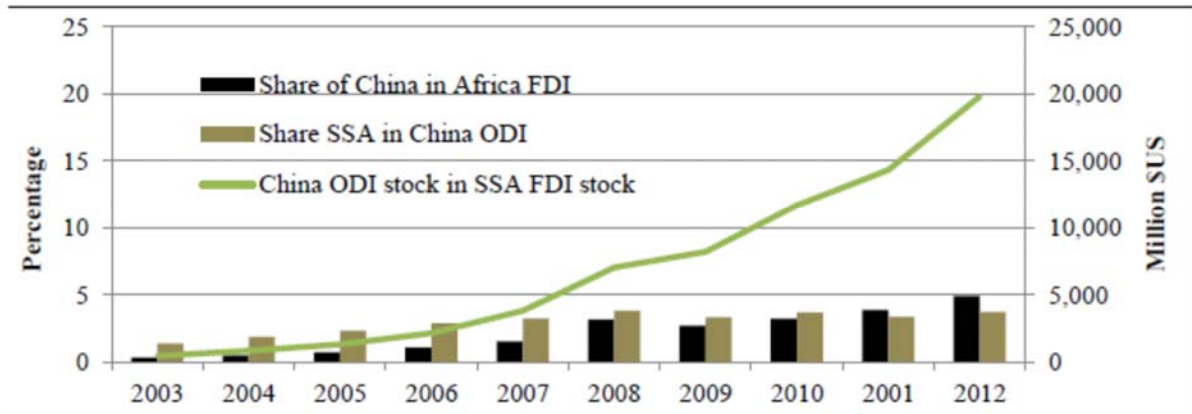
Source: IMF, 2011. "Sub Saharan Africa sustaining the Expansion", Regional Economic outlook, World Economic and Financial survey, Washington D.C. 47.

2. Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)

A similar reorientation is occurring in Sub-Saharan Africa's sources of capital, as emerging countries such as the BICs, have rapidly increased their investments in the region. Chinese FDI to Sub-Saharan Africa, as a share of total FDI to the region, climbed from less than 1% in 2003 to 16% by 2008. Investment from India is also significant: by 2006, Indian investment stocks in Sub-Saharan Africa were almost as large as Chinese FDI flows in the region. (Viven Foster Et.al2009:4)

Much of China's outward direct investment (ODI) in SSA is closely linked to trade. Official figures from the Chinese Ministry of Commerce suggest that in 2012 ODI to SSA reached US\$2.52 billion, up from 0.39 US\$ billion in 2005. In 2012 the total stock of Chinese ODI was US\$20 billion.

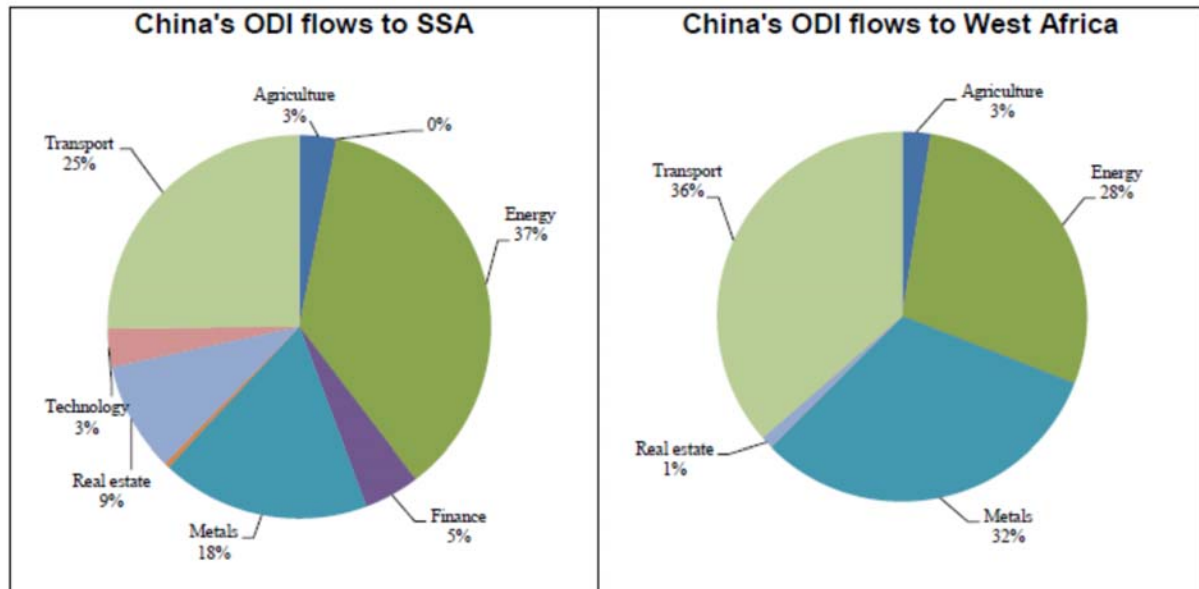
Figure (6)
Chinese Outward Direct Investment to SSA, 2003-2012



Source: Pigato Miria and Julien Gourdon, 2014. "The Impact of Rising Chinese Trade and Development Assistance in West Africa " Africa Trade Practice Working Paper Series (4), Washington D.C: World Bank 16.

Although most of the emerging partners' investments are in mining, investments in other sectors are also significant. Besides oil and mining, Chinese investment is also directed toward manufacturing, construction, finance, agriculture, and service. (Miria Pigato and Julien Gourdon.2014:16-17)

Figure (7)
Sectoral Distribution of China ODI flows in 2005-2012



Source: Pigato Miria and Julien Gourdon, 2014. "The Impact of Rising Chinese Trade and Development Assistance in West Africa " Africa Trade Practice Working Paper Series (4), Washington D.C: World Bank17.

The leading African recipient of FDI from China is South Africa, which has a stock of about \$3 billion and accounts for nearly 40 per cent of total Chinese FDI stock in the region. Other important recipients are Nigeria (with a stock of \$796 million), Zambia (\$651 million), Sudan (\$528 million), Algeria (\$509 million), Mauritius (\$230 million), United Republic of Tanzania (\$190 million), Madagascar (\$147 million), Niger (\$137 million), Congo (\$134 million), Egypt (\$131 million) and Ethiopia (\$127 million).

Historically, Indian FDI in Africa was concentrated in Mauritius. During the period 1996–2005, accumulated flows to the country reached \$1.4 billion, accounting for 9 per cent of total outward FDI from India. More recently, large Indian investment projects have been implemented in other countries, such as Côte d’Ivoire, Senegal and Sudan.

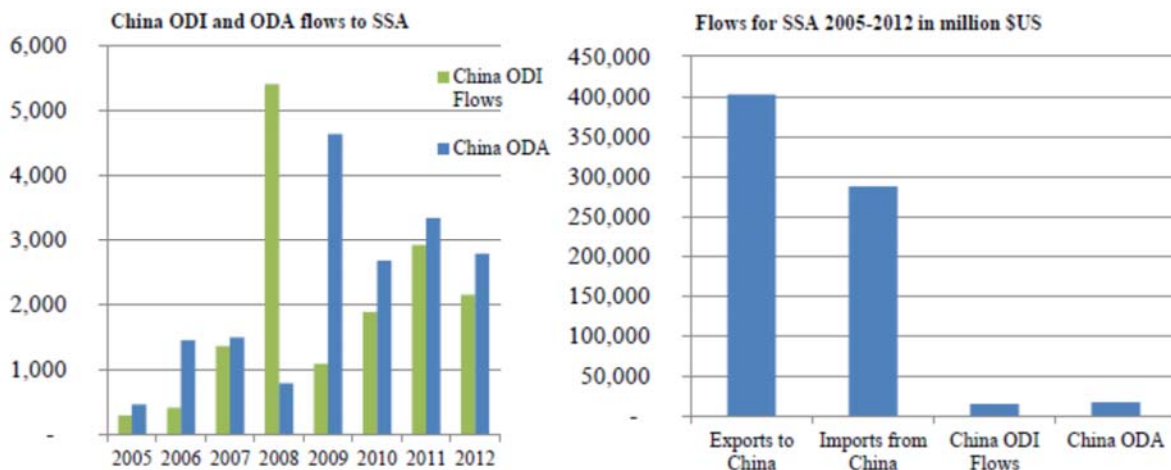
Within Latin America and the Caribbean, Brazil is the most important investor in Africa. For instance, Brazilian energy giant Petrobras has operations in Angola, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mozambique, Nigeria, Senegal and the United Republic of Tanzania, whereas mining company Vale is present in Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Gabon, Ghana, Mozambique, South Africa and Zambia. Other examples of Brazilian investors active in Africa are bus maker Marcopolo, which has a plant in South Africa, and conglomerate Odebrecht, which primarily has engineering and construction projects in Angola, Djibouti, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Mozambique. (UNCTAD 2010: 84-88)

3. Development Assistance

According to UNCTAD: Official development assistance (ODA): refers to grants or loans to developing countries that: (a) are undertaken by the official sector; (b) have the promotion of economic development and welfare as the main objective; (c) are at concessional financial terms, having a grant element of at least 25%.(UNCTAD 2010:49)

The contribution of the BICs to development assistance has increased over the last decade, with China leading the way. Aid from the BICs (particularly China) promotes their trade and investment, but the BICs continue to support Africa’s development through project aid-aimed at improving infrastructure- concessionary and soft loans, as well as credits and grants. Official flows from the BICs often go to African countries not targeted by traditional partners, with concessional loans as China’s main instrument of support. (ECA2013:16)

Figure (8)
China ODI and ODA Flows to SSA



Source: Pigato Miria and Julien Gourdon, 2014. " The Impact of Rising Chinese Trade and Development Assistance in West Africa " Africa Trade Practice Working Paper Series (4), Washington D.C: World Bank 18.

Figure (8) shows the relative importance of Chinese ODI and ODA in SSA as a whole. The 2009 data are outliers because they include a US\$3 billion loan to Ghana, which represents about 75% of total ODA for West Africa. And, in 2010 Mauritania accounted for 50% of China’s ODA to West Africa (having received a US\$1.3 million loan from China). Aside from Ghana and Mauritania, however, the other countries in the region receive a relatively small amount of ODA. Chinese assistance is widely distributed among different sectors; includes loans and grants for energy, infrastructure, water supply, sanitation, health, education projects, as well as investments in sports stadiums and cultural centres. (Miria Pigato and Julien Gourdon 2014:18)

China is the main source of Southern aid to Africa, at 83 per cent of Southern (non-DAC) flows in 2006, or \$2.3 billion, while Brazil pledged an estimated \$96.1 million and India \$11.3 million that year. The Aid Data initiative has reported recent official flows from Brazil to selected African countries of around \$2.9 million (2009); \$15.2 million from India (2010); and \$60.1

million from South Africa (2008). The OECD estimates Russia to have disbursed \$33.1 million in 2011.

Key features of BICs aid to Africa (particularly China, and to some extent India and Brazil) is use of official flows to promote trade and investment. China's aid to Africa is driven largely by its objective of securing access to oil and minerals, and nearly 70 per cent of its infrastructure financing in Africa is concentrated in Angola, Ethiopia, Nigeria and Sudan, all of which have oilfields. Angola, Democratic Republic of Congo and Sudan have major oilfields and pay for much of their assistance or loans from China with oil. Sudan sends 60 per cent of its crude oil to China.

Another key feature of Southern partners' support is that official flows target African countries seldom reached by traditional partners. The support is increasingly provided to countries such as Angola, Sudan and Zimbabwe, while India is known to have provided support to Angola, Côte d'Ivoire, Djibouti and Niger. Concessional loans are the most widespread instrument of BICs support to African countries. Over 2001–2007, half of China's infrastructure finance to African economies outside North Africa was in the form of loans.

Technical cooperation is a key part of BICs countries' support to Africa (particularly from Brazil and India). In 2008 for example, Brazil provided technical assistance through the Brazilian Technical Cooperation Agency, of which 43 per cent of resources for training went to Africa (Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and São Tomé and Príncipe-have been the main beneficiaries, accounting for 74% of Brazil's technical cooperation to Africa). India, for its part, provides technical assistance through the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation programme, focusing on improving services in education, health and ICT. (EAC2013:17-18)

4. Economic Impact of Sub-Saharan Africa's Engagement with new Partners

First, Sub-Saharan Africa's trade reorientation is the result of an increase in its trade with emerging partners, not trade diversion, and therefore the region experiences the benefits commonly associated with any expansion in international trade. **Second**, trading with a larger number of partners appears to be reducing the region's historically high export volatility, which could foster its long-term economic growth. **Third**, emerging partners' financing of Sub-Saharan Africa's economic activities can help boost economic growth. **Fourth**, growth of emerging partners has an indirect economic benefit for Sub-Saharan Africa because it has strengthened commodity prices, thus improving the terms of Sub-Saharan Africa's trade with traditional and non-traditional partners. (Dieri-Wake Nabine 2009:21-22)

Fifth, the increase in trade prompted by emerging partners fosters specialization along comparative advantages, thereby boosting productivity and output. By increasing economies of scale, trade with emerging partners lowers Sub-Saharan Africa's costs of production and increases the variety of goods available, which is particularly important for most small Sub-Saharan African countries with small middle classes. Sub-Saharan Africa's exports to new partners also benefit the region dynamically through technological transfer and the related learning by doing impact on economic growth. (Marteus Brackner and Daniel Lederman 2012:20)

Sixth, the economic impact of FDI from emerging partners on Sub-Saharan African countries goes beyond higher foreign exchange reserves and potentially higher tax revenues. FDI in manufacturing (for example, in Ghana, Mauritius, and Nigeria, among others), agriculture (including food processing), and tourism fosters productivity growth in the region through technology transfer.

Also important are investments in financial services, because financial development is linked to higher long-term growth.

Seventh, most important, emerging partners' financing of infrastructure (which is often associated with large-scale FDI), mainly from China, is particularly effective in improving competitiveness in such an infrastructure deprived region as Sub-Saharan Africa. (IMF2011:52-57).

Opportunities, Challenges and Policy implications

1. Opportunities

Engagement with emerging partners raises opportunities for sub-Saharan African countries as follows:

- **Outsourcing of economic activities to Sub-Saharan Africa.** Rising wages in Brazil, China, India, and other countries could prompt them to further outsource their economic activities to Sub-Saharan Africa, especially in light manufacturing. The BICs are increasingly moving up the value chain (for instance, China and India in manufacturing, and Brazil in bio fuels) with the potential to outsource these activities to Sub-Saharan Africa. Global rebalancing between advanced and emerging economies could accelerate this process, with more rapid industry upgrading in China and India.
- **Low-cost inputs and consumption goods.** Sub-Saharan Africa stands to benefit from imports available at a much lower cost from emerging partners than from traditional partners. Low-cost capital goods boost the productivity of Sub-Saharan Africa's producers, whereas low-cost manufactured imports benefit consumers and producers (through lower wage pressures and cheaper inputs).
- **Access to more appropriate technologies.** Through intensifying trade and investment relationships with other developing countries, countries in the region also have access to cheaper and less-sophisticated technologies that may be more appropriate for their level of development.
- **Economic benefits from intraregional integration.** Intraregional integration could also boost growth by promoting horizontal FDI, creating economies of scale and improving the allocation of factors of production within the region. (Stephen N. Karingi and Unicent Leyaro 2009:35)

2. Challenges

The increasing engagement with emerging partners also poses a number of challenges:

- **Natural resource curse.** Because the region's trade relationship with larger emerging partners is overwhelmingly concentrated on exports of raw commodities, inadequate management of natural resource wealth could lead to many of the economic problems commonly associated with natural resource dependence. Sub-Saharan African countries have experienced these problems for decades: crowding out of higher-value-added activities, procyclical macroeconomic policy, an unsustainably rapid depletion of resources, and high volatility in terms of trade.

- **Transitional costs.** Increasing trade with new partners has resulted in a reallocation of factors of production and consequent transitional costs, such as failing businesses and higher unemployment. For instance, non-commodity sectors such as manufacturing or food processing can be negatively affected by lower cost imports from other countries (for example, manufactured products from China or processed food from Brazil) and from currency appreciation resulting from higher commodity exports.
- **Rapid structural changes.** The growing engagement of Sub-Saharan African countries with emerging partners and their ongoing economic rise will most likely continue to bring substantial changes to the supply of and demand for Sub-Saharan African products. High economic growth in emerging economies may further boost commodity prices, and higher wages in manufacturing and services in emerging partners may prompt them to outsource some of their activities to Sub-Saharan Africa. At the same time, new technologies may affect the integration of production processes between Sub-Saharan Africa and emerging partners. Such changes may be as strong and far-reaching as the recent commodity prices boom and could prove very hard for Sub-Saharan Africa entrepreneurs and governments to anticipate. (IMF 2011:59-60)

3. Policy implications:

Recommendations for African countries

- (a) **Mainstream South–South cooperation into national development strategies.** African countries should adopt a well-defined strategy for South–South cooperation to ensure that it furthers rather than hinders the achievement of national and regional development goals.
- (b) **Take a proactive approach to the partnership process.** The scale and scope of interaction between African countries and developing countries partners has expanded rapidly in the last 15 years. A proactive approach by African governments and sharing of experiences with developing country partners will accelerate mutual policy learning, which should enhance the effectiveness of interactions for both parties.
- (c) Ensure that cooperation with developing countries complements existing partnerships with developed countries.
- (d) **Involve more local stakeholders in partnerships with the South.** To ensure effective national ownership of the process and outcomes of the evolving partnerships between Africa and developing countries, African governments should make efforts to get parliaments, the private sector and civil society more involved in the process.
- (e) **Strengthen efforts to develop productive capacities.** This requires public and private investment, structural transformation and the development of productive capacities. The current pattern of trade with developing countries is reinforcing commodity dependence and replicating the existing pattern of trade with traditional partners. African countries should reverse this export pattern and transform the structure of their economies. This requires improving the business environment, addressing the problem of poor infrastructure, enhancing access to credit and transfer of skills and technology. (David Dollar 2008:5-7)
- (f) Enhance capacity to negotiate and benefit from the multilateral trading system.

- (g) **Play a more active role in coordination of support from partners.** To reduce transaction costs and increase the development impact. In this regard, there is a need to develop or strengthen existing national aid management and coordination frameworks to enhance local ownership of aid processes and outcomes. (Ali Zafar 2010:14-17)
- (h) **Avoid accumulation of unsustainable debt.** African countries should ensure that new borrowing from developing country partners is used to finance projects that enhance domestic capacity to repay. There is also the need to pay more attention to the structure as well as management of external debt to avoid a debt crisis.
- (i) **Adopt a developmental approach in seeking foreign direct investment.** African countries should recognize that ultimately the most effective way to attract FDI is to have a dynamic and growing domestic private sector. If they wish to attract market-seeking or efficiency-seeking FDI, instead of resource-seeking FDI, they have to create a growing and efficient domestic market coupled with a policy environment attractive to both domestic and foreign investors. In this regard, the focus of African countries should not be on attracting Southern FDI per se, rather it should be on creating linkages between FDI and the domestic economy and also directing it to sectors where it can catalyse domestic investment, create employment, spur regional integration and boost productive capacity. (UNCTAD2014:87) (UNCTAD 2010:102-104)

Recommendations for developing country partners

- (a) Broaden the scope of engagement to include sectors other than the extractive industries.
- (b) Strengthen support for regional integration in Africa.
- (c) Enlarge country coverage.
- (d) Provide more information on development activities in the region.
- (e) Ensure that projects have positive impact on the environment.
- (f) Address the transactions costs associated with the multiplicity of partnership initiatives. (Corinne Delechat Et.al 2009:27)

Recommendations for developed country partners

- (a) Provide more support for Africa–South cooperation.
- (b) Strengthen dialogue with Southern partners. (UNCTAD 2009: 95)

Recommendations for regional and multilateral institutions

- (a) Coordinate the development of statistics and collection of information on Africa–South cooperation.
- (b) Provide more research support.
- (c) Establish financing facilities for Africa–South cooperation. (UNCTAD2010:105-108)

V. CONCLUSION

Trade between the BICs and Africa can be summarized under three key features: Africa's exports to the BICs are dominated by fuels and primary commodities (mainly to China and India); the BIC's exports to African countries are dominated by manufactured goods; and although some African countries will gain, some will lose.

Chinese FDI can be categorized as resource-efficiency- and market-seeking investments. The policy upshot of the first type is that African economies need to invest their gains from primary commodity exports in downstream, higher value added industries, which should allow the continent's natural-resource exporters to develop and diversify their export base, so moving from dependence on natural resource exports.

The equivalent policy implication for China's efficiency-seeking investments is that African governments should help such investors to forge linkages with local African domestic producers, thereby producing sustainable exports for African economies with higher domestic value added, which should strengthen domestic businesses. The policy challenge for African governments with market-seeking investments is to ensure that domestic suppliers perform acceptably on price, delivery and service quality

African governments should also enhance the benefits of market- or efficiency-seeking Chinese FDI by ensuring the outsourcing of their activities to local entrepreneurs; increasing local sourcing of inputs for production; and ensuring the employment of local workers under fair labour practices.

Official flows from the BICs are a small portion of ODA to Africa; some of the aid from the BICs (particularly China) promotes trade and investment; ODA from the BICs often benefits African countries not targeted by traditional partners; concessional loans are China's main instrument; and technical cooperation is crucial in education, health and ICT, particularly from Brazil and India.

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Annex

Gravity model variables

y	X1	X2	X3	X4	X5	X6	X7	X8	X9
4.50	99214.60	107.60	127643.00	167.98	2.20	1.00	61.00	15.90	1.00
4.80	107449.70	107.50	127627.00	169.80	2.71	1.00	63.00	14.70	1.00
5.40	117208.30	108.40	128453.00	176.52	7.76	1.00	65.00	12.50	1.00
8.40	128958.90	109.30	129227.00	180.98	12.20	1.00	68.00	10.60	1.00
16.60	141964.50	109.40	129988.00	187.07	17.14	1.00	152.00	9.80	1.00
21.10	158020.70	110.70	130756.00	334.52	20.63	1.00	201.00	9.20	1.00
28.80	208381.00	112.00	131448.00	345.70	22.64	1.00	362.00	9.10	1.00
36.40	237892.80	113.60	132129.00	385.37	22.76	1.00	1297.00	9.20	1.00
56.00	260812.00	109.10	132802.00	373.02	20.98	1.00	5480.00	8.90	1.00
43.30	28484408.00	108.70	133450.00	386.08	20.40	1.00	1233.00	8.90	1.00
67.10	314602.50	109.90	134091.00	400.82	19.45	1.00	1350.00	8.90	1.00
93.20	438853.00	108.80	134735.00	410.64	18.41	1.00	2300.00	8.90	1.00
102.50	472436.50	107.10	135404.00	423.75	17.40	1.00	3200.00	8.90	1.00
19.70	503217.90	107.10	136072.00	435.62	16.41	1.00	4500.00	8.90	1.00

Regression

Notes

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Warnings

For models with dependent variable y, the following variables are constants or have missing correlations: x6, x9. They will be deleted from the analysis.

Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
y	36.2714	32.45521	14
x1	2262387.1714	7548493.84088	14
x2	109.2286	1.86689	14
x3	131701.7857	2853.01334	14
x4	312.7050	108.73762	14
x5	15.7921	6.93553	14
x6	1.0000	.00000	14
x7	1452.2857	1787.10365	14
x8	10.3143	2.34549	14
x9	1.0000	.00000	14

Correlations

	y	x1	x2	x3	x4	x5	x6	x7	x8	x9	
Pearson Correlation	Y	1.000	.076	-.040	.772	.745	.524	.	.544	-.593	.
	x1	.076	1.000	-.086	.194	.210	.200	.	-.022	-.185	.
	x2	-.040	-.086	1.000	-.033	.181	.603	.	-.256	-.383	.
	x3	.772	.194	-.033	1.000	.944	.688	.	.740	-.801	.
	x4	.745	.210	.181	.944	1.000	.771	.	.685	-.795	.
	x5	.524	.200	.603	.688	.771	1.000	.	.393	-.945	.
	x6	.	.	.	.	.	.	1.000	.	.	.
	x7	.544	-.022	-.256	.740	.685	.393	.	1.000	-.495	.
	x8	-.593	-.185	-.383	-.801	-.795	-.945	.	-.495	1.000	.
	x9	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1.000
Sig. (1-tailed)	Y	.	.398	.446	.001	.001	.027	.000	.022	.013	.000
	x1	.398	.	.385	.253	.236	.247	.000	.471	.263	.000
	x2	.446	.385	.	.455	.268	.011	.000	.189	.088	.000
	x3	.001	.253	.455	.	.000	.003	.000	.001	.000	.000
	x4	.001	.236	.268	.000	.	.001	.000	.003	.000	.000
	x5	.027	.247	.011	.003	.001	.	.000	.082	.000	.000
	x6	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.	.000	.000	.000
	x7	.022	.471	.189	.001	.003	.082	.000	.	.036	.000
	x8	.013	.263	.088	.000	.000	.000	.000	.036	.	.000
x9	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.	
N	Y	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14
	x1	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14
	x2	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14

x3	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14
x4	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14
x5	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14
x6	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14
x7	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14
x8	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14
x9	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14

Variables Entered/Removed^a

Model	Variables Entered	Variables Removed	Method
1	x8, x1, x2, x7, x4, x3, x5 ^b	.	Enter

- a. Dependent Variable: y
 b. All requested variables entered.

Model Summary^b

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics					Durbin-Watson
					R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change	
1	.801 ^a	.641	.222	28.62158	.641	1.531	7	6	.310	1.512

- a. Predictors: (Constant), x8, x1, x2, x7, x4, x3, x5
 b. Dependent Variable: y

ANOVA^a

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	8778.258	7	1254.037	1.531	.310 ^b
	Residual	4915.170	6	819.195		
	Total	13693.429	13			

- a. Dependent Variable: y
 b. Predictors: (Constant), x8, x1, x2, x7, x4, x3, x5

Coefficients

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	Correlations			Collinearity Statistics	
	B	Std. Error	Beta			Zero-order	Partial	Part	Tolerance	VIF
(Constant)	-143.836	3033.684		-.047	.964					
x1	-9.234E-007	.000	-.215	-.693	.514	.076	-.272	-.169	.622	1.607
x2	-8.287	12.471	-.477	-.665	.531	-.040	-.262	-.163	.116	8.601
x3	.007	.017	.606	.399	.704	.772	.161	.098	.026	38.491
x4	.084	.395	.280	.212	.839	.745	.086	.052	.034	29.287
x5	4.380	8.049	.936	.544	.606	.524	.217	.133	.020	49.459
x7	.005	.008	.272	.598	.572	.544	-.237	-.146	.289	3.462
x8	8.893	20.876	.643	.426	.685	-.593	.171	.104	.026	38.048

a. Dependent Variable: y

Coefficient Correlations

Model	x8	x1	x2	x7	x4	x3	x5
1 Correl x8	1.000	-.226	-.290	-.187	-.588	.626	.899

Covariances	x1	-.226	1.000	.550	.461	-.143	.109	-.391
	x2	-.290	.550	1.000	.527	-.289	.363	-.616
	x7	-.187	.461	.527	1.000	-.174	.000	-.305
	x4	-.588	-.143	-.289	-.174	1.000	-.919	-.428
	x3	.626	.109	.363	.000	-.919	1.000	.362
	x5	.899	-.391	-.616	-.305	-.428	.362	1.000
	x8	435.821	-6.287E-006	-75.503	-.032	-4.852	.226	151.009
	x1	-6.287E-006	1.877E-012	9.140E-006	5.083E-009	-7.509E-008	2.504E-009	-4.194E-006
	x2	-75.503	9.140E-006	155.515	.054	-1.422	.078	-61.804
	x7	-.032	5.083E-009	.054	6.831E-005	-.001	2.462E-008	-.020
	x4	-4.852	-7.509E-008	-1.422	-.001	.156	-.006	-1.361
	x3	.226	2.504E-009	.078	2.462E-008	-.006	.000	.050
	x5	151.009	-4.194E-006	-61.804	-.020	-1.361	.050	64.793

a. Dependent Variable: y

Collinearity Diagnostics

Model	Dimension	Eigenvalue	Condition Index	Variance Proportions								
				(Constant)	x1	x2	x3	x4	x5	x7	x8	
1	1	6.353	1.000	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
	2	.902	2.654	.00	.61	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
	3	.576	3.321	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.21	.00
	4	.150	6.508	.00	.05	.00	.00	.00	.01	.16	.00	.00
1	5	.017	19.351	.00	.03	.00	.00	.15	.03	.26	.00	.00
	6	.002	55.841	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.18	.04	.28	.00
	7	3.524E-005	424.620	.00	.24	.62	.09	.10	.76	.29	.51	.00
	8	4.002E-006	1259.966	1.00	.07	.38	.91	.74	.02	.03	.21	.00

a. Dependent Variable: y

Residuals Statistics

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Predicted Value	1.1063	76.2000	36.2714	25.98559	14
Residual	-51.30946	27.89357	.00000	19.44454	14
Std. Predicted Value	-1.353	1.537	.000	1.000	14
Std. Residual	-1.793	.975	.000	.679	14

a. Dependent Variable: y

Model of Development Community Organization Women's Labor for Improving Human Capital Labor of Indonesia Migrant Workers

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I. BACKGROUND

Globalization process is a union of countries throughout the world, and in the process of globalization has prompted the displacement of labor between countries. Today, the world population is moving left his homeland towards other countries which offering jobs with higher wages. the state is also encouraging community Indonesia solution specifically conceived of women who entered into the global job market, so many women's labor who work as migrant workers who are outside the territory of the country, the situation will progressively continue to flourish in countries that are experiencing a severe economic crisis and countries experiencing conflict and division. in the context of indonesia, labor migration occurred in the form of a massive shipment of rice bowl, among others, to hong kong, saudi arabia, malaysia and singapore.

One of the destination countries migrant workers Indonesia, including Hongkong. In Hongkong, the number of migrant workers in every year is always growing. Most of them work in the household sector. However, for the women's labor in Hongkong is quite open because once a week they can go anywhere and his life are also free. Hongkong, an archipelago that is known today as the business country's, became the most favorite place for most Women's Labor from Indonesia . Working in Hong Kong, reportedly is more fun than working relic of recipients of other migrant workers. in countries former british colonies, women's labor is treated like employees who have a work eight hours a day, once a week, holidays and overtime money when working outside of the agreement. it is this circumstance which makes Hongkong an option the labor government's policy on Hongkong because in addition to an egalitarian against migrant workers, but there is also time for the migrant workers ' express yourself in 1-2 days as a off time.

Activity express themselves the indonesia migrant workers can be seen in the famous park in hong kong, namely victoria park, there are groups of migrant workers day Saturday and Sunday, which often carry out activities within each group, according to their interests and talents or because in his group. Variations are very diverse and creative there is even a group that's been able to set up the organization to accommodate the activities they do. This of course being interesting study because the gathering of these migrant workers bring impact on various aspects of life be it in the field of economy, education is also political. when these migrant workers had gathered other than can stay in, exchanging experience and information, they also present the work of freelance journalist, entered into the activities of the association, as well as groups that encourage their activities to excel.

The state of victoria park in particular day of the week being a very interesting view. there were no migrant workers in hong kong which indonesia never visited victoria park, it is reflected

when the field observation that the employer is not acceptable if the Sunday/holiday when the migrant workers are in the house, because if they were at home then the employer must pay overtime for people who work in the home of their employers. therefore the country is hong kong for indonesia migrant workers to scavenge sustenance and indeed from some early interviews, many migrant workers who have long worked to 22 years, and for the new 4th annual much of that hope to be back to work in hong kong again when his contract is finished. it also became a surplus of hong kong than many other countries that received migrant workers indonesia labor women, particularly because his government had a good policy to migrant workers. indonesia is not of the first rank is actually sending the workforce to hongkong. there are a lot of Filipina sending countries, the workforce, as in the table below:

The Number of Foreign Labor in Hong Kong According to Country of Origin 2001-2013

Tahun	Philippine	Indonesia	Thailand	Negara lain	Total
2001	155.450	68.880	7.000	3.950	232.280
2002	148.390	78.170	6.670	3.880	237.110
2003	126.560	81.030	5.500	3.770	216.860
2004	119.710	90.050	4.920	3.750	218.430
2005	118.030	96.900	4.510	3.760	223.200
2006					
2007	123.550	114.410	4.070	3.500	245.530
2008	125.943	123.341	3.820	3.493	256.597
2009	131.110	132.485	3.859	3.612	271.066
2010	137.313	140.941	3.695	3.732	285.681
2011	144.553	148.153	3.323	3.932	299.961
2012	155.969	149.236	2.990	4.200	312.395
2013	159.414	150.172	2.856	4.328	316.770

Source : Consulate-General Indonesia Hongkong

View data by 2013, the number of migrant workers we reach 150.172 people, it is certainly not easy to take care of them in order to improve the quality of her to keep sharpening the skills and potential of her, even though they were in her everyday is working as domestic servants but they can keep looking for containers which can be human capital, so that they can improve their status in the future.

from early observations note that when migrant workers the indonesia creative and eager dig or to develop potential, then an awful lot of communities that can accommodate their potential. for example, there are migrant workers who became indonesia's biweekly tabloid journalist what the news. then there are organizations IMWU (Indonesian Migrant Workers Union), Asosisasi Buruh Migran Indonesia (ATKI), Koalisi Organisasi Tenaga Kerja Indonesia Hong Kong (KOTKIHO), PILAR (Persatuan Buruh Migran Indonesia Tolak Overcharging), etc.

It is this observation results of this research begins to be able to dig into a model of community empowerment for migrant workers, because of their activities in indonesia sunday morning at victoria park this can actually be a capital for migrant workers to improve their human capital so that this research is seen necessary to raise the degree of human indonesia, so that their lives will change from being a skilled labor or otherwise. but of course the migrant workers is not without problems of life away from family and hang out with the majority of migrant workers are women. Because in many subtle social aberration occurs because there are indications they liked sex, and it's important to be examined more deeply and look for the solution, and we have a shared responsibility to resolve this issue. Therefore, this research will be carried out by taking the title: model community development organization tkw to improve migrant workers ' human capital indonesia.

As for the formulation of the problem is as follows :

1. Any organization that can accommodate a wide range of activity of indonesia migrant workersin hong kong?
2. How the role of the organization to be able to improve migrant workers ' human capital indonesia in order to improve the quality of life?

In general, this research aims to find out and examines the lives of migrant workers in hong kong and indonesia then push the effectiveness of organizations that exist to improve human capital. this research is useful to increase the quality of life of human beings who actually is the responsibility of the state, because the migrant workers is the hero of foreign exchange for the country. through the activities of existing organizations expected they can develop potential thereby increasing the skills of migrant workers. until one day they can enhance human capital itself to be seen as a skilled migrant workers and professionals.

II. REVIEW OF THIS LITERATURE

This research was originally based on a sense of humanity to the women who have to work into Indonesia migrant workers in other countries to make their lives as well as to finance the life of his family. They don't have much choice to make his life due to the lack of jobs in the country, lack of water or on the land wage of the inability of their competitive due to the low level of their education. This is a reflection that many women have a burden of responsibility at the shoulders and this happens with many cases women are the backbone of the family. an essay can the subaltern speak Gayatri Spivak of giving you an idea that the subaltern studies as the study of "those who are not elite" who are being exploited physically in "third world" turned out to be a lot of experienced by women who are oppressed because of the existing social structure requires that they run a role they may not actually want it. Indonesia is not a migrant workers into their expectations because in fact many places which they can one was away from his family and his son. According to Gayatri (2006: 2) "Tak ada orang yang tertindas bisa berbicara, apalagi ia perempuan, ia akan begitu saja dilupakan "

That then is not just happening in the countries of Indonesia, but in various parts of the world and throughout human history, there are always people in absolute terms have no vote and cannot speak. So they should be forced to undergo a rhythm of life that they do not want. Postcolonial theory in reviewing this issue be important to use because in essence this theory sues colonization physically, knowledge, values, viewpoints in society.

Theories that can be used to analyze the role of men and women, namely biological approaches or theories of nature and theory of culture. Natural theory is a theory that assumes that the difference of the function and the role of men and women, due to the difference in nature, i.e. a difference of anatomy biology both (millet, 1970: 187). Rosaldo (1974) states that all communities are putting women in the private sphere and provide value far more central to the activities of man. Further he connects the lowest position of the women in the community with

the private arena of women; in particular the role as mother and child rearing. Rosaldo eventually concluded that the man acting in the public sector, and women in the domestic sector.

Cultural theory (nurture) elaborated the difference is the role of men and women is caused by cultural factors of society (Friendl, 1975: 3). the difference between the roles of men and women is largely the result of the socialization of the means of the results of community construction (Susana, 2004: 61). Kasiyan (2008: 36) argues in the view of cultural differences between men and women in the Society materialized through the process of learning from the environment. The concept of gender differences between men and women are more caused by the issue of socialization and Living up the culturally in the community, in any system of social institution, which from the beginning has been conceptualized differently between men and women. The process of socialization is then accumulated in the space and a very long time, intergenerational estafette's , even amplified by the country and the religion, so that gender differences are actually done culturally.

So is the case with the labor of women working in Hong Kong in general working in the domestic environment as a stylist like households. This is in line with the cultural approach, that the role of women was constructed by society, where men play a role in the public sphere, and women in the domestic sphere.

Role theory is a point of view in sociology that assumes most of the daily activity was portrayed by the categories set out in the social values that exist in society nowadays Indonesia blend between traditional values and modern. In work and family roles, usually as a man "role providers" and women more into the role of the family. Nowadays a lot of women plays a dual role, the ideal woman demanding tasks a housewife (parents) and women's careers. This balance should be recognized is a major obstacle for women to work. Many reasons women work, other than because of the demands of the needs of life also because of an increase in the level of education of women. The role of the family in this very important role.

III. RESEARCH METHODS

Research highlights to the study of Indonesia migrant workers who are in Hong Kong who have different problems and their organization to accommodate the interest and potential, so this research will always be associated with the attitude and behavior of human beings. Therefore this research using qualitative approach. Creswell (1998: 15) defines qualitative research as follows:

Qualitative research is an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem. The researcher to build a complex, holistic picture, analysis words, and reports detailed views of informants, and conducts the study in a natural setting.

Qualitative research is often also referred to as the phenomenological method, ethnographic method, or the method of impressionistic (Creswell, 1998: 7; Sudjana and Ibrahim, 1989: 195). Because qualitative research methods are often used to produce a theory based on data from the field (grounded theory), then his theory referred to as generating theory. Therefore, the accuracy of the one they interpretation relies heavily on the sharpness of analysis, objectivity, systematic and systemic.

The data obtained from the research plan in the form of descriptive analytic about an event that was taken from a reasonable situation, then the required accuracy in observing the aspects examined. In this case the role of the researcher is crucial as the main research tools (key instrument). in line with the opinion of Nasution (2003: 9) which explains that: only human as the instrument can understand the meaning of human interaction, reading the motion of face, plumbed the feelings and values contained in speech or conduct of the respondent. Although the tools used or the camera record the researcher retains a major role as a research tool.

Technique of collection data done by observation, focus group discussion, in-depth interviews, documentation, studies and the study of literature. In this study the observation is done through observation aims to get data about a problem and examines the behavior of migrant workers while Indonesia gathered in Victoria park, thereby obtained understanding or as a means of re-checking in or substantiation of the information/information obtained previously. As the scientific method of observation of the ordinary means of observation and recording of the phenomena investigated systematically. In a broad sense of observation is actually not limited to observations made, either directly or indirectly. Essentially an observation activities by using sensory perception, can sight, smell, hearing, to obtain the information needed to answer the research issues. Observations in the form of activities, events, event, object, condition or a specific mood, feelings and emotions of a person. The observation is performed to obtain a real picture of an event or event to answer questions research.

Focus group discussion (FGD) a qualitative method. The goal is to obtain in-depth information on concepts, perceptions and ideas. The research methods of selecting people who are considered to be representative of and get to know the problems that the subject in this study. In this case you want to invite is the activist organizations to get to know the problems and needs of Indonesia migrant workers who cannot actualized in depth, then with the konjen Indonesia in Hong Kong. This is a discussion on the activities of the moderators explores the views of respondents about their lives became migrant workers in Hong Kong. So is extracting information about the variety of the labor potential of migran Indonesia so that could be developed and be human capital that will improve the quality of life is correlated with human beings.

Focus Group Discussion allows researchers get complete data from informants are usually made as a cornerstone of a program (pilot study). Implementation of the FGD was also relatively quick, which is the longest time the recruitment of informants. FGD also allows more flexible in determining researchers design questions, so the free ask informants in accordance with the research objectives. However, the relative cost of FGD is big enough, even in some cases, the informant got in addition to consumption is also tired of ' money ' because it has been following the discussions.

In the outline of the focus group discussion (FGD), is wider than the interview. If the interview focuses on the submission of questions to the interviewees or respondents, then in FGD, there was no submission of a question specifically, but more on efforts to listen to information from various sources which are then encapsulated into a specified data. From the discussion and then produced a final opinion represents the opinion of each of the parties. The final opinion is what later the last data collected by researchers became. Of course, there are levels of FGD in perception and certain customs, in accordance with the thinking of each party. But from this it brings a more descriptive data and thorough.

FGD is an interactive process. FGD can be used as a powerful tool in a study provides valuable information spontaneously in short periods of time and is relatively fast. FGD is one method of qualitative and a single tool that can increase profits for example in research or the other. In a group discussion, people tend to concentrate his opinion based on social norms. However, the opinions that should be discussed with the chairman and the informant crucial in FGD through interviews.

In-depth interview is a conversation in order to get information about the individuals, events, activities, feelings, motivations, caring, dun can experience the thoughts and feelings of the respondents (Lincoln and Guba, 1985: 268). This interview aimed to "find out what is contained in the minds and hearts of others, how his view of the world, i.e. things that we cannot learn through observation" (Nasution, 2003: 73).

In-depth interviews will be conducted to Indonesia migrant workers who have the potential and the migrant workers they do social aberrations. The interview can be used to gather

information that might not be obtained through observation. Through these interviews researchers can get in-depth information, as Alwasilah (2009: 154) states that ... Through interviews, researchers can get in-depth information due to several things, among others:

1. Researchers can explain or not understandable questions respondents.
2. Researchers can ask questions following (follow-up questions).
3. Respondents tend to answer in a given question.
4. Respondents can tell something that happened in the past and the future.

Study documentation is one source of qualitative research data that has long been used, because it is very useful as revealed by Moleong (2000: 159), namely: "The document as a data source for testing that even to foresee". While Arikunto (1998: 237) explained that "the method documentation is one way of finding data about things or variable in the form of transcript, note books, newspapers, magazines, inscriptions, minutes of meetings, logger, and agenda and so on".

Study documentation is intended to strengthen the data observations and interviews that have been conducted on various matters relating to the issues, objectives, functions, and so on.

The whole data collection results are documented in the notes field or field notes. In addition documented and recorded relevant to the themes of research, together with the results of the interviews, including the important information that is also well documented.

Study of literature is a great tool to capture data to reveal the various theories that are relevant to the issues canvassed in the discussion of research results. This technique was done by reading, studying the books and so on. Faisal (1992: 30) states that "the results of the study of literature can be used as input and grounding in explaining and detailing the issues that will be examined; including also gives the background of why the problem last important researched".

In this study, data processing and analysis through the process of composing, categorizing data, look for the link content from a variety of data acquired with the intention to get its meaning. Data obtained and collected from respondents through interviews, documentation and study of observes in the field to further describe in the form of a report.

In qualitative research, analysis of data was carried out during the process of research and at the end of the study. It is similar with the opinion Nasution (1996: 140) that "in the research of qualitative data analysis should start from the beginning. The data obtained in the field soon had to be poured in the form of writings and analyzed". More about this data analysis stages, Nasution (1996: 140) posited:

There is no one particular way the establishment for all research, one of the ways that can be recommended is to follow the following steps which are common, namely the reduction of data, display data and tethering/verification conclusion. Be affirmed by miles and Huberman (1992: 16-18), analyze the data with the steps made of three strands of activities that occur simultaneously, i.e.: the reduction of the data, the presentation of data, and the withdrawal of conclusion/verification. The analysis of qualitative data is continuing efforts, repeated and continuous

IV. RESULT RESEARCH

Migrant workers ' organizations in Hong Kong and Indonesia activities Indonesia improved quality of migrant workers in Hong Kong

Migrant workers ' organizations have an important role in protecting its members. In line with the conventions of the international labor organization (Ilo) in 1987, the migrant workers have the right to form unions and associations of workers-over their own choices. They are also allowed to join and are represented by unions that are in the recipient countries.

Migrant workers' organization of Indonesia (BMI) in Hong Kong is developing and progressing than the organization BMI that is in other countries. It is because Hong Kong is a country that respects the values of equality, not distinguishing the man and his background. Similarly, with the association in Hong Kong are fully guaranteed by the government, so that the BMI in Hong Kong had liberty to freedom of association and of assembly in accordance with the wish. In Hong Kong there are a great many organizations and associations that was founded by BMI which are IMWU labor association, Indonesia (ATKI), coalition of labor Indonesia Hong Kong (KOTHIKO), a coalition to retain the relationship existing organization in Hong Kong, his focus the BMI organization only on cultural activities and the arts, sports, religion (DAWAH), writing (pen loop), investment or effort, etc. BMI organizations that exist in Hong Kong, namely:

1. IMWU

Indonesian migrant workers union (IMWU), the trip is very long, its own IMWU first name forerunner IMWU is Indonesian group-Hong Kong (IG-HK) a collection of people that Indonesia foreign domestic workers in Hong Kong that was founded by BMI in 1994. At that time, the organization BMI that there's not much pay attention to more related issues of migrant workers' rights. The activities of the IG-HK is doing advocacy work against a BMI rights violated by agents and employers or advocacy, counselling services and legal aid for Indonesia domestic workers in Hong Kong. From the work of mass a few years is done, the number of members of the IG-HK grows, its membership is growing.

Then in 1999, the decision to change the name of the IG-HK being a trade union was taken by registering the Indonesian migrant workers union (IMWU) to the Hong Kong government. IMWU is the only migrant workers registered in Hong Kong Indonesia official in the labor department under the Hong Kong register of trade union no. 966 in 1999. The purpose of this legalized to get recognition in the law of Hong Kong or internationally that the migrant workers' union is IMWU with BMI and BMI in doing the voice representing the defense of Indonesia migrant workers' issues. IMWU is not alone in doing defense of migrant workers but together affiliate states IMWU in Hong Kong namely the HKCTU and FADWU. IMWU has also become a member of HKCU is a combined Hong Kong trade unions.

IMWU became states BMI only in Hong Kong. IMWU is BMI members who work as domestic workers in Indonesia Hong Kong origin. In 2004, the number of member's IMWU was 2000 people. Along the way, these institutions often IMWU lead mass struggles of BMI in Hong Kong against the anti-immigration migrant workers issued by the government of Indonesia and Hong Kong. A small, victorious through the mass struggle of BMI, into fuel to do the work of the struggle of the masses of migrant workers.

The goal is to unify IMWU BMI into trade unions; increased capacity of BMI and their family members through education and training; stop underpayment, overcharging and increase the welfare of BMI and their family members; encourage the creation of a law that protects the BMI and a member of the family; defense of the rights of migrant workers; and the development of a network of migrant workers' organizations at the local level, regionally and internationally.

Long term struggle IMWU programs are demanding true protection for migrant workers and their family members; demand lowered the cost of a placement agent fees apply and only 10% of the salary of the first month of BMI and stop underpayment; demanding an increase in the welfare of migrant workers and their family members with salary increases and entered into law the minimum wage; sue of act no. 39/2004 on PPTKILN; demanding freedom of contract is independent and free to choose an agent in Hong Kong for the BMI; demanding acts of law firm and PJTKI, agents and actors lawbreakers and BMI; demanding the abolition of a special terminal for BMI at the airport arrival in Indonesia; sue immediately ratified the

convention on migrant workers and their family members; demanding ratification of the ILO convention, namely c 189 for domestic workers; sue abolished all forms of discrimination for migrant workers.

The demands of the short term IMWU strive for, among others, scaled back and apply the cost of the placement and agency fees; remove the liability insurance for the BMI; remove the obligation of KTKLN; delete a special terminal at the airport Indonesia; revoke a business license PJTKI and employers who break the law and BMI; remove the death sentence for the BMI; ratification of the ILO convention c 181; implement and apply the content of the un convention 1990; enter migrant domestic servants in law the minimum wage; stop discrimination at BMI; remove the obligation of staying inside the house of the employer; delete a policy rule two weeks/NCS two week rule; remove tax for PRT migrants; apply the hours of work for migrant domestic servants; free and friendly service and by the representative of Indonesia abroad or the consulate of Indonesia.

Become a member of the open for the whole IMWU BMI in Hong Kong who want to register to become a member by filling out the registration form and conditions of pay enrolment dues amounting to HKD 25 and pay monthly dues amounting to HKD 25, according to the rules stated in the bylaws IMWU. IMWU members will automatically become a member of:

- a. HKCTU (Hong Kong confederation of trade union/confederacy (fellowship) Hong Kong union)
- b. FADWU (Federation of Asean domestic workers union/trade union federation of domestic workers in Hong Kong)
- c. IDWN (International domestic workers network/international network of domestic workers)
- d. LIPMI (Liga Indonesia migrant workers)
- e. UNPLUG THE ALLIANCE ACT NO. 39/2004 OF PPTKILN
- f. AMCB (Asean migrant cooperation body/alliance of migrant workers in Hong Kong)
- g. IMA (international migrant Alice/international alliance of migrant workers)

As for activities that can be followed by a member of among other things: (a) education on rights and labor law in Hong Kong and the policy/regulation of Indonesia; (b) basic education trade unions; (c) education skills (leadership, public speaking, writing, art, modern and traditional dance, guitar, beauty makeup and hair cut); (d) education gender and migration and international regulation for migrant workers; (e) the yasinan and the newspaper.

2. ATKI

Migrant workers ' association of Indonesia (ATKI-HK) is an organization of mass labor migrants are Indonesia (BMI) in Hong Kong. ATKI-HK struggled to enforce the recognition and protection of the rights of migrant workers and BMI in the whole world. To perform the task and the responsibility, ATKI-HK education for awakening consciousness, move the emancipation and the struggle of the organize Labor-Indonesia migrant workers. ATKI-HK hold on Principe freedom initiative, self-reliance, recognition of equality and unity in struggle.

ATKI-HK was founded in Hong Kong on October 1, 2000 by the BMI is being accommodated in the shelter case Bethune house, they were the victims of extortion, being exploited by employers, agents, the government of Indonesia and Hong Kong. To escape from oppression, they unite themselves and are determined to build a pure organization of migrant

workers for migrant workers. In the sixth congress in 2012 was decided the name of the association of Indonesia labor replaced with Chinese migrant workers, Indonesia but the abbreviation ATKI-HK is still maintained. This change is based on the international convention on migrant workers ' use of the term as a form of recognition as workers and human dignity. While the term TKI more cheap power is defined as identical and commodity goods (merchandise) without rights.

ATKI-development of HK fully assisted by the institutions of the ministry of labor migrants, namely Asia Pacific Mission for Migrants (APMFM) and the Mission for Migrant Workers.

The purpose of ATKI-HK: fight for and protect the rights and welfare of BMI in Hong Kong and BMI and BMI of the world generally; build awareness of BMI and engage them actively participate in the struggle; unify and coordinate Hong Kong's BMI and other destination countries; and foster cooperation with other organizations of various countries.

The program struggle ATKI Hong Kong addressed to the government of Indonesia and Hong Kong. The struggle that's addressed to the government of Indonesia are: (1) delete of KTKLN, remove the mandatory insurance TKI; (2) remove the system online and se 2514, moved the human rights agency BMI; (3) enforce the contract independently for the BMI; (4) disconnect the single authority PJTKI and agency as accomplice in sending TKI; (5) the lower cost of placement and apply right now; (6) fix and improve the service of the consulate of Indonesia; (7) apply the convention the protection of migrant workers and their families consistently and straightforward; (8) ratification c189 PRT for protection inside and outside the country right now.

While the struggle that's addressed to the government of Hong Kong, namely: (1) the decline of social exclusion and discrimination against migrant workers; (2) are demanding salary increases for the PRT and entered into the foreign act minimum wage; (3) ratification c189 on protection of PRT; (4) demand removed discriminatory rules such as visa 2 weeks; and (5) stop overcharging.

a. Education and propaganda

ATKI-HK provide education and promote the policies and issues that affect BMI in Hong Kong in particular. More so, ATKI-HK developed the strategy of struggle and engage in campaigning the claims of the government of Indonesia to the BMI through the consulate of Indonesia in Hong Kong and the Hong Kong government.

b. The campaign and the alliance

ATKI-HK gives initiative the establishment of unity BMI defends overcharging high cost placements (pillar) which during the continuous fight for rejection of pieces of 7 months and agency fees by more than 10% of the salary of 1 month. Also initiative and involved in a joint alliance of Muslim migrants are Indonesia (GAMMI), alliance for BMI Muslims in Hong Kong.

As a manifestation of the unity of the BMI with migrant workers from other countries in Hong Kong, ATKI-HK be the Asian migrant coordinating body (AMCB), an alliance of migrant workers ' organizations from the Philippines, Thailand, Srilanka, Nepal and Indonesia which are active against the policies of the government of the Hong Kong anti migrant workers.

At the regional and international levels, ATKI-HK actively involved by becoming a member of the global alliance against trafficking in women (GAATW), Caram Asia-Malaysia, the international league of people's camps-lips (international league of people's struggle) and the international migrants alliance (IMA). In addition ATKI-HK also

collaborates with other institutions, providing education, seminars and forums about organizational, gender and others.

At the national level, ATKI-HK being a member of the people's struggle front (FPR), an alliance of multi sectors oppressed in Indonesia and overseas such as farmers, laborers, woman, poor town, college students, migrant workers and other sectors. FPR active fight for issues to the detriment of true sovereignty and demanding for the people. ATKI-HK then opened the construction of the Hong Kong branch of the FPR.

c. Counseling and case-handling assistance

As a basic requirement of BMI when abroad especially when being troubled with the employer, agent or other parties, ATKI-HK provides counselling open on Sunday at the gathering centers (twig) ATKI-HK or by phone. In terms of the handling of the case of BMI, ATKI-HK in collaboration with the mission for migrant workers and shelter Bethune house women as well as other shelter-shelter help the cases of BMI.

d. Membership

Recruitment of new members is absolute for an organization BMI if you want to continue ongoing, enlarged and more powerful. Once hired, how enable and educate members in order to be increasingly understand his rights and engage fully in all activities of the organization. It is this commitment ATKI-HK through division membership because ATKI-HK believes the bigger broom increasingly is not easily broken.

e. Progressive arts

In addition, the regional arts ATKI-HK in particular develop different types of progressive art ranging from the composition of the song, dance, drama, poetry, tambourine, and others to deliver the screams and demands the BMI in Hong Kong that has been challenged. Arts division is formed as a container for the talent and creativity of our members for expression through art.

f. Religious

To meet the spiritual needs of the BMI in Hong Kong, HK-ATKI also organizes activities such as religious celebrations are 'Eid al-Fitr celebrations and holidays of other religions. Through this program are expected to further tighten the straps of the fraternity between BMI abroad.

g. Finance

Well-to-do ATKI-HK money comes from member dues and the base for HK-ATKI principled on independence economically as the principal foundation of organization. On the other hand, ATKI-HK also receive help-financial assistance from various parties during this not contrary to the principle of struggle ATKI-HK and not detrimental to the BMI.

Starting from the concern and solidarity to help others and to reinforce the struggle of organizations and groups of BMI in Hong Kong, then formed a coalition of labor organizations in Indonesia Hong Kong (KOTKIHO) by 7 organizations on august 20, 2000. KOTKIHO is an organization BMI established on the basis of community, solidarity, and well. KOTKIHO has a primary function as an integrator of BMI and has basic tasks provide education advocacy

(paralegal) and education to BMI. Because that KOTKIHO has a training center and a shelter to serve and facilitate the BMI in Hong Kong.

KOTHIKO was founded by seven organizations BMI in August 2000, on the basis of community, solidarity, and feeling well. This organization is the seventh IMWU, Forum Communications Mu'minat caring people (FKMPU), Yogya international club (YIC), Amanah, Sanggar Budaya, Taklim and the union assembly for calling Victoria (PDV). In 2008, al Mubarakah and Mar'atush incoming Sholihah became a member of KOTKIHO, so the current members of the KOTKIHO to 9 organizations. of the 9 members of the organization, the overall number of TKI/TKW Hong Kong incorporated in the KOTKIHO container has reached more than 7500 people.

This coalition aims to provide a unifying organization BMI for containers and do social work with established training center (training center) for the TKI, provide advocacy for BMI are problematic, and built guesthouses for BMI are problematic. In addition to doing the work of such important tasks, social KOTHIKO is building cooperation and communication with the organization of migrant workers from other countries who are in Hong Kong. One manifestation of the role KOTHIKO build communication with other labor organizations is to become a member of the coalition for migrant rights (CMR) a coalition of organization migrant workers cross the nation in Hong Kong. This coalition consists of various kinds of migrant workers ' organizations, such as the Philippines, Nepal, Thailand, and Srilanka. In addition, KOTHIKO also takes an active role in the establishment of the Asian domestic workers alliance (ADWA) which is an alliance of migrant workers ' organizations as the stylist households across Asia.

At certain times usually the organization incorporated in KOTHIKO of carrying out joint activities and mutual support for each other, for example when need to go down the street to perform joint actions. In addition to the action down the road, there are various activities such training, courses, and seminars that can enhance the capabilities that can be followed by migrant workers free of charge or paid. freedom of association in Hong Kong the chance not only to network with the original organization of Indonesia, but with the organization of migrant workers from other countries, such as the Philippines, Srilanka, Thailand, and India.

As for the mission and objectives of the KOTKIHO are (1) as a unifying organization containers Indonesia migrant workers; (2) fighting for the rights of migrant workers of Indonesia; (3) to defend and fight for the dignity and the dignity of Indonesia migrant workers; (4) developing activities in the field of education and culture through forms of creativity in theater, music, dance to enhance friendship among migrant workers; (5) build unity between BMI and local labor through cooperation programs and joint activities; (6) establish cooperation and communication with the organization in Hong Kong who have the same interests and goals.

In addition to conducting public awareness about the rights and obligations of employment, KOTKIHO has two major programs, namely advocacy and education. The two major programs it is manifested in:

In conducting the defense of BMI that is experiencing the problem, KOTKIHO founded the guesthouses (shelter) for migrant workers who are completing the case or sue their employers through the law. Shelter is not only provides temporary accommodation for the case BMI but also provides the necessary basic needs for shelter residents to be able to survive in Hong Kong. Shelter KOTKIHO established for victims regardless of Sara since July 2001. Any occupants are taught the principle of "educating the victim with awareness". Thus, every occupant of the shelters have an understanding of how the advocates to fight for his rights. The residents of the shelter KOTKIHO also taught the principle of solidarity so that they help each other during the wait for the resolution of their cases. Since the establishment of the shelter (2001) until the end of 2010, a total of 3,700 people have enjoyed the services BMI shelter KOTKIHO (source: database KOTKIHO shelter).

Cases that are often faced by occupants of shelters KOTKIHO commonly associated with cases of underpayment, excessive agency fees, not given a break and holidays – that is a breach of employment contract directly by the employer. More than that, some of them also having problems related to physical violence, rape and sexual harassment. In the process of resolving the case through the legal lines, estimated they had to wait in the shelter between 3-6 months. There were among those forced to wait more than a year because of the complexity of the cases that were he to encounter.

Is a fact that in the process of settlement of the case, they do not have the income to finance their daily living needs during the wait for the proceedings to take place, because the Hong Kong labor law does not allow them to work during the trial proceedings have not been completed? In this case, the pound or shelter KOTKIHO provides the basic necessities needed by the residents of the shelter, to be able to survive in Hong Kong.

KOTKIHO certainly not only provide shelter, as long as they wait for his case is complete, a wide range of educational activities and educational awareness skills are also given to the residents of the shelter. These activities in the form of language courses united kingdom, stress management training, gender training, paralegal training and other skills courses. With respect to paralegal training, we also provide the technical ways of how to fill out visa extension at the immigration department and how to file a claim at the labor department. In the meantime, it is understandable that they also face some psychological problems during the wait in shelters, such as Miss KOTKIHO to the family, anxiety, loneliness, and others. To reduce problems such as this, we also invite residents of the shelter KOTKIHO a picnic and outing.

The purpose of the establishment of the shelter KOTKIHO is to provide an alternative for a layover home BMI who were waiting for the completion of the case law, as well as to provide a means of education advocacy fellow BMI – which is based on the principle of, by, and for BMI.

Program activity, language courses (Cantonese and United Kingdom) every Saturday with facilitator Chinese Rhinish church (CRC), Cooking course facilitator every Saturday with the Chinese Rhinish church (CRC), Yasinan every Thursday night, Tausiyah every Friday night with the facilitator dompet dhuafa, discussion and sharing of information with administrators KOTKIHO every fourth week and outing or picnic every fifth week.

Training Center, to help migrant workers increase the ability of individuals, KOTKIHO established a training center for BMI since 2003. Training center provides education and skills strengthening education/empowerment to TKI Hong Kong. Training center KOTKIHO established since 2003, and it opened on Sunday in the heart of causeway bay, Hong Kong.

Numberless skills education, since July 2003 to December 2010, the KOTKIHO training center has provided educational services to more than 4,200 skills TKI Hong Kong. The skill education in the form of English language training (basic and pre-intermediate level), computer (basic and advanced), course sewing, and language courses.

Strengthening education/empowerment of various training has also been conducted to empower BMI Hong Kong, maximizing their holiday (Saturday and Sunday) to develop capacities, their knowledge and skills. Education empowerment given by KOTKIHO such as gender training, paralegal training, training, training organization management bookkeeping, stress management training, training of journalism.

Advocacy and public campaign activities and public campaigns are also regularly organized by KOTKIHO to provide education awareness to BMI in Hong Kong. these activities are generally held in the field, where BMI Hong Kong often spend time field, such as the Victoria park, causeway bay; Stanley market; Yuenlong park, and so on.

Hotline counseling, telephone counselling services are also provided by KOTKIHO to the BMI in Hong Kong who are having problems but cannot get out of the home of his employer to complain of the problem being he faced. In providing this counseling service, KOTKIHO works

closely with domestic workers migrants' programmer (DMW), a social organization in Hong Kong.

Cultural Performance and Exhibition, working with the various parties, the government and non-government institutions, KOTKIHO participate to develop a culture of Indonesia in Hong Kong. Exhibitions and performances of Indonesia culture through dance performances areas of origin of BMI in Indonesia regularly republished to the people of Hong Kong so that they are better acquainted with Indonesia. Indonesia cultural art performances has also become a means of treating long homeland for BMI Hong Kong training center KOTKIHO (TCK) oriented to develop civic-based migrant workers to Indonesia (BMI) in Hong Kong. Especially in the field of education of the United Kingdom speaking skills as well as the use of computers. Training center was formed by Indonesia's labor coalition Hong Kong (KOTKIHO) and started active since July 2003 in causeway bay Hong Kong.

On 7 February 2012, the TCK is registered with its new name, namely TCK learning center for migrant workers. In this case to explain the intent or purpose of expanding coverage, not just to the BMI, but also for the entire existing migrant labor in Hong Kong. These organizations prefer the methods of working and learning together. A process of teaching and learning that is supported by its members as well as by volunteers-volunteer migrant labor itself. Do not cover the possibility of the parties to the non-migrant workers who voluntarily contribute their thoughts, science for development of TCK learning center for migrant workers. In terms of the management of the organization is still run entirely by migrant workers themselves. TCK learning center for migrant workers provide guidance to fellows BMI in particular, migrant workers in general to learn together, develop, advance, empower yourself, improve the quality of self-esteem through education.

Training Centre Salon KOTKIHO, the establishment of the training center KOTKIHO salon starts from the idea or the idea of Nurul Qoiriah, KOTKIHO advisor, at the beginning of July 2011. The idea was simple enough, namely about the need to provide the educational skills of beauty treatments and hair health for migrant workers of Indonesia (BMI) in Hong Kong, the majority of women. While the idea was leveled, fellows and members of the executive board KOTKIHO. Then begins the various preparations to establish \ "training center salon \", from the start to search the place, the procurement of tools and equipment, to form the team manager. Initially, the training center salon KOTKIHO has only 4 participants or students. However, with passion and perseverance the team manager as well as support the activist KOTKIHO, the number of students continued to grow. In December 2011, the number of students to 19 people. Of the 19 students, 14 of whom were taking courses hairdresser, while 4 other students learn about the spa. The purpose of training center KOTKIHO salon is a beauty treatment skills education and health of hair, skin, and facial to the BMI in Hong Kong. Expected, the skills and knowledge that can be the lack of BMI to run self-employment.

Courses at the training center KOTKIHO salon is held every Sunday. Coursework programs include:

1. Classes make up for three months for each host. the activities of the course starts from 13: 00 to 17: 00;
2. The class consists of two level hairdresser, i.e. the first level (3 months) and second level (3 months).
3. Class spa for 2 months. The spa course activities starting from 14: 00 to 17: 00. All classes are given additional material on entrepreneurship.

In commemoration of human rights day and international day of migrant's day, December 11, 2011, the labor organization coalition of Indonesia in Hong Kong (KOTKIHO) demanding to the government of Indonesia: unplug se. 2524, replace with a pro se. BMI; immediately place the

making of KTKLN in Hong Kong; prune agency fees to \$ 9, 000.00; stop underpayment; immediately implement independent contracts; revoke the operating permit agents always unlawful; consulate general of the service better; stop execution for BMI; stop discrimination; soon the revision of act no. 39 of 2004; immediate ratification of the un convention on the protection of yr. 1990 migrant workers and members of their families.

Pillars and union BMI GAMMI, defends overcharging (pillars) and the combined Muslim migrants are Indonesia (GAMMI) is a collection of migrant workers ' organizations working in Indonesia Hong Kong. Pillars and GAMMI fought for the rights of migrant workers, both civil rights as a citizen of Indonesia as well as socio-economic rights, such as the right to decent work and wages. in addition, pillar and also championed removal GAMMI the policies of the government of Indonesia that is not based on recognition of the rights of migrant workers, as contained in the various international provisions, one of which was the 1990 un convention on the protection of rights for migrant workers and their families.

Members of the pillar and GAMMI is akhwat alexa gaul, dancér, al fattah, al hikmah, muslim society international istiqomah al, al ikhlas, al jamiatus, an-nisaa teaser international muslim society, arrohmah, association of Indonesia labor (ATKI-HK), birul walidain, borneo dancers, dance in freedom (dif. ..), the forum of muslim al fadhilah (FMA-HK), muslim woman indramayu cirebon (IWAMIC), female bonding hindu dharma indonesia (IWHDI), java dance kren, dancers, nur muslimah shatín, peace, simple groups, bars wanodya indonesian dancer, club, zaqia.

Pillars and GAMMI based with various organizations defenders of migrant workers, both in the homeland and in the regional and international levels. some networks GAMMI pillar and at the national level is; combined women migrant workers ' advocates (GPPBM), the women's solidarity for human rights (SP), a bevy of migrant care, the institute for national and democratic studies (1972), farmers union qariyah toyyibah (SPPQT), the joint secretariat indonesia migrant workers, front of national students (FMN), the alliance movement reformat agrarian (AGRA), the combined independent trade unions (GSBI), states the women Indonesia (chrysanthemum), and several other organizations.

At the regional and international level, pillars GAMMI joined the international migrant alliance (IMA), a global alliance against trafficked women (GAATW), Asia pacific mission on migrant (APMM).

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1. Undang-Undang Nomor 39 Tahun 2004 tentang Penempatan dan Perlindungan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia

Remaking Bandung: Renewing Solidarity, Strengthening Educational Cooperation, and Remaking Destinies for the Global South

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The spirit of Bandung originated from the spirit of nationalism. Born from Asian African Conference 60 years ago, it has encouraged many Asian-African nations to liberate themselves from occupation by other countries to become sovereign and equal to other nations in the entire world. The relevance of this spirit in the context of dynamic and current life should be understood in the context of global life. Globalization is a new era and life system of the world. It is not merely an economic phenomenon, but a structured system and it has its own logic. "Globalization is not just a trend, not just a phenomenon, not just an economic fad. It is the international system that has replaced the cold-war system. And like the cold war system, globalization has its own rules, logic, structures, and characteristics... The advent of globalization is changing the way in which people relate with each other, the way in which people relate to their work lives, and the way in which culture is defined". (Friedman: 1999 in Leong: 2001).¹

The globalization has taken an up-down path since superpower countries have dominated and exploited developing countries in one hand, and a bottom-up direction since there has been international interdependence in the other hand. It has shrunk the world and made possible the ease of communication and access to information as well as global mobility of the world population. However, it has politically, economically, and culturally created another form of colonialism and exploitation that has brought human being into a uniform life. Consequently, there has been a resistant attitude toward the global life as it cannot accommodate individual uniqueness as a group or nation to the global uniformity. Such a situation can lead to a source of conflict that triggers silent and unarmed confrontations or warfare, and even can crush national identity and nationalism.

Based on the above described phenomenon, now the spirit of Bandung should be understood as the strengthening of nationalism on the basis of national identity in the global cohesiveness. The globalization does not crush the national identity and nationalism to the uniformity, but it fosters communication, collaboration, and mutual understanding. The spirit of Bandung born in the exploitative situation of the past is currently relevant to and important to conserve in order to prevent an internationally cultural exploitation. Nationalism is blood of national life that makes a nation survive in the world arena.

The strengthening of nationalism in the global context is analogical to an organism that joins a complex adaptive system. This organism is now in a new life system that has to be adjusted for its existence and sustainability as a whole with its diversity. The organism should learn and renew knowledge and information. It means that nationalism as a cultural value and spirit is not an exclusive orientation, but it is an inclusive orientation that puts forward diversity and uniqueness in the framework of universal ethics.

¹ Leong, ARAVEG Conference, 2001. Singapore

The above description represents a mind-set that has to develop collectively and systematically and should become a process of sustainable human development across generations and nations. Political and socio-economic issues facing human population in the entire world are not sufficiently approached in political and socio-economic ways, but they should be approached in a human way and by humanity. Nationalism as a spirit is a process of internalizing values in human being that develop into national collective power. In this perspective, I need to say that the strengthening of nationalism in global collaboration and responsibility is a process of nation education in a broader sense.

Nation education of post-globalization era departs from and takes rooted in the cultural values of the nation, builds adaptive and innovative people, leading nation, as well as cultural awareness and responsibility. In this case, Nation Education is intended for Developing Innovation Nation and Education Nation. An adaptive and innovative nation possesses a high order thinking ability and creativity to uphold and transform the cultural values and national legacy, as a form of nationalism, into a diverse and hi-tech life to anticipate and meet global needs for the sake of national economic growth, improved quality of life, and environmental sustainability. Innovation Nation is closely related to Education Nation, namely, a nation with mind-set and awareness of life as a way of thinking and behaving for across generation life legacy for the sake of the nation survival.

In relation to the strengthening of nationalism, Innovation Nation and Education Nation constitute a state of being of the nation in managing themselves and controlling the process of fostering and strengthening their national identity across generations in a transnational spirit for collaboration, development, interdependence, and mutual respect. This is a living value of 60 years old spirit of Bandung. In this spirit, the national comparativeness and competitiveness is built on a collaborative atmosphere as the competitiveness is not the spirit to defeat other people, groups or nations, but to achieve a common standard of life for public welfare.

In the case of the Republic of Indonesia, the founding fathers have philosophically and constitutionally laid basic values of the nationalism in a transnational spirit as declared in the fourth paragraph of the 1945 Constitution Preamble,² that the State of the Republic of Indonesia was established to: (1) organize the Government of Indonesia who protect all people and state, (2) develop public welfare, (3) foster intellectual life of the people, and (4) participate in maintaining the world order on the basis of independence, immortal peace and social justice. There are two orientations related to the national goals. The first is internal and the second is external. The first two goals are internally oriented, namely, to maintaining the existence of sovereign and prosperous state and nation, and the last two goals are externally oriented to build the national competitiveness, participation, and responsibility in peaceful co-existence with other nations.

In line with ideas I proposed previously, those basic values should be transferred across generations into a life of complex adaptive system. There can be various strategies to foster the nationalism in the spirit of global collaboration and responsibility based on the spirit of Bandung. The strategies should be multi-level, multi-channel, and multi-setting. Educational collaboration strategy is an important alternative because: (1) education is an effort to develop and empower human capital in long term period and across generations, (2) it is a fundamental strategy to bring the nation into moral and spiritual values, train the citizens to assume responsibility for the benefits of community, world, and environment, (3) it bears a crucial mission to inherit the values of justice, democracy, harmony, and environmental health. Those reasons represent the essence of scientific and technological success for the benefit and development of the national competitiveness in the

² The 1945 Constitution of The Republic of Indonesia (IUUD 1945)

spirit of nationalism and global collaboration.

In this context, strengthening the nationalism will face challenges that can fade it, as the 21st century educational process has undergone a shift of orientation and role in these particular ways.

3

Preparing Educated World Citizens

Preparing the human for good citizenship is the main goal of education in all countries and this goal will always be included in the instructional in each country. In the global era, preparing the human to be global citizens is an ideal goal for the educational institutions, namely, in the context of global community. The philosophical bases for the development of education in the global community should be made to develop the citizens in each country to become citizens of the global community without losing their nationalism and cultural identity. The citizens of the global community are not the ones who have lost their cultures but they are citizens who understand and respect one to another in a diversity of cultures.

The philosophy of education in a global era should be put as a goal to educate the human in a multicultural setting, develop the literate citizens and tenacity of life as global citizens who create new pedagogical approaches, especially in developing the ways of thinking, actions and behaviours which are related with matters of gender, prevention and solution of conflicts happening in any parts of the world, and prevention of any radicalism. Moral and religious education have to be placed in an importance position that is directed to develop mutual understanding and awareness among rights and obligations, comprehensive human life, full participation of citizens in a country and in the world, and an independency with their awareness of being dependent from one to another. The citizenship education should move to an internationalism of education to develop an educated democratic global community.

Preparing the Citizens for the Global World of Work

The human life of the 21st century generation is characterized by the availability of technology that has changed the life style and ways of thinking of human. The information technology is used by human in various fields, both in communication and in business. In this condition, various problems may exist and they potentially disturb the welfare of the community, e.g. insufficient provision of foods and clean water, low awareness of the global climate change, and the decrease of some environmental supports. In response to this condition, the crucial things to do are to respond to the complexity of problems, make effective communication, manage the dynamics of information, work and solve problems through some collaborative nuances, make the effective use of technology, and initiate new knowledge continuously. These are the skills that are required in the 21st century. The challenges and opportunities of the education, particularly in the higher education level, have open broader access to the community to improve the skills or competences based on the demand of a global world of work.

Education plays the key roles in developing and increasing the growth of economy in the nation. Education has to prepare the diversification of program which is demand-oriented but it is supposed to have high flexibility since the dynamic of change which is continuously happening requires the human to be highly adaptive to the world.

The implications of the expanding accessibility are followed by the need to improve the quality of education by all countries in response to a greater demand for the mobility of people. Lifelong

³ Summarized from Sunaryo Kartadinata. (2013). *“Education for Better Asia”*. One Asia Convention, Bandung. 2013

learning will become a basic human need in all regions, in the coming decades. Therefore, higher education has to provide programs which are flexible in catering the people's needs. Education programs, especially at universities, then should fulfil the standards outlined in other countries. People mobility is followed by the mobility of equality of education programs that should enable people to learn anywhere in the same level based on the previous learning experiences. This perspective requires a new educational orientation that has to be integrated into work/career system and real life, and make education a process of human enculturalization.

Sustaining and Developing Local Strengths

The 21st century is a period of a post global industry characterized by a high information technology. The complexity of humanity problems, environmental deficits, and problems in relation to the interaction between human and its environment has shifted the world of post global industry to the orientation of the sustainable development emphasizing on the principles of maintaining the resources in terms of environment, culture, and heritage containing local uniqueness. The principle of global-local has become the principle in the 21st century world development of the post global industry. This trend has placed a technology as an integrated part of the human life. However, the technology has to consider the aspects of values and ethics in its utility so that the technology will give benefits for the human life as the consequence of the successfully scientific and technological advances.

The principle of global-local has given an implication for the development of a futuristic global profile of individuals who master a global competences growing and implemented in the local actions. In the context of developing the self-identity of nations, the 'local' uniqueness will develop and strengthen the existence of nations and nationalism, therefore, the education as the main vehicle will develop the future human with their national cultural values.

The notion of Innovation Nation will be relevantly meaningful in this context. As a nation with high creativity and adaptability, we should uphold and develop local values and strengths (as a part of strengthening the nationalism) in order to achieve competitiveness and international recognition. Competitiveness built on local uniqueness and strengths will not lead to the spirit of defeating each other. In contrast, it will result in the spirit of collaboration as individual uniqueness will complete and support each other in creating a unified strength.

Peace Culture Building ⁴

Why peace culture? Peace culture is a *mind-set* that constitutes motivation, direction, and real action as the realization of a citizen's awareness and responsibility for harmonious and peaceful life. Peace is a cultural value that will become knowledge and technology to be learned, mastered, and beneficial to mankind. The peace culture should be a *mind-set* and *heritage* that has to be fostered and passed into the next generation. Its development and inheritance is processed through education within various services.

Peace culture is a condition formed in a developmental process related to a variety of human life aspects such as internal strength, personal potential, culture, social and government institutions, science and technology, as well as religious and spiritual forces.

It is believed that the culture of any nation possesses peace values that can be extended and translated into contextual values of human life within the global community. A study by

⁴ Summarized from Sunaryo Kartadinata. (2014). "Education for One Peaceful Asia". One Asia Convention. Jeju South Korea.

Kartadinata and associates (2014)⁵ supports the idea that peace values are embedded in human life and culture. Peace education, therefore, should build on the national culture. It means that building peace mind-set and culture constitutes a process of strengthening the identity and nationalism of a nation. Education is the most strategic and sustainable way of inheriting and developing the peace culture. Scientific and technological development through education should be accompanied by developing the peace culture to make the acquisition of science and technology useful to human beings.

Building the world order and peace is a collective responsibility of world community regardless of their nationality and origin. Peace is not in the sense of conflict resolution, the absence of violence and war, and avoidance of radicalism. It is understood as an optimum condition of human mind-set and life maintained across generations and regions, resulting in peaceful and ordered situations because individuals are able to control their mind and behaviours in dealing with potential conflicts and possible disputes. The last statement is a positive position regarding the nature of order and peace that can be developed in a pedagogical approach. Peace culture as a mind-set is a process of human development that requires early intervention to make peace values internalization a part of individuals' life values.

For Indonesia, fostering national peace in cultural and ethnic diversity certainly requires systematic and continuous efforts. Developing a peace culture and peace education for all has become a need and a must in order to sustainably bring about and keep national unity. In the context especially of Asian Community, as a part of the Global South, peace culture should not only be developed due to Asian position as an open region, especially Asian countries that shall accommodate diversity, high population mobility, and trans-cultural life, but a region that will be the centre of the 21st Century's civilization development. As a civilization centre, the Asian Community should be modern, democratic, inclusive, and religious, while national and cultural identities remain intact.

Proposed Initiatives of Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia

Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia is uniquely responsible for directing Indonesians to moral and spiritual values, nurturing and guiding them into being responsible citizens for the sake of their community, world, and environment, and inheriting justice values, harmony, environmental health as components that complete successful application of science and technology to enhance the nation's competitiveness.

In relation to the strengthening of solidarity and remaking destinies for global south through global educational cooperation and responsibility, Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia proposes the following thoughts.

1. Building Youth Community awareness of, in respective and between countries, personal existence as a part of being in the global community.
2. Redesigning Teacher Education is executed in the form of (a) nationalism building and global awareness, (b) lectures and various academic activities closely related to multicultural awareness, (c) student exchanges among countries, (d) student deployment for teaching practicum in other countries.
3. Developing Education for Sustainable Development as a part of teacher education and school education.

⁵ Sunaryo Kartadinata, et.al. (2014). Exploring the Values of Peace in Indonesian-Finnish School Culture: A Study of the Development of Peace. International Collaborative Research. Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia- University of Tampere

4. Developing Anti-corruption Education to develop anti-corruption behaviours.
5. Strengthening and developing local values and potency in a creative way into the real product with economic value and cultural conservation that contributes to the peace culture.

To enact the above-mentioned ideas, a joint initiative should be taken. I propose this respected forum to create an international network in the form of inter-university cooperation in order to establish a Joint Working Group (JWG) in remaking Bandung spirit to strengthen global collaboration and responsibilities.

Character Education in Multicultural Society: an Indonesia Case

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Abstract

In practice, character education is emphasized on the basic education primary and secondary school with the assumption that the formation of character or behavior will be effective in childhood. On the basis of the idea of government stressed that the priority of character education in basic education. Character education in Indonesia implemented integrated with other subjects. Thus, character education is not only the responsibility of a particular teacher, but it is a shared responsibility of all components of education. Character education in Indonesia with diverse cultural backgrounds and religions to be very important and urgent. In this regard education not only serves to instill the values based on the particular culture but also the values of universal humanity. Diverse cultural wealth is seen as well as a vehicle for learning to appreciate the differences in values, views, and behavior in the association. Thus, it will shape the character of the students who are sensitive to the difference, caring, empathy, and participation in the common interest. These values become the basis for mutual understanding in living together in diversity. Thus, students are equipped with the values of living together in peace is not only a form of co-existence but rather the pro-existence. Education should be able to stop improving values of silence, ignorance, inequality, prejudise, Injustice, and indifference is shifted to the values of inclusive, care and share, equality, justice, and sympaty.

Keywords: multicultural, character education, participation, and pro-existence

I. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a country that is not only multi-identity and multi-ethnic but also arena multimental influence (culture). Indonesia consists of a number of nations with the character and size of different meanings through a grand narrative that is historical, ideological, religious, and cultural constructed into an economic and political structures together (Maunati, 2004: 2; Suparlan, 2004: 17; Triyono 2004: 4). Indonesia is a plural Societies (Suparlan,1989:5;Dhakidae,2002:xix).

Thus, Indonesia needs a politics that saw the affirmation of cultural, ethnic, religious, or language is not a past or innate irrationality, irrationality something to be suppressed or overcome. A politics that treats various collective expression or identity in equality. In addition, the political system has the ability to face the collective expressions such as inequality, abuse of power, and other social problems (Geertz in Hardiman, 2002, viii-ix; Kleden-Probonegoro2002:5; Colombijn,2003:353).

In view of Kymlicka (2002) proposed what it called a political Geertz multicultural. Multicultural politics is an attempt to accommodate the various differences of identity, ethnicity, religion, language, gender, or race. Minority groups should not be worried about losing their cultural identity or excluded from the association community larger nation. The members of ethnic and national groups protected from discrimination and prejudice, they are free to maintain any kind of heritage or cultural identity they want, as well as respect and tolerance with the rights of others (Glaser in Kymlicka, 2003: 5). In politics there is space for dialogue multicultural ethnicity, religion, gender, language, culture, and values. Individuals and society accustomed to present its values, evaluate their tradition of rational public discourse, as well as re-interpreted according to the context of the times identity.

II. ANALYSIS

In a society that is multi-diversity, there are the problems in establishing the character of the nation. In this regard, Indonesia is faced with the dilemma of complex and complicated. Character or cultural and religious values Which explored to be presented in the formation of national character? Whether any ethnic, cultural, religious and given space to explore and present the values in the formation of character? Indonesia has a wealth of cultural values and local genius sourced from existing cultures and religions, but also, the influence of the character or the value derived from the global, technology and new knowledge. Meanwhile, the dominance of the influence of global value, technology, and knowledge of the values of religion and culture of origin has raised resistance to a certain extent are intolerant. This can be observed with the emergence of a radical character based on culture or religion.

Another thing that must be understood that the culture, values, and different religions illustrates the difference in meaning and vision of life. On the one hand, every reality limits the ability of the human skeleton, emotions, and understanding that are part of the totality of human existence. Therefore, it is necessary to help understand other cultures better their own culture, broaden intellectual horizons and moral horizon, the range of imagination, avoid the narcissism that leads to the attitude that the culture itself is most excellent. On the other hand, every culture has a plurality of internal and reflective about the continuity of the dialogue between the different traditions and ideas. However, it does not mean that the culture without the integrity and identity, but that identity or cultural value of the plural, liquid, and open. Cultures grown on the interaction between each other and define their identity in terms of meaning in addition to whether they accept

his (Parekh, 2005). Every culture has a characteristic which is expressed in various forms, such as language, thought, attitude, and of Ethics.

In a society that is evolving reality there was no pure culture (pure), stiril of color or taste different cultures. However, each group has a primordial cultural characteristics, values, aesthetic, and said different styles from other cultures. Character is one of the fundamental problems in the education and development of the nation-state. For residents of the nation's character can be synonymous with the identity of the existence of the nation itself (Barth, 1988: 19; Manuati, 2004; Susanto, 2003: 8). Through the character/identity, citizens of the nation to present and negotiate "himself" with the other residents. Character refers to the sense that one is aware of who they are (themselves), what is most important to them, what they have and do, something that used to be important and problematic (Kenny, 2004: 3).

Therefore, the social actors in the face of other cultures are not only being the dominant adopteren but looks are adapteren. This means that other cultures are not taken for granted but adapted to the culture of the recipient. Thus, they prefer cultural activities such as how to think and how to act rather than just accept or take over cultural products (Kleden: 1987: 163).

Exposure to even the siege of the value of global culture and technology in the arena of struggle values, ideology, and the market demands a critical attitude, selective, dynamic and transformative. Local genius, cultural values, and religion that is under pressure (coercive) by the foreign culture. Therefore, there is no choice but to strengthen critical attitude and creative daring penetrated arena *terra incognita* in order to not lose the character of the nation. Without strengthening critical, transformative, creativity and courage it will be under the domination of the nation inferior in other cultures. This means not only rejecting the assumption homogenize colonization by culture but also other cultures by strengthening local genius and religion.

In this perspective, character education must be understood as cultivation of the cultural values of the nation, local genius, and religious. It is intended that the younger generations do not lose the cultural and religious identity in a competitive process a variety of existing values. Thus, culture and religion are not experienced as heritage but accepted as the responsibility of a dynamic, transformative, and creative.

Indonesia is a necessity arena diverse cultural struggle and inevitable. In that context, the education should be able to do a cultural transformation that includes thoughts, attitudes, and behaviors. The transformative process must be part of the cognitive system (people) as well as cultural systems (collectively). Thus, cultural transformation strategy to reach a larger area and complex. Alisjahbana said there are three main aspects of culture that are involved in the transformation process, namely: the expressive aspects of culture and religion; progressive aspect in science, technology, and economics; political and organizational aspects in the form of power and solidarity. Without propped up these three aspects simultaneously the cultural transformation will be difficult to walk, even mangalami stagnation that would result in the death of culture. If there is congestion cultural transformation, the people of culture will only accept another culture for granted uncritically especially creative.

Culture was melted, and pliable, are within the construction, deconstruction and reconstruction. Culture always promoted, to be discusted, and continuously negotiated both internally (against the culture itself) and externally (against citizens of other cultures). In the transformation process, culture is not only presented through the statements themselves (self expression), through complex symbols and attributes, but also layers of different depths (multilayers of cultural). In a multiethnic society, culture not only serves as an identity/marker and discrimination (signifer) but also as a provider (being maker). In such complexity, the cultural

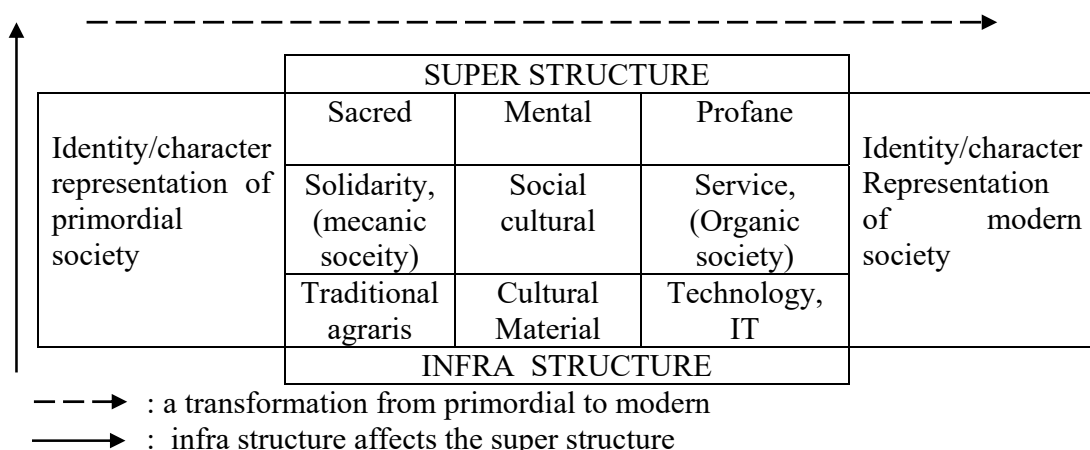
transformation always occurs in a spectrum moving from assimilation and acculturation to the rivalry, competition and even conflict. Similarly, in character education, educators and students are involved in a relationship full of paradoxes, of which relates to the direction of the complementary (complementary) to the direction of the relationship mutually exclusive. Therefore, the demands of excavation and reinforcement of the local wisdom (local genius) and the religion becomes a necessity.

Character is formed by various elements (culture, religion, technology, and global) that produce transformative new formation. In this case, there are a number of problems that should be observed, namely: 1) whether the values are derived from the cultural, religious, and certain local genius or as new values that originate from outside?; 2) How is the issue of continuity and discontinuity between the culture of origin and the new culture that formed from the results of the struggle cultures and religions are complex and plural?; 3) in a multicultural society, how the values were formed in the complex arena of struggle full of paradoxes and mutual otherness?; and 4) how the form, function, and substance of the origin of cultural value is transferred to the form, function, and substance of the new cultural values?

Cultural polemics (1933) determines the cultural strategy chosen by Indonesian intellectuals, where building a culture of Indonesia based on the spirit of the values of Western culture and do not give space to the primordial culture. In such conditions, then there is a discontinuity between the old culture with new culture is formed. (Teachers and students) as actors face cultural problems of ambivalence "split taste and giddiness" (Umar Kayam). Ambivalence "split and giddy sense of" this, not only breeds confusion in determining the cultural foothold, but also occurs towards the synthesis of cultural disorientation in a new format.

In such conditions, how to build relationships between primordial cultural, national, and global. Dewantara (1967) suggests three principles namely concentricity, continuity, and convergence. Concentricity emphasize the center of which is driven culture. Emphasizes the continuity of cultural sustainability. Convergence refers to the motion of culture, where national culture together foreign cultures leading to a culture of the world. Nevertheless, the view Dewantara contains some problematic that is not easy to solve.

In addition, the cultural change from the traditional (primordial) to modern also affected by changes in mode of production of the "global cultural system" which is described as follows.



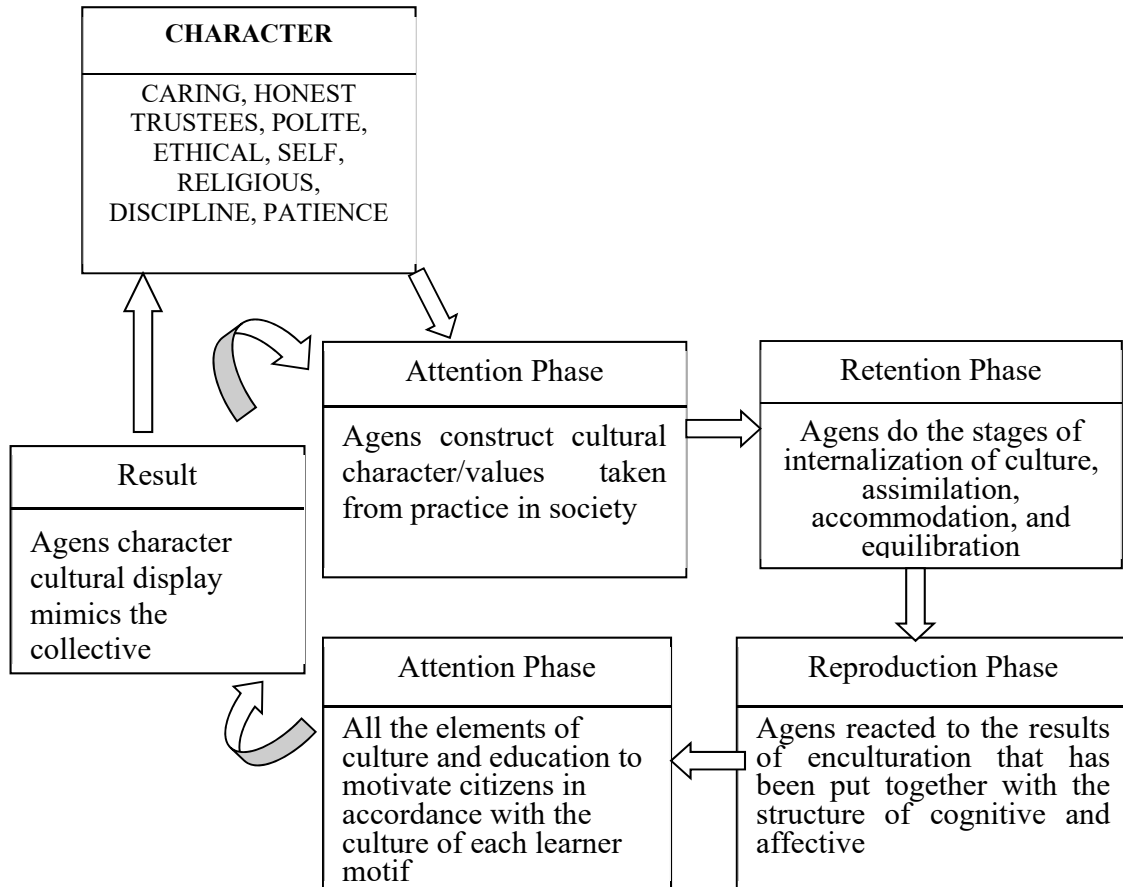
The cultural change not only at the level of material culture but also touched the level of socio-cultural and mental. Changes in the material foundation of culture continue due to economic growth and increased income, socio-cultural changes are also changing due to population growth, and changes in mental-cognitive supported by the growth of information and increased communication can not always be controlled (Kleden, 1987: 242). Disjuncture cultural value (discontinuity) in the transformation of primordial culture to modern culture leads to entropy and paraphernalia for primordial cultural values.

The source and character of very diverse components and layers. However, social actors in constructing the characters is done through internalization, externalization and objective. The third domain is an inseparable unity in thinking, feeling, and acting. Therefore, the characters reflects the way of thinking, feeling, and acting in accordance with the citizens of certain cultural values are understood and adhered to. In cultural values, local genius, and religion contained substance (inner world) citizens of primordial/nation symbolized, organized, and transformed. In such a context, means that the value (character) elaborated primordial philosophical and religious to the most basic attitudes. Thus, the value (character) on one side occupies the most private space to be constructed, expressed, and negotiated in the back stage. On the other hand, the value (character) is something that is presented as a form of externalization in the front stage.

Character is the result of systematic internalization (either directly or indirectly) derived from a variety of experiences that seem relevant for the individual. Characters do not just refer to the experience that has been obtained verbally, but we are not shock forming experience. In this case, the character resembles the language system that records the experience essentially in its infancy, but in tune with the progress of time, become developing detailed conceptual system and determine all the experiences, ways of thinking, feeling, and acting. How characters can indicate a variety of information? Various factors in social phenomena, cultural, religious and political. At the individual level, "Where are you developing? How do you think, behave and act? Everything represents your character. "In this case, the character may indicate not only primordial, but also social class, religion, and education. In other words, the character is how we communicate and interact with others through attitudes and actions.

Character, whether individual, social, or institutional is something in which we constantly build and construct all of our lives through interaction with others. Identity (character) is also multi-faceted: the actors change/move in different roles, different time, different circumstances, and each context requires a different turn, sometimes conflict and character is always included in the turnover. Furthermore, the pattern of enculturation/internalization by using local genius with regard to shape the culture of education in the "school" can be outlined as follows.

Social learning in the formation of character.



It is important in the educational culture is formed by the students (the cultural) (1) can express their ideas based on exposure or pattern is used, (2) to reflect and beyond that to the culture, justice, democracy, plurality, honest, respectful, ethical, patient, and tolerance with regard to culture and their own community as well as others, (3) critical of injustice, inequality, bias (prejudice), and intolerance, (4) being open and receptive to diversity in their lives, and (5) are willing to negotiate deals with the difference himself with others.

Thus, character education in a multicultural society not only make space for others to do improvisation on belief value, but more than that to be caring, sympathy, and empathy for others. Character education should be able to establish the attitude and concern that the problems of others is our common problem. Character education co-existence should be encouraged in the form of pro-existence. Character education is intended to produce human cultured, civilized, ethical, and aesthetic. Character education should be able to stimulate a person's critical thinking and able to choose the right reasons in every activity. Character education is closely related to thinking, acting, and a choice of how to act (Lickona, 1992). Starting from various case related to the appreciation of the values in complexity to the system, action, and characters that can be described as follows.

Appreciation of the value associated with the system, action, and character.

VALUES	SYSTEM	ACTION	CHARACTER
+	+	+	+
+	-	+	+
-	+	-	-
-	-	-	-

Strength in appreciation of value backed by a strong system will generate action and strong character. Similarly, despite the strong appreciation of the value of systems that support the weak, the action and the characters remain strong. Conversely, appreciation of the value of the weak despite strong system applicable to the action and the characters whose appear to be weak. Moreover, when the appreciation of the value and the system is weak, the action and the characters whose appear to be very weak.

III. CONCLUSION

Indonesia does not have the character format and learning model nationally. Even the value of the character that comes from culture, local genius, and very diverse religions and the complexity that is not always in the same direction. Conversely, if the values of the characters were excavated from other cultures, would be that Indonesia experienced a cultural discontinuity. If this is implemented, then Indonesia will experience a very costly loss, namely the loss of local genius and cultural values of the nation. Therefore, the development of Indonesian culture as multi diversity countries require strategies that are relevant and strong political will. Without a strategy and political will, then the implementation of character education will face complex problems and even failure.

Character education is an effort that should involve all parties, both the family, school and school environment, society, and government. Thus, it takes the educational networks such in between component (Sumantri, 2011: 5-6). Without the braids and cooperation so difficult to create educational character, because (1) education is not just the responsibility of one party / partial (school or family only), but the responsibility of all components, (2) individual or collective does not have a display and a sample clear about the desired character, so that the climate and atmosphere of social / education does not support, (3) for the children, character education is inductive (display or example in schools, families, and communities) will be more significant than that is verbal classical, (4) individual or collective will experience an ambivalent view of the character received, because there is the possibility of what is heard is not the same as those seen, (5) social actors would be free to accept certain values that do not correspond to the value cultural and national identity.

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Forming Students' Social Character through Maximizing Teachers' Competence, Parental Care, School Climate and Learning Effectiveness in Facing Global Challenges

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Abstract

The Problems of nation character have been the main issues of all dimensions of life, especially for the Indonesian. These issues also to be a point of concern for the development of educational curriculum at the moment, because the quality of the nation will be determined by the quality of the character of the nation itself. The increasingly widespread irregularities that occur among the young generation, such as fights, thefts, violence, immoral behavior, motorbiker gank, sexual abuses, pornography, and radical group will affect young generation at Junior High School. This indicates how important to develop students' character since early ages. The development or internalization of social character is means on how this nation be able to create peace life in realizing the character of the nation, in line with the vision of social studies and citizenship education that is "*to be a good citizens*". Theoretically this paper describes how the social character be formed by the various components, such as teachers, school climate, the role of parents and learning in the school who have often neglected an important component in transmitting the values of the characters on the young generation to have been the social intelligence highly and embedded the values of solidarity, loyalty, love and sacrifice to create peace in the world.

Keywords: *social character, solidarity, loyalty, love, sacrifice, good citizens.*

I. INTRODUCTION

The Life in the 21st Century and information technology civilization increasingly driven process of transformation and social mobility of a nation becomes higher and cause us to become more sensitive and criticize in the face of any change, transformation and mobility today. Information literacy be a tough task of education to give for the next generation and intelligent individuals in finding and solving solution of any changes and problems that occur and faces, so that it becomes generations and individuals who are able to compete with anyone with the advanced quality of life. The rigors of competition in the change and transformation is what needs to be considered by all components of the nation, especially for the government to bring forth education supported by good patterns and systems in support of change society for the better anyway.

The empirical reality in the scope of learning for example the study of students still have not touched the expected level of intelligence, especially relating to the character and moral development of students, the education we capable of touching the realm of cognitive, affective and psychomotor while often not in line with the expected cognitive intelligence, even in the IPS still learning the cognitive-intellectual domination, according to (2010: 2-3) that: "...social studies learning must develop three competences, that is persona, social, and intellectual competences."

It is clear that education should be able to change and shape the competence and character of citizens get better. As described in Document BKPP East Priangan (2012), that in the province of West Java learning conditions that lead to the development of characters still tend to be low.

The current problem of character education is the main issues, because this nation is considered to have lost the character. So that through the implementation of the curriculum in 2013 is the Ministry of Education and Culture reaffirmed the importance of character education, because the character of a nation will determine the quality of the nation's morale. The low character of the nation will show the nation's moral weakness. Referring to the distinctive character of the nation that national identity is actually the key to the greatness of the nation of Indonesia.

There are still many events that injure human values such as fights among teenagers, theft, traffic violations, and immoral, motorcycle gang, the destruction of the goods of others, sexual abuse, pornography. Confirms that the education we have not really touched on efforts to humanize, let alone the events that occurred among junior-high school students make a sad generation equal nation in the future. This shows how important character is formed since early learners to be able to neutralize behaviors and bad character that is certainly not desired by the community and government, and certainly could destroy this nation. This is similar to Lickona as cited by Musfiroh (2008, p. 26)

There are ten signs of human behavior that indicates the direction of the destruction of a nation, namely the increasing violence among teenagers, dishonesty, disrespect to parents, teachers and leaders, the influence of the group against acts of violence, increasing suspicion and hatred, the use of language which worsens , a decrease in work ethic, a declining sense of responsibility, and heightened self-destructive behavior.

The factors above illustrate the importance of generating of increasingly discerning and has high intelligence both emotional, spiritual and social. Character and social wisdom to be important for the building of this nation to be a nation that is democratic and united appropriate educational objectives mandated by the Law No. 20/ 2003 on National Education Systems to become the nation's "character". According to Coon (1983), character as a subjective assessment of the

person's personality is related to personality attributes that may or may not be accepted by society. Meanwhile Lickona (1991) stated that characters will be dealing with moral knowing, moral loving (valuing) and moral behavior (doing). Rudd (1998) defines character as the possession of moral values, social values or both. Togetherness be something mandatory values held by young people of this nation, to be able to avoid the negative influences that could destroy the greatness of this nation as a dignified nation. Great nation is a nation of character and was able to break away from strife and contention and rekindle the spirit of peace.

The Government and society should be consciousness that very important to build sense of togetherness and sociality not only the demands of school, teachers and students only. Because fighting between government stronghold in both the executive and the legislature still visible in the politics of this nation. Yet it should not happen, if our government is concerned with the nation's character education. The Television Media and film featuring many examples of violence become less wise by TV stations for the development of child psychology, because the show is very easy to give effect, especially for children who are in fact easily influenced by the media of television. Furthermore the substance of the character according to Lickona (1991 hlm.51), among others: First, Knowing of good, Second, moral loving or loving the good, Third, moral doing or doing the good.

Based on these definitions contained meaning of "social character education", from the third of these substance, specifically the moral loving (values) and moral doing good or doing the very close relation to the establishment of a social character, regarding the concern and love for others. The establishment of a social character becomes important accounts for learners who are able to live together, orderly, safe and comfortable with high tolerance to reflect the life of a democratic society. Wikipedia.org social character is described as: *properties which we show in our relationships with other people (friendly or curt, extroverted or introverted, talkative or taciturn, attentive or indifferent, etc). It does this affect our social role, ie everything that includes relationships with others and in a particular society.*

Fromm described (1995:352) that *:the social character of the communities in which humans relate to each other in a loving, where it is rooted in the bonds of fraternity and solidarity, a society which gives him the possibility to overcome nature by creating rather than destroy it, where everyone reached an understanding about themselves to be humanize.*

Fromm's research revealed the importance of social character embodied in building human society, he explained that the social character will be related to how to shape humanize power in society with a view to the functioning of society towards a sustainable society that upholds humanize and democratic. The conception of a social character that can be applied in the public schools is the entire academic community schools include all students who will become the next generation of people who should have been prepared for the establishment of the development of the character of this nation. Indicators of social character can be developed at the school, among others, cooperation, tolerance, respect and respect for others, concern or solidarity of course everything will be referring to the strengthening of humanize values.

Social character is a manifestation of personality that symbolizes the nation's good character qualities such as realizing tolerance, honorable, respectfully, solidarity, mutual assistance and concern and sensitivity to others. Violence, anarchism, fighting between students, motorcycle gang, sexual harassment, bullying, robber, prostitution and others indicate that the social character weakness in our students.

Based on these data, it appears that the average social character of Junior High School students in 3 regions in Garut is still low at under 60%, or about 53%. Factors thought to influence

the formation of a social character, among others, the ability and competence of teachers, school climate, parental care, and learning effectiveness. Referring to the above study authors are interested in reviewing *The Effect of Competence Teacher, School Climate, Parents And Social Learning Effectiveness to Social Character Formation at Junior High School Students in Garut Region*.

II. SOCIAL CHARACTER CONCEPTS

Characters in Etymologically of Greek and Latin, means *charassein* which means 'carve patterns are fixed and indelible' or to Engrave (Ryan & Bohlin, 1999 hlm.5). In view of Echols & Shadily (1995 hlm.214) to Engrave it can be translated carve, paint, engrave or carve. Character or character is a blend of all human nature is fixed so that a special mark to distinguish people from one another. According to Suyanto (2010, p. 23) character is the way of thinking and behaving that is characteristic of each individual to live in cooperation, both within the family, community, nation and state. Individuals of good character is an individual who can make decisions and be ready to account for every result of the decision he made).

The Indonesia Government (2010 hlm.7) described that the character is a hallmark of a person or group of people that contain values, moral capacity and rigidity in the face of difficulties and challenges. While Frye (2002, p. 2) defines character as "A school creating a national movement that foster ethical, responsible, and caring young people by modeling and teaching good character through an emphasis on universal values that we all share". This view explains that character education should be institutionalized are of national importance to be implemented by all components of the nation.

Social character refers to some previous notions regarding the ability of thinking which is implemented in the attitudes and behavior of living with anyone. Consequently, every individual should be able to live in a shared environment and cannot be separated from each other because the environment has a major role in shaping a person's social character.

Miller et.al (2005) explains in *Journal of Character Education as a Prevention Strategy in School-Related Violence that:*

The concept of social character is a key concept for the understanding of the social process. Character in the dynamic sense of analytic psychology is the specific form in which human energy is shaped by the dynamic adaptation of human needs to the particular mode of existence of a given society. Character in its turn determines the thinking, feeling, and acting of individuals.

Miller et.al (2005) gives reaffirmation on the context of the social character of doctrine such as like love, justice, equality, and sacrifice. This view provides direction that the social character of efforts to build human capacity. Love, justice, equality, sacrifice or devotion into space are important in the formation of a social character. In view of Rudd in Haworth (2005, p. 11) that the social character that involves "human relationship". It means that the social character is closely related to the interaction between the human individual, in this context learners how to have the ability to live together in an environment of peers, parents and the community at large. Says Fromm (1955) as "the power of humanization"

Fromm's view confirms that the power of humanization was the bond intact in a group of people who could form one culture and symbolizes the character in the culture in the form of individual behavior. The term Fromm in Funk (1998 p. 222) related to the social character is "the

individual can only live as a social being". It only means that individuals will be able to live in a social environment. Individual human beings can not live alone, because it has been linked to the other.

The Maximation the role of Teacher Competence in the Social Character Formation

Mulyana, (2006 hlm.109-110) explains that competence is the ability, skills, or expertise that is owned by someone. Competence is also defined as the authority to take decisions or act. While Surakhmad (2009 hlm.367) gives a definition that: Competence is the ability of professionals, who work for the sake of quality. Refer to at least five components of quality of learning that systemically must be synchronized and synergized, then the implication is that the competence required of every teacher is directly related to the competence of the five components of it, not the general competence which is the competence of "loose" and not focused.

Roe (2001 hlm.112) defining that :*Competence is defined as the ability to adequately perform a task, duty or role. Competence integrates knowledge, skills, personal values and attitudes. Competence builds on knowledge and skills and is acquired through work experience and learning by doing.*

Competence is an adequate description of capabilities in terms of knowledge, skills and attitudes and master the material standards. That ability should be owned and developed advanced and continuing with the development of learners in accordance with the standard material being taught teachers. Jamarah and Zain (2002 hlm.126) gives a definition that the teacher as "... educators who provide a number of science to students in school. Teachers are people who are experienced in the field of profession. Given that science has, he can make students become intelligent.

Obviously with the understanding that the teacher is a person who should have competence in the field of education so he deserves to transform knowledge and experience on the learner. What is gained by learners become an important part of what is given and transformed by a teacher, so it requires intelligence of teachers in implementing the learning activities.

Rastodjo (2009 hlm.34) defines teacher competence as a mastery of the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes are reflected in the habit of thinking and acting in carrying out his profession as a teacher. Furthermore The Indonesia Ministry of Education says that the teacher competence as a sets standards developed teacher competence intact from four competencies: pedagogical, personality, social, and professional.

Teacher competence is a prerequisite profession to be owned by each professional educator, for competence to be one of the feasibility of teaching for an educator. Educators who meet the standards of competence will be able to measure the achievement of each learning outcome... Idrus Affandi (2014) stated that "professionalism is carrying the quality of education and the conditions of quality education supported by the competence of the teacher". According to him, teachers should be born as leaders of "*pedagogical leadership*" that means leaders who understand the rules of science education and educative action.

The Role of School Climate to Social Character Formation of Students

Conceptually, the climate or the atmosphere in the school environment is defined as a set of attributes that gives color or character, spirit, ethos, moods, each school (Fisher & Fraser, 1990; Tye, 1974). Operationally, as well as understanding of the climate on the weather, the climate in the school environment can be seen from factors such as curriculum, facilities, and school

leadership and learning environment in the classroom. *National School Climate Council*, (2007.hlm.4), menjelaskan bahwa:

“School climate is based on patterns of people’s experiences of school life and reflects norms, goals, values, interpersonal relationships, teaching and learning practices, and organizational structures.”

“A sustainable, positive school climate fosters youth development and learning necessary for a productive, contributive, and satisfying life in a democratic society. This climate includes norms, values, and expectations that support people feeling socially, emotionally and physically safe. People are engaged and respected. Students, families and educators work together to develop, live, and contribute to a shared school vision. Educators model and nurture an attitude that emphasizes the benefits of, and satisfaction from, learning. Each person contributes to the operation so the school as well as the care of the physical environment (NSCC, 2007.hlm.4).”

The content of the definitions and explanations above that school climate has a positive effect for students in developing a productive learning, contributive and give satisfaction in the life of a democratic society. Everyone from the start learners, parents and educators work together in developing and sharing about the life of the school's vision. This understanding gives a sign that the school climate is very helpful to schools in developing the school into an institution-forming character or personality.

The Role of Parental Care in The Social Character Formation of Students

Parental Care into education is first and foremost for the formation of character. Parental care influence is immense for the success of the family in shaping the character of children. Family environmental factors will be a major element of the birth of a child is a good character. Many examples, cases and events that make our eyes stinging, even heart torn, how a child could kill his parents. It gives a sign of the weakness of parental guidance and attention to attitude, behavior and character of their children. Attention in the form of affection more than the main attention in the form of money, the habit of giving attention to the loving character will give birth to children who have compassion for others, caring, tolerance, empathy and others. Children who are unfamiliar with the affection because the money will tend to give birth to a child whose extravagant, spoiled and keep a distance with others. Therefore, the role and the attention of parents is very important for their growth characteristics.

Hurlock (1956 hlm.3) explains that families and parents it was a "training center" for the cultivation of values in children. This provides confirmation that the presence of parents as the center of attention for the development of the child no longer be something extraordinary, because the parents who first set up the children, and not children are the generation who will continue their struggle, then if realized where the parents for their children has become mandatory in maintaining and nurturing their children.

Parental care may imply centralization of physical power and Psychological of parents to their children. According to Yusuf (2012 hlm.122), social development of children is strongly influenced by the process or the treatment of parental guidance in introducing various aspects of social life or norms of public life and to encourage and provide examples to their children on how to apply these norms in everyday life

This concept emphasizes that parents become an important part that can not be separated from the development of the personality and character of the child, because parents are the first and

main environment in which the child lived and grew up. Children will have a good social character if a family association or parent teach how to deal with people and the social environment as well. Children who are not accustomed to interacting with the students along with others will probably always live isolate themselves and do not socialize.

Learning Effectiveness in the Social Character Formation of Students

Associated with the learning effectiveness, the meaning contained is the level of success or achievement in accordance with the expected goals. Learning is an attempt to make students learn or an activity for education learners. According Warsita (2008 hlm.85) "learning is an effort to create the conditions to enable the learning activities". According to Arsyad (2009, p. 1) learning activities is the change that person's behavior that might be caused by the change in the level of knowledge, skill or attitude.

According to Trianto (2009 hlm.20) learning will be effective if it meets the criteria of effectiveness of teaching, namely: 1) presentation of high student study time devoted to teaching and learning, 2) the average high task behavior among students, 3) the accuracy of the content of the teaching materials the ability of the students preferred, 4) develop teaching intimate atmosphere, and positive, developing a positive classroom atmosphere. The effectiveness of learning is a state that shows the extent to which the results obtained after implementation to the learning process. Fitriani (2011, p. 6), for example to explain that the effectiveness of the learning effectiveness is obtained after the implementation of the teaching and learning process.

The learning effectiveness of Social Studies is related to the success of social studies obtained by learners after completing one material or some study materials are expected to have implications for changes in learning outcomes. The effectiveness of learning can be acquired value or the ability of learners after they perform or complete the learning material. The effectiveness of learning can basically involves the ability of learners who obtained both related to cognitive, affective and psychomotor. So that effective learning is learning that have met the learning goals of learners.

Descriptions about the meaning and purpose of the social studies, that will be seen that education is actually very closely related to character education. This can be seen in the formulations purpose, that education character or values education also aims to make the students become good citizens. In fact, Gross (in Darmadi 2007 hlm.8) stated that value education in social studies is to prepare students to be well-functioning citizens in democratic society . Conceptually, the term education is often equated with the value of religious education, moral education, noble character education, moral education or character education itself (Samsuri 2009 hlm.1; and Zuchdi 2008 hlm.5). Character education, moral education, or moral education can be regarded as an attempt to promote and internalize the core values or positive values to the society in order to become a nation of citizens who are confident, resilient and high moral, democratic and accountable and survive in society. It means that character education is a process of acculturation and humanization in line with the conception of a social character that is directed at the quality of the human personality or formed human forces in the self-learners.

Social character education will deliver the learners with their potential can become civilized beings, with clung to the human values, the values of servanthood and caliphate. The development of a social character education in schools, educational institutions or schools should be conducive environment. Schools should be a place of community and brotherhood rides development of good values or core values. Social character education will continue to develop noble character and good habits to learners (Lewis, 1996 hlm.8). The involvement of all components in the development of a social character education learner, must involve teachers should work together with the family

or parents / guardians of students as well as other components. In fact, according to Cletus R. Bulach (2002, p. 80), teachers and parents need to make an agreement on what the key values that need to be dibelajarkan example: respect for self, others, and property; honesty; self-control / discipline. In this regard, Lickona (2000 hlm.48) mentions some virtues that need to be understood and familiarized in the lives of young people in order to create a harmonious life in the family and society. Some values that include honesty, compassion, self-control, respect or respect, cooperation, responsibility, and perseverance. Character education is not just to have an integrative dimension, in the sense of moral strengthen intellectual learners on the basis of the values of goodness, so that a solid personal and reliability, individuals who are scholars, independent and conscientious, but also curative both personally and socially. According Koesoema (2007:116) the actual character education can be one of the steps to cure social pathology.

III. RESEARCH RESULT

Based on the results of research conducted by the author at 17 of Junior High School in Garut Region, which consists of three clusters Garut area includes North, Central and South using a survey method involving 450 respondents research of students, then the data collected were processed using data analysis techniques "Analisis path ", obtained the following results:

1. There is a positive and significant impact teacher competence to the learning effectiveness of social studies. As for the influence of teacher competence on student learning effectiveness by 3.1%.
2. There is a positive and significant impact on the school climate to the learning effectiveness of social studies. The magnitude of the effect of school climate on student learning effectiveness was 3.9%.
3. There is a positive and significant influence between parental care to the learning effectiveness of social studies. As for the influence of parent care to the learning effectiveness of social studies 2.1%.
4. There is a positive and significant effect of teacher competence to the formation of social character of learners. As for the influence of teacher competence on the social character of students at 2.7%.
5. There is a positive and significant impact on the school climate to the formation of social character of learners. The magnitude of the effect of school climate on the social character of students of 0.14%.
6. There is a positive and significant impact of parental care to the formation of social character of students. As for the influence of parents' attention to the social character of students by 0.6%.
7. There is a positive and significant influence jointly variables perceived competency of teachers of students and the learning effectiveness of social studies towards the establishment of the social character of students. The magnitude of the effect of 7.34%.
8. There is a positive and significant impact together school climate and learning effectiveness of social studies to the formation of a social character of students with 3.53%.
9. There is a positive and significant impact together of parental care and the learning effectiveness of social studies to the social character formation the students with the influence of 2.92%.

Based on the above results, it was explained that the establishment of the social character

of students is significantly influenced by the competence of teachers, school climate, the role of parents and the effectiveness of learning, so it is necessary assertion that these factors play an important role in shaping the character of students.

IV. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Teacher Competence, school climate and parental care influenced positively and significantly to the learning effectiveness of social studies. This means that if the higher of teacher competence, the better learning effectiveness of social studies. More conducive school environment, the more learning effectiveness of social studies is implemented. The greater of parental care to the child, the more effective the learning received by learners at school. These factors should be a concern of education practitioners, parents and educators in the field, including policy makers that the competence of teachers, school climate and parental care has a central role in improving the learning effectiveness.
2. Teacher Competencies, school climate and parental care influenced positively and significantly to the formation of the social character of students. This means that the higher the competence of the teacher, the better the formation of social character of students. More conducive school environment, the better to support the formation of the social character of the students and the greater the parental care to the child the better in shaping the social character of students. Needs to be the concern of teachers or principals, parents, education professionals and government that the factor of teacher competence, school climate and parental attention plays an important role in the formation of the social character of students.

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Developing Children's International Understanding Values through Learning English in the 21st Century

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Abstract

The 21st century has brought us the new roles of education and learning. Some of the skills needed in this globalization era are communication and collaboration skills (Trilling and Fadel, 2009). Nowadays, people learn and work in the situation where communication and collaboration are more important than competition. One of the most important elements of communication and collaboration is language. In this context, English is needed for people to become parts of globalised society. Communication and collaboration can function well when communicants hold the values of understanding towards one another. Teaching foreign language for children is often not seen as an unproblematic issue in Indonesia. It invites the pros and cons whether or not English is introduced to young children in Indonesia. The supporters who agree to start teaching English in early years mostly hold the hypothesis proposed by Lenneberg, called the Critical Period Hypothesis, which states that learning a language would be more effective to be conducted since early years. On the other hand, some people against the English language teaching to be started at young ages since they perceive that children should be firstly exposed more to the national language and local cultures. They believe that the early exposure to English could diminish children's nationalism. The definition of the early years-period is children between 0-8 years of age. This paper aims to propose the implementation of English language learning in kindergarten level to develop children's international understanding values as well as their English skill. Some of the methods that are believed to be effective are storytelling, role playing, and games which were adapted from the local cultures. Storytelling is seen as an effective method since it can develop cross cultural understanding because stories almost always highly culture bond (Al-Jafar & Buzzelli, 2004; Ghosn, 2004; Ananthia, 2010). Meanwhile, the role playing method could facilitate children to experience collaboration. Finally, through games children are able to learn about rules and respect among members of group, develop the spirit of sportsmanship, which in turn could develop their communication and collaboration skills.

Keywords: English for young learners, the 21st century skills, International understanding values, Storytelling, Role Playing, Games

I. INTRODUCTION

The disappearance of the boundaries among countries in a global interaction has forced people from different linguistic and culture background to blend in a more universal society. Since language is a means of communication, one language should be chosen as an International language, and the choice is likely to be English. English has reached its privilege status as a lingua franca in the global communication (Crystal, 1997 cited in several scholars, such as, Phan Le Ha 2008; Phillipson, 2000; Pennycook, 2000).

The 21st century has brought us the new roles of education and learning. Some of the skills needed in this globalization era are communication and collaboration skills (Trilling and Fadel, 2009). Communicants need to understand effective communication, how to communicate their messages in the best possible way, to communicate effectively to individuals as well as groups, in spoken communications and written communications. Nowadays people learn and work in the situation where communication and collaboration is more important than competition. Collaborative learning based on the view that knowledge is a social construct creates collaborative activities such as interaction and doing primary importance works in groups and important mode of learning. It can also structure a learning concept to motivate learners in developing solutions to real-world problems in the future.

Communication and collaboration can function well when communicants hold the values of understanding towards one another. They need to demonstrate their ability to work effectively and respectfully with diverse teams, exercise flexibility and willingness to be helpful in making necessary compromises to accomplish a common goal, and to assume shared responsibility for collaborative work, and value the individual contributions made by each team member. One of the most important elements of communication and collaboration is language. Language is used to understand information or instruction, and to share ideas and feelings. In this context, English as one of the international languages is needed for people to become part of globalised society.

Every child has the rights to experience the best possible childhood. Some studies have been conducted in relation to the importance of early childhood education with various results and opinions. No matter the differences in opinion about formal pre-kindergarten education, children benefit from receiving some types of education during their early developmental years. Corner (2013) states that children taught how to speak a second language during their early developmental years are also in a better position to learn English at a young age. The statement is in accordance with the Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH) as proposed by Lenneberg (Brewster, Ellis, & Girard, 2002).

Teaching a foreign language to children is often not seen as an unproblematic issue in Indonesia. It invites pros and cons whether or not English is introduced to young children in Indonesia. The supporters who agree to start teaching English in early years mostly hold the CPH as proposed by Lenneberg, which states that learning a language would be more effective to be conducted since early years. On the other hand, some people argue against the English language teaching to be started at young ages since they believe that children should be firstly exposed more to the national language and local cultures. They believe that the early exposure to English could diminish children's nationalism.

Despite the contradiction of English teaching to kindergarten children in Indonesia, English is considered important in a more globalised era as one of the indicators of personal and professional development. In Indonesia, where English is considered as a foreign language, the teaching of English has started in the preschool level. English is taught at kindergarten level to fulfil the demand from parents who realize the importance of English for their children's future professional

development. Besides, some of the kindergartens in Bandung teach English to children simply because they implement a program launched by Bandung government called “*Kamis Inggris*”. This program recommends every element of Bandung citizen – from the government officers to students and teachers in school context to speak in English on Thursday.

Children have their own characteristics in learning something including learning a foreign language as well as values. In learning English as a foreign language, children can learn the language through storytelling, games, and also role playing. These characteristics will enable children to work collaboratively while they communicate with each other.

Unfortunately, more often than not, the teaching of English in kindergarten level was delivered in a not-meaningful way. The learning process mostly evolved around rote drill and memorization, where children were asked to memorise sets of English vocabulary with Indonesian translations. The not meaningful English lesson at kindergarten happened because of many reasons. One of the reasons could be the low ability of teacher in mastering English lesson to be taught to kindergarten children.

This paper aims to propose the implementation of English language learning in kindergarten level to develop children’s international understanding values as well as their English skill. Some of the methods that are believed to be effective are storytelling, role playing, and games which were adapted from the local cultures. Storytelling is seen as an effective method since it can develop cross cultural understanding because stories almost always highly culture bond (Al-Jafar&Buzzelli, 2004; Ghosn, 2004; Ananthia, 2010). Meanwhile, the role playing method could facilitate children to experience collaboration. Finally, through games children are able to learn about rules and respect among members of group, develop the spirit of sportsmanship, which in turn could develop their communication and collaboration skills. It is hoped that by teaching English through storytelling, role playing, and games which were adapted from the local cultures, Indonesian children can develop their international understanding values as well as their nationalism and English skills.

This study employs a qualitative descriptive method. It is selected to obtain the picture of children’s international understanding skills which is developed through learning English. A purposive sampling technique is used in selecting the subject of the study, i.e. ten students of Al-Biruni Kindergarten. It is one of the private kindergartens in Bandung, West Java, Indonesia. This kindergarten was chosen as the location of the study because it has a curriculum which consists of introducing other countries’ cultures in their learning process. Besides, this kindergarten has English class as extracurricular activity. The English learning process conducted in this study attempts to introduce the children to non-Indonesian culture, develop their international values, enhance their nationalism, as well as their English skills.

The techniques used in collecting the data were video observation and interview. Interviews were conducted to gather data from the teachers about learning preparation and difficulties, and to collect the data from the students about their perspectives of other culture related to international understanding values, while; video observation was held in finding out the implementation of English learning. Data which have been gathered were analysed based on qualitative data analysis proposed by Miles and Huberman (Sugiyono, 2013) which consist of some steps; coding, categorizing, data reduction and theme (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010; Neuman, 2006).

II. INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING VALUES DEVELOPMENT IN EARLY YEARS

Early school years are important as this is the time when values and attitudes are formed about others; and when social awareness and interpersonal skills are developed (Selma cited in McGuire, 2009). The international education is expected to become an integral part of all educational efforts in various sectors in stages of the education system from preschool activities to teacher training institutions as well as in out of school activities (UNESCO, 1994). The development of international values is using some steps which have been done in this study. First step is introducing non Indonesian culture through learning English. This strategy aims not only introduce to western culture, but also other English speaking countries, such as Africa and Asia. As stated earlier international understanding values will usually be more effective if it is integrated in some school subject including in language class (UNESCO, 1994). In this case, English learning as the medium in developing international values of Al-Biruni Kindergarten students. The learning methods used in this study were storytelling, games and role playing. Each method was given to the children in three meetings.

According to the principles in English for Young Learners (EYL), it is recommended that the English learning process conducted in full English as the language instruction (Moon, 2000). Therefore, the teacher conducted the English language teaching in kindergarten should have a good capacity in mastering the target language. A model teacher who has a good English capability was recruited to conduct the learning process. The model teacher was a student teacher of PGPAUD UPI Kampus Cibiru (Early Childhood Education Program, Indonesia University of Education, Cibiru Campus). She was conducting teaching practice program (PPL) in Al-Biruni Kindergarten. The data of the effectiveness of this learning practice were gathered from the observation of the English learning process. The interview with the model teacher was also conducted to ensure the congruence between the explanation of the phenomena and the realities of the world, which was also as a one way to embrace the triangulation of the study.

The second step of this study was gathering the data of children's perspective of international understanding values. In this occasion, an in-depth interview was conducted. The interviewer asked the kindergarten children regarding their perspectives about some pictures related to some elements of international understanding which are tolerance, multicultural awareness, and peace.

Learning English in developing the International Understanding of Children

Learning international understanding values will usually be more effective if it is integrated in some school subjects including in language class (UNESCO, 1994). According to UNESCO (1994) there are four steps in developing learning curriculum of international understanding. In this study, some steps were done to develop children's international understanding values through the teaching of English language. The first step is conducted by establishing new curriculum units which is stressing the international context of world languages. The second step is the identification of the main topics and states/ regions of the world that can provide the context of learning a foreign world language. The next step is the selection of authentic texts, songs, poems, pictures, diagrams, reports, fairy tales, audio-visual materials, etc. for the language learning material. Finally, the last step is the implementation and evaluation of the curriculum unit.

Steps one to three are the stages of learning preparation; step four is the stage of learning process and evaluation. Each learning method that has been selected to be conducted in this study is implemented through those steps.

Teaching English through Storytelling

Storytelling was chosen as the first method because of its effectiveness in developing the children's English skills. Storytelling is believed to be one of the activities suitable for young language learners (Brewster *et al.*, 2002; Phillips, 1993; and Pinter, 2006). Gadzikowski (2007, p.11) states that story has a power "to entertain, to amuse, to teach, to comfort and to heal". The first step of this session was opening session. Garvie (1990) has contended that the employment of story as an effective methodology to develop the children's language skills, namely, listening, speaking, reading and writing (McConaghy, 1990; Brewster *et al.*, 2002; Paquette, 2007).

Besides gaining benefits in the area of language teaching and learning, the employment of story with children could also give benefits to the children's personal development. Previous research had shown that by integrating the teaching and learning process with storytelling, it helps children to develop cross cultural understanding, since stories almost always highly culture-bound (Al-Jafar & Buzzelli, 2004); construct their identity by creating an internal image of who they are when listening to or telling a story (Gadzikowski, 2007); make connection and association between the stories and their life experience (Kuyvenhoven, 2009); develop their social competence such as kindness (Zeece, 2009) and self-regulation (Cooper, 2007).

The main session of the learning process in this stage was storytelling activities. In this session, children listened to the teacher about the story of "Ginger Bread Man". The teacher used pictures to make the story clearer so that the children could get the message of the story. The theme of the story was related to the weekly theme. According to the observation, the children seemed very excited with the character of ginger bread man in the story. After listening to the story, the children were asked about their comprehension of the story. It can be concluded that more than 60% of the children comprehend the story.

From the interview with the model teacher regarding the learning preparation, process and difficulties there are some information gathered. The preparation of the teaching media was one of the important factors, since it can be assumed that English listening skill of majority of the children were still low. In addition, the media helped them to comprehend the story. In the learning process, the teacher perceived that in the opening of the story, children were easily distracted which made them hard to focus to the story. But when she showed the media namely, the puppet of ginger bread man and the pictures of its house, some of the children started to be more focused to the story. She viewed that the media and gesture helped children to get the point of the story.

Teaching English through Games

After storytelling, the next method implemented in the English learning process is games. In this session, the teacher chose Sundanese games called 'Tetemute' which is modified from Sundanese language into English. It aims to introduce cultural diversity and peace. It means that some cultures can be collaborated and assimilated. Thus, there is no reason to be more fanatic to own culture, or in other words being a chauvinist person.

This method was implemented in the main session of the learning. The game rules were still same with the original, but there are some modifications in the English lyric. The Sundanese lyric of 'Tetemute' song is presented below along with the English modification.

*Tetemute dipanggil nyonyo dempe
Tawura tawere
Taliung ta-li-do-gem do-gem do-gem do-gem*

Tetemute, with the tree in the garden.
 There's a leaf, and the flower.
 There's a trunk and root.
 Ding dong, ding ding dong.
 Ding ding dong.

From the observation, children looked more excited in this session rather than in storyttelling. Almost 100% of children were able to follow the game. Based on the interview with the model teacher, learning preparation focused on modification of the lyric. It is much hard because each phrase should have the same ending just like the original one. According to the teacher's perspective, the children seemed more enthusiastic in this session since they were more active in the activities and the song was very attractive.

Teaching English through Role Playing

The last method used in this study was role playing. Children played Sundanese play called '*Papasaran*' (trading). It is modified in English context. The theme learning was fruits and vegetables. The classroom was set as a traditional market. Some children pretended to be sellers and some of them pretended to be consumers. The children learned simple questions in this session, for example the using of the expression "how much" and counting in English. They were also introduced to non-local fruits and vegetables. Based on the observation, children seemed excited in this session. Almost 100% of the children were able to participate in the game.

Meanwhile, according to the interview with the model teacher, the learning preparation focused on the media used during the learning process. She prepared some real non-Indonesian vegetables and fruits, such as kiwis, beets, plums, etc. There were some difficulties in the learning process. The children's speaking skills were very limited. So, she chose very simple sentences in the playing the role activities. She also found difficulties in explaining the rules of the activities. However, after trying to explain with the accompanying gesture and giving examples of how to do the role playing, the children started to understand and were able to play their roles.

From the above explanation, in scale 1 to 4, it can be shown the Children's participation during the learning process using the three methods compared to the target language, children's involvement and enthusiasm in the table below:

Table 1 The Children's participation during the learning process

Element of Investigation	Storytelling	Games	Role Playing
Target Language	****	**	***
Children' Involvement	**	****	****
Children' Enthusiasm	**	****	****

Notes: * = score 1
 ** = score 2
 *** = score 3
 **** = score 4

From the table, it can be described that storytelling gets score 4 for target language while games only get score 2 and role playing gets score 3. It is concluded that the elements of target language is more effective gathered through storytelling. While in children's involvement and enthusiasm, games and role playing get score 4 and storytelling gets score 2. In storytelling, children tend to be more passive while in playing games and role playing, their more active and involve. Playing is the soul of children's learning (Abidin, 2009; Dockett & Fleer, 2000; Johnson & Yawkey, 1999). It is related to the findings that children were more enthusiastic to the games and role playing rather than to storytelling.

The children's International Understanding Values

After children get in touch with different cultures through English learning, the next step is to find out their perspective of international understanding. Since language is attached to the culture (Kramsch, 1998; Hall, 1997), it can be assumed that learning a language means learning the culture. International education is expected to become an integral part of all educational efforts in various sectors and stages of the education system from pre-school activities to teacher-training institutions as well as in out-of-school activities (Reich cited in UNESCO 1994).

Some of the elements of international understanding which are investigated in this study are tolerance, cultural diversity and peace. Some pictures were used in finding out their perspectives. They were asked their opinions of the picture, whether they can accept the values or not. The pictures represent the situation of different culture or habits.

Tolerance

In investigating this element, children were asked whether they can accept different religion and race or nationality. They showed pictures of people who celebrate Christmas and *Iedul Fitri*. All of them are part of Muslim family. From the interview, all ten children are tolerance of different religion. They can accept both Christmas and celebration. While the second pictures showed to the children were about different race. The picture described some Western and black children. They were asking whether they want to play with those children in the pictures or not. All of the children said 'yes'. It is assumed that in simple occasion they can tolerate different races and nationalities.

Cultural Diversity

The second element of international understanding that was investigated through interview was about cultural diversity. Children were showed some pictures of art performances from different countries which are Indonesian and African. 80% of children can accept both cultures while 20% of children felt unfamiliar with African dancing whom the dancers did not wear suitable costumes according to the children's perception.

From findings it can be concluded that children still need adaptation and accept new culture especially when they never get in touch with it. They never saw African dancing; that is why they did not like the dance. On the other hand, they are more willing to accept Western or Asian art performances that they often watch it via television. Children have been engaged in a lot of gadgets and could access different culture especially western (Silawati & Rachmania, 2014). It is related to the findings that children tend to be easier in accepting Western culture rather than African.

Peace

The third element of international understanding is peace. In finding out the children's perspectives of peace, some pictures were shown. There were pictures of war and pictures of peaceful situation. All of the children feared of war and loved freedom and peace situation that were shown from the pictures. In this finding it can be described that all children love picture of togetherness and fear of war. In this case, Gandhi stated that if we are to teach real peace in this world, and if we are to carry on a real war against war, we shall have to begin with the children.

International Understanding Skills in Facing the 21st Century

International understanding is very important for people living in a more globalised society in the 21st century because in this era people have to work in diverse teams spanning languages, cultures, geographies, and time zones (Trilling & Fadel, 2009). Trilling and Fadel (2009) state that the skills which are considered as important in the century are critical thinking and problem solving, communications and collaboration, creativity and innovation, digital literacy skills and social and cross-cultural interaction. The elements of skills as proposed by Trilling and Fadel (2009) are relevant to the international understanding values. Therefore, it is highly recommended to develop those skills as earlier as possible.

III. CONCLUSION

International understanding values are important to be developed since early years as stated by Selma (cited in McGuire 2009) that early years is the time when values and attitudes are formed about others; and when social awareness and interpersonal skills are developed. The values can be developed integratedly in some school subjects including in language class (UNESCO, 1994). In this study, English learning become media in developing international understanding of early children through three learning methods.

Based on data gathered, it can be concluded that storytelling, role playing and games are effective in developing English skills of children as well as international understanding values. From the observation, children tend to be more involve and active in games rather than other learning methods. Meanwhile, English target language is more developed through storytelling. From the interview, it can be concluded that children are tolerant to different religions and races but still need adaptation to new cultures. In addition they fear of war and love peace.

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Local Wisdom of “*Sedulur Sikep*” To Ensure The Preservation Of Natural Resources (How local Wisdom of *Sedulur Sikep* Affect Their Position Towards The Cement Factory Plan)

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Abstract

Sedulur sikep peaceful confrontation towards cement factory building plan has drawn attentions national and international world, a classic conflict between industrialist and local society. This paper aims to deliver a perspective explaining *Sedulur sikep* position, it's relation to their local wisdom. About how *sedulur sikep* community see themselves as a part of nature, and that they are only allowed to fulfill their needs from farming make them view the cement factory as a threat. Another interesting finding from this research is the transformation of *sedulur sikep*, as a result of this case. That now, *Sedulur sikep* is not only no longer close themselves from the outside world, but also willing to cooperate in order to win this case.

I. BACKGROUND RESEARCH

Rapid development that aims to deliver economic growth come with not only economic consequences, but also affect social life. Development always has two faces, two kind of impact : positive and negative. Improves people life quality, but on the other hand causes environmental degradation. From industrial point of view, field, forest, city park has lower economic value than factory, office build, and properties. Anything that fail to produce money is not valuable, seems like even oxygen is less important than money. Panayotou (2003) argues that relationship between economic growth and environmental quality, whether positive or negative, is not fixed along a country's development path; indeed it may change sign from positive to negative as a country reaches a level of income at which people demand and afford more efficient infrastructure and a cleaner environment.

For environmental law scholar, one of biggest threat towards environment is thought of development is necessity for the good of nation state. Development might not lead to environment destruction if development paradigm doesn't see it as the opposite of traditional environment. But what happens now is development that viewed as all in one solution that solves poverty, and any other social problems. Asici (2011) speaks “On one side, scholars assure that once certain level of development (or income p.c.) is reached, the negative effect of economic activity on nature is reversed. On the other extreme, others warn that the human demand has already led to an environmental degradation that surpasses the Earth's ecological capacity to regenerate”.

Degradation of the environment and natural resources is not only caused by weak economic development, but it can also be generated by excessive economic development. Chavez (2013) give an example like projects dams and roads require the relocation of population, affecting economic activities and also creating stress to animals and plants around the zone. Furthermore, increasing population pressure and industrialization generates serious problems related to water, soil and other natural resources. These problems cannot be separated from the intervention and have to be taken into account in the development plan as economic

development, social wellness, and environmental quality should be the pillars of development projects.

Normatively, management and utilization of environment and natural resources should always keep the balance of nature, its function and ability should be preserved. Natural resources mean to be enjoyed not only by the now generation but also the next. That's why cooperative actions between government, investor, and society in order to do sustainable development are necessary, every participant in development has to ensure that the negative impacts are under control. Environmental protection is also very important. Maochu (2006) argues that GDP growth leads indirectly to a certain degree of pollution and ecological destruction. It is a romantic illusion to believe that economic benefits can be made to go hand in hand with the improvement of the environment.

Development that also considers the balance of nature can be achieved through many ways, one of them is paying attention to the local wisdom. Every society especially the traditional one, has their own wisdom in a form of idea, knowledge, even more tools, that used in harmony with their norm, embedded in their culture and daily activities in order to preserve the nature to fulfill their needs.

Phongphit and Nantasuwana in Kongprasertamorn (2007) tell about local wisdom refers to the knowledge that comes from the community's experiences and the accumulation of local knowledge. Local wisdom is found in societies, communities, and individuals. They have described local wisdom as knowledge based on the experiences of people that is handed down over the generations, sometimes by those who may be seen as village philosophers. This knowledge is used as a guideline for people's daily activities in relations with their families, their neighbors, and other people in the village and with their surroundings. The central idea, they argue, is that villagers must respect their ancestors, spiritual practices, and nature. They conclude that the characteristics of local wisdom can be explained as follows: (1) local wisdom must incorporate knowledge of virtue that teaches people about ethics and moral values; (2) local wisdom must teach people to love nature, not to destroy it; and (3) local wisdom must come from the older members of the community. They also explain that local wisdom is presented in many forms, through people's thoughts, occupations, ways of living, and social values. Maintaining of local wisdom as norm that believed by community, become an alternative to reduce social cost that generated by individualistic behaviors (Viprayanti, 2008).

In Indonesia, the typology of the society are vary, so is the local wisdom. This pluralism of value is important part of Indonesia. Development in Indonesia often face so many problems from local society or local tribes. Government authority, industrialist interest, seem never meet the local society needs. In the case of *sedulur sikep*, their resistance and peaceful confrontation towards the build of cement factory plan has drawn public attention. The plan consider a threat to *sedulur sikep's* farming activity, the only way of life that they're allowed to do.

Local wisdom in Indonesia are always interesting to understand, and always need to be understood to find agreement between conflicted parties. This is why, this research try to dig deep about local wisdom of *sedulur sikep*, especially on their relationship with environment, how they preserve their natural resources, and how this cement factory plan affect their local wisdom. It like to know relation between their local wisdom and their position towards cement factory.

II. RESEARCH QUESTION

Development always bring consequences for society and environment. The build of cement factory in North Kendeng Mountain directly affect the balance of nature, natural resources that

sedulur sikep society depends on. This research focus on local wisdom of *sedulur sikep* about nature and how it affect their position towards the cement factory plan.

III. METHODOLOGY

This research using qualitative method, this method is best when we are about to analyze any unstructured data. Observation, in depth interview, and literature reviews are used as tools of data collection. For data validation, there is triangulation check between data gained from observation, indepth interview, and documentation. For analysis, the data will be categorized first, interpreted, analyzed using human ecology theory, then concluded.

IV. HUMAN ECOLOGY THEORY

Human ecology is an approach to study of human behavior marked by two commitments . First, human should be studied living systems operating in complex environments. Second, human are subject to very similiar ecological and evolutionary processes as any species. Human ecology sees that there is interactions between human and its environment.

Human ecology may be defined, therefore, in terms that have already been used, as the study of the form and the development of the community in human population (Hawley 1950, 67).

Hawley (1950:67) tell more detail about Human Ecology' scope as:

“ Human Ecology, like plant and animal ecology, represents a special application of the general viewpoint to a particular class of living things. It involves both a recognition of the fundamental unity of animate nature and an awareness that there is differentiation within that unity. Man, as we have seen, not only occupies a niche in nature's web of life, he also develops among his fellows an elaborate community of relations comparable in many important respects to the more inclusive biotic community”

Human ecology theory is unique in its focus on humans as both biological organisms and social beings in interaction with their environment. In this theory the family is considered to be an energy transformation system that is interdependent with its natural physical-biological, human-built, and social-cultural milieu. Emphasis is given to the creation, use, and management of resources for creative adaptation, human development, and sustainability of environments.

V. RESEARCH LOCATION

This section describes general characteristics of Pati, especially Sukolilo sub-district where *sedulur sikep* community fight their right, and this research conducted. An overview about the environment is useful to give explanation about interactions between saminese and their nature environment.

Pati is one of 35 districts in Central Java, it is located in strategic area where main national road are pass through it, connect big cities in north beach Java. In 2012, the population is 1.207.399, and the density of population is 802.96/km². Pati divided into 21 sub-districts, 401 villages. And Sukolilo is the biggest sub-district, with total area approximately 15.874 hectare while Pati district itself has 1.503.680 hectare, consists of 59.332 hectare of farm land and 66.086 non farm land. As mentioned before, Sukolilo is the largest sub district, most of Sukolilo population are only elementary graduate and work as a farmer of their own farm (23.584 people), and a lot of them work only as a farmer for the landlord (23.281 people). The land in Kendeng mountain area is very fertile, the people plant rice, herbs and spices on their farm and their house yard. They also plant teak tree in the open land of the village (Purwaeni 2014, 53-65).

VI. SEDULUR SIKEP

Samin is only one of thousand of tribes in Indonesia. Saminese are the followers of Samin Surosentiko, a man who fire up peaceful confrontation towards Dutch colonialism. This form of confrontation called “*Sedulur Sikep*”, they refuse to pay taxes, and reject any law that made by the Dutch. Saminese live in Blora, Pati, and Bojonegoro from Central to East Java along with Kendeng Mountain. Saminese actually prefer to be called *Sedulur sikep* and not Samin, because Samin is the name of respectful ancestor of them.

Sedulur sikep itself refers to set of life order that teach them abot the meaning of attitude and behaviour as life foundation. One of *Sedulur sikep* main value is “*aja dengki srei, tukar padu, dahwen kemeren, aja kutil jumpu, mbedog colong*” (it is forbidden to have evil heart, to fight, to accuse, to feel jealous, and to steal). There are unique main characteristic of *sedulur sikep*, first they are known as innocent and honest people. It is because they hold their value to always tell the truth. Second, they are always wear black, to differentiate them from other non *sedulur sikep*. Third, their religion is ‘Adam’, they call themselves as people of Adam and the main purpose of life is “perfection”. Fourth, they reject modernization and refuse formal education. They also do –intra marriage, to maintain the purity and the number of their community. Unlike another Javanese people who use *krama* and *krama inggil* language to speak with the elderly, Saminese use only *ngoko* language which is usually consider rude to ther javanese people. The last, *sedulur sikep* are told to only live from farming -trading is forbidden.

Sedulur sikep place farming activities as the only way to live. Farming is not only to survive but also part of their religious system, that is why they always try to keep the balance of their nature and exploit natural resources moderately. Because they understand that preserving the nature means preserving their life.

VII. FINDING AND DISCUSSION

Goro gara ning manungso (because of human activity)

Akeh bentukan kroso gegirisi (more developing concerned feeling)

Korban jiwo rogo tubuh (both body and soul sacrifice)

Milo samyohhan jogo (please all of us do conserving)

Reboisasi tanem tuwuh iku (reboisasi: reforesting in planting and growing)

Kanggo angresepe toyo (for water catchment)

Mugo bisa lestari (hopefully can be sustainable)

Nadyan akeh rintangane (despite the odds)

Madepo guyub rukun (must maintain a harmony)

Bareng-bareng sedulur samin (with relatives samin)

Nyawijikake tekad lahir batin nipun (unite both inner and outter)

Jo gumantung, mring kahanan (do not rely circumstances)

Ayo bareng brantas kabeh halangane (let us remove any obstacle)

Kanti laku waspodo (by always watchful)

This Rhyme made by Gunretno, a “Seduler Sikep’s” Leader when he lead protest of Cement Factory Building in Kendeng Mountain.

VIII.HUMAN AND ENVIRONMENT

Water percentage of human body could be analogized as water percentage of Earth’s surface which is two-third of its part is full of water. To set an example, our tissue and membrane, our brain and heart, our sweat and tears exemplify a similar form in life in which its unsure should be allocated efficiently. Moreover, 23 % of carbon, 2.6 % of Nitrogen, 1.4 % of Calcium, 1.1 % of Calcium, 1.1 % of Phosphorus, altogether with dozens of other unsure in a few percentage develop human body. In addition, the major content of us as a human being is Oxygen (61%) and the minor content is Hydrogen (10%), which depends on water- an unique molecularly combination, which is also reported as 71% of human body developer. According to the aforementioned similarities, human as a part of natural environment, could be an acceptable statement mentioned by Environmental Activists. Furthermore, human’s blood contains a similar amount of salt to ocean wherein our first living form occurred. This fact, bringing the saved ocean water within its mineral to the mainland, and human, are still connected with ocean not only in term of chemical but also in term of biological (Gore, 1994). According Mortazi and Negari (n.d) that study of relations between human society and its environment encompass and include all interactions between man and the environment. It tries to understand, how the human community has adapted to or changed its surrounding environment to suit its needs and how much the environment affects people forcing new innovations and techniques.

Klein and Muller (2012) argue that the human life cycle is consists of phases such as birth, education, leaving family, working life, build an own house, start of a family, retirement and death. Each phase has an impact on financial, social, medical and infrastructure capacity as well on natural resources and environment. One of the evidences in which occurred an adaptive change in human and environment way of life is the changing process from hunting and collecting to using and managing all of provided natural resources. For instance, in early ancient period, human lived nomadically in order to explore and obtain feeding sources. As day goes by, a new mind-set of managing started after realizing that a radical exploitation might cause in finished resources. In controlling ecosystem, both of advantages and disadvantages of managing system are possible to be experienced by people. One of the common problems is the managing system should be led to a maximum results for human being continuously which defines not to decrease the productivity of ecosystem and the benefit for people based on future range of developing (Zen, 1989).

Human’s life eternity depends on some predicted ecological process. When the processes are unpredictable, the current time for raising and raping is unable to be predicted as well; those definitely depend on disorganized natural environment habitual pattern. As a result, researchers are unable to learn and to assume the inability to suggesting altogether (Zen, 1980).

Bock and Preuss (2011) (in Klein and Muller, 2012) speak that “humans and environment interact in many different ways. New buildings and the associated land use for example cause a complex set of environmental, social, urban and economic interactions”. During their interaction phase, human observe, adapt, and obtain experiences which is resulting in having a particular understanding of a new environment. This understanding is called as environmental image in which reflects human’s perception towards structure, mechanism, and function of environment. In addition, people’s responses and reactions are also included in human’s process of interaction and adaptation. Briefly, environmental image guides us about people’s thoughts and hopes from the environment, not only in term of nature but also the action –

appropriate or inappropriate one. As a result, this mind-set develops environmental ethic in human life (Syafaat, et al. 2008).

A harmony is created between *sedulur sikep* and their natural surroundings due to their dependencies towards it. A developed environmental image which is created by *sedulur sikep* is a local wisdom of their lifestyle as farmers who are depending on environment as an economical source. Being a farmer is inherited and orally taught from their ancestors. Therefore, those facts are strongly built their commitment towards environmental ethic which are also strongly implied to protect their surroundings, Agriculture, in particular. Gunretno, one of central figur of *sedulur sikep* community, has stated that for *sedulur sikep*, become a farmer is only to fulfill their needs – no business intention- and part of maintaining the balance of nature.

An inherited taught to be a farmer is not only to fulfil their necessity, but also to be a part of committing natural balance protection. For example, obtaining the benefits of environment in wise and sufficient portion becomes one of the acts in proving their commitment. As a conclusion, the ability of protecting our environment comes from themselves since people has been given an ability to think and to act as a response of cases in their surroundings.

As well as their influencing ability to the other living creatures, human being are also becoming a key of change in their surroundings. However, their behaviour is also determined from it which creates a balance causality relation between them and the environment. Moreover, this balance relation triggers a harmony living which requires all of the part of it not to destruct each other. In fact, between human and the environment represent a perfect systematic life from which is useful for themselves (Ridwan, 2007).

In addition, this statement has been implemented by *Sedulur Sikep* for years as their commitment in which creates a cause-and-effect relation, if the environment is harmed, the income will also be threatened as well. This fact is possible to be occurred since their dependence to the environment as a result of being a farmer.

The wisdom, brings by people, is reflected from the given treatment towards things, plants, animals, and other objects in our surroundings. In fact, this treatment becomes a result of human thoughtful mind which would be represented by our behaviour. The accumulation of those results is usually defined as a “local wisdom”. As a result, Local Wisdom contains a guidance to behave and to act in responding unique changes both physical and cultural.

IX. LOCAL WISDOM TRANSFORMATION OF *SEDULUR SIKEP*

Technology, thus Schumacher asserted, have brought the modern world into three major crisis. First, human nature rebellion against the patterns of political, organizational, and technology which is dishumane who feels smothering and weaken the body. Second, the environment which supports human life suffered and complained, and also showed signs of destruction. Third, the use of resources which is unable to be recovered, such as fossil fuels usage which is imaginable in a distant years would be experienced flawed and even run out (Wahono, et. al. 2004). One of the impacts caused by development processes based on growth in a limited environment would not run for so long, for any energy or resources which are provided are limited. Besides, the social impact is also occured in the decrease or loss of local knowledge systems of indigenous people.

Local wisdom of indigenous society rooted in the system of values and beliefs which have been embraced by themselves. Moreover, the teachings and beliefs of local communities affect the image of environment which is embodied by the attitudes and behavior towards the environment itself. In other words, it also contains and provides guidance to its member to behave in harmony with the universe. Resulting in a strong relationship between humans and the environment in which they live. It is certainly similar to what has been believed by *sedulur sikep* years ago, which assumes that the environment is a part of an integrated and inseparable

system. *sedulur sikep* analogized mountain and its part is just like human body. Just like human, if one foot stumble so eyes will put out tear, mouth will shout, and all the body will feel sick. For mountain, if one spring polluted, another spring will be polluted too. If the spring polluted, the soil will be polluted, the plant won't grow, and so on.

In spite of these procedures are often considered irrational and illogical, but in practice the behaviour of treating the nature within its mystical and magical patterns has created the sustainability. Moreover, people's behaviour in which is establishing certain areas such as rivers, springs, lakes, hills, mountains, forests, big trees, beach, sea, and more as a haunted and sacred places to protect and conserve natural resources and non-biological sources from destructive human action towards nature. Therefore, the real function of hydro-ecologist of forests, rivers, lakes, springs which also become a provider of genetic resource for human subsistence is able to maintain the sustainability.

According to the nature of indigenous people thoughts in magical and mystical perspective, the universe is inhabited by the spirits who are in charge of maintaining the balance of the structure, mechanism and rhythm of nature. As a result, if human behaviour becomes greedy, upset the balance of nature, or are no longer familiar with the rhythm and harmony of nature which cause the disruption, disharmony and shock in universe, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, plagues, hurricanes, floods, droughts, storms, landslides, fires, and another natural disaster will be possible to be experienced as a manifestation of anger of the guardian spirits of nature.

Those natural phenomenon would be understood by nature thoughts of the modern people scientifically because the disaster which is occurred is grounded in human consequences of treating the natural environment badly by contaminating and damaging. In other words, those inappropriate treatment has led to a shock rhythm of universe from which cause a friction in some natural environment condition such as green-house effects. Empirically, the belief pattern of indigenous people above is able and effective to control human behaviour which tends to be greedy in term of dominating and exploiting (Syafaat et. al, 2008). Therefore, it becomes unwise if there are some people who always denounced and described both mind-set and action of indigenous people who consciously maintain values, religion, traditions, and norms of customary law in order to maintain the balance of the magical and social order within the community.

Sometimes, people are still stigmatizing negatively about *sedulur sikep*, for example, they are conventional and uneducated. However, this stigmatized perspective is denied by the facts that they are the initiator of Kendeng mountain protection. The concept of local environmental knowledge system is rooted in knowledge systems and refineries process of indigenous people. This is because the relation of both subjects have been through a long process of interaction and adaptation, so that the indigenous people are able to develop a way to sustain life by creating a system of the availability of natural resources around the specific area in the environment (Syafa'at et. al, 2008). *sedulur sikep* start planting a mind-set to their family members about the function of environment itself and the benefits of soil, water, and air for human's life. As a result, this act encourages them aligning attitudes and behaviour with the nature. Gunarti explains that *sedulur sikep* understanding about human life is not selfish. They were taught that they can live without others : other human and nature. They were taught about the function of the soil, the advantage of water, and the wisdom about how soil and water keep human alive and demand nothing from them.

At first, Indigenous people lived in disharmony with the nature from which might result in causing environmental damage. At the same time, since their lives depend on the maintenance of the integrity of the ecosystem wherein they get food and place to stay, the situation above would not be occurred. Their accumulated understanding of the natural systems usually inherited orally, and were unable to be explained in scientific terms (Syafa'at et. al, 2008) As

the result of a long process of interaction and adaptation within the nature and surroundings provides a specific understanding for indigenous people, *sedulur sikep* in particular. These people have a strong beliefs that farming is one of the commitments protecting natural balance.

The acceleration of development has caused many local community if indigenous people lost their access to the provided natural resources such as forests, coastal areas, oceans and land which turn also destroys the institutional and customary law of local indigenous community. This fact is a result from the absence of local community in representing their considerations during decision making process by government such as in case of cement factory planning. *Sedulur sikep* refuse the offered planning in which proved their disability in delivering considerations within the other communities who live nearby. Furthermore, in the early step of this process, an abuse possibility has been recognised by them which is shown during proposing process of the foreigners plan to buy the land purposing in planting crops of Jarak Cino instead of building cement factory. Our informant said, there was an attempt from local government level to deliberately covered up this plan.

Therefore, it can be understood that both *sedulur sikep* and other residents who live in Kendeng mountain area is uninvolved in decision making process and deliberation. Even the Regent covers up the real planning which cause the society mistrust and lead to both *sedulur sikep* and Sukolilo Regency inhabitants refusal, for example, as soon as the plan has been revealed, *sedulur sikep* directly oppose and reject the plan of cement factory development. This rejection is grounded in the possibility of environmental damage which might be occurred in developing phase and producing tempo. Particular damage which is worried by *sedulur sikep* is potentially happened in Kendeng area wherein lays hundreds of spring from which the needs of water in agriculture is fulfilled.

The national laws treated uniformly by ignoring regional and local disparities, which in turn deadly in economic, legal and institutional of indigenous people (Syafa'at et. al, 2008). The marginalization of indigenous people is a result of development and management of natural resources process committed by the State or the private sector from which would lead to the spirit of resistance itself. In other words, the spirit of resistance was based on the threat to the local culture, belief in institutional and local laws that until now is still being appreciated in the process of natural resources preservation at their disposal. This then makes local wisdom *Sedulur Sikep* transformed into more organized efforts to rescue Kendeng mountain.

The transformation occurred in this area can be seen into two ways; physical and psychological. Physically, the living environment accommodated the changes in living activity. Psychologically, the one's perception towards the living environment is influenced by the changing activities and experiences at the place (Anwar et. al, n.d). Listiani, Putra, Simatupang, and Piliang (2014) from the results of their findings explain that transformation is occurred the Sundanese *tritangtu* from static structure into dynamic structure. The structure changes is determined by the relation between the design elements forming structure with global market segmentation. Lending the Sundanese identity marker particularly the people culture or the past tradition as regenerarif efforts in attempt to harmonize the three pattern on encountering and won the free market competition in Indonesia.

Jayadi, Soemarno, Yanuwadi and Purnomo (2014) also explained from their result research that institutional transformation of forests *awig-awig* provides greater space for civil society to participate in the effort to achieve sustainability of function and utilization of forest resources which is flexible, participative, and accommodative. *Sedulur Sikep* transformation as an awareness and the need for them to open themselves to the same *bekerjasa* with people outside their group members in an effort to save the mountains Kendeng of cement plant construction plans.

Rescuing efforts that has been undertaken by *sedulur sikep* defines as a uneasy resistance movement. Many attempts of blockage comes from government through police repressive action and even hire some thugs. However, their spirit in resisting is unable to clear as quickly as the threat comes. Moreover, this attempts encourage them to start initiating a command center in Kendeng Rescue. After several days of the center establishment, *sedulur sikep* and citizens who ultimately refuse the plan created an event, “an open stage” as a part of Kendeng rescue efforts. In addition, they invited government institution representatives from the Central Government to the Local Government. Moreover, the opening speech is delivered by Province staff representative as an image of supporting act to the rejection efforts. Consequently, this is shown a contrast perception with the Local government of Pati Residence. This then leads to the situation heats up, so that the movement began to spread and start gaining sympathy as far as the spotlight has been raised up by the media. As a result, JMPPK (Community Care Network of Kendeng Mountains) is founded by some activists whose concern is environmental issues in which the members are *sedulur sikep*, activists, institutions, environmentalists, and residents of Mountain Kendeng surroundings. To add, this organization aims to conduct some studies in an effort of planning the rejection of the cement factory plan.

In addition to the efforts made by *sedulur sikep* through the process of developing a network through JMPPK institutions, measures sought by *Sedulur sikep* is to conduct research that is supported by the ASC (Acintyacunyata Speleological Club) Yogyakarta to examine the contents of the content in Goa which are in the mountains Kendeng, either to examine the number of springs, debit water produced, the ecosystem is in Goa and even the history of cultural heritage that must be protected. The efforts made in the research become a reflection form of comparing the validity data of PT. Semen Gresik EIA (Enviromental Feasibility Assessment) result. They tried to prove that the results of EIA are wrong and different from the research result which is conducted by *sedulur sikep* and EIA. Moreover, it is an evidence in an effort to win legal filing by the Sedulur Sikep and citizens, so that in 2009, PT Semen Gresik stated retreat of Sukolilo districts.

Besides as a benchmarking data against the PT. Semen Gresik, the research was conducted, documented and socialized to *sedulur sikep* and citizens to realize that the content in the mountains along the Goa Kendeng is not only spring, but there also lives various types of flora and fauna. So that, the efforts in documenting the results of these studies can open the mind of the whole community that lives around the mountains Kendeng.

Other forms of movement performed by *sedulur sikep* become an addition to network development efforts and research institutions, their outreach to citizens around Kendeng threatened by the proposal of land purchasing although they refuse to sell their owned land.

Forms of socialization movement carried through by walking to the villages as an attempt not to deny the construction of a cement factory. But far from it, *Sedulur sikep* is convincing to those whose land is threatened land turnover on the importance of land for their lives. Because of the ground in which they live has been inherited from one generation to another and also become their surviving supports, especially in agricultural economics activity. In addition, Sedulur Sikep have a belief that the existence of the land or the land bequeathed to posterity not for sale. To add, the efforts made by Sedulur Sikep is not trying to oppose the state of development policy, but they have the right to defend and maintain their ancestral teachings for Kendeng mountainous rescue efforts. This is consistent with the narrative Gunarti as follows:

Kendeng mountain rescue efforts which are being conducted by *sedulur sikep* since they want to preserve the ancestral teachings that Kendeng mountains provide livelihood from agricultural and historical heritage. Two things that make *sedulur sikep* consistently perform rescue efforts until today.

Various forms of movement made by *sedulur sikep* through the transformation of knowledge in an effort to rescue the mountains Kendeng give very good results. On May 16, 2009 is a celebration day as the resignation of PT. Semen Gresik from Sukolilo districts.

Until now, the shape of the efforts made by the *Sedulur sikep* in mountain rescue Kendeng is in the form of *Omah Kendeng* which is a home or a hall which provides study space for environment, especially the Kendeng advocacy. *Omah Kendeng* was originally a building established by Sedulur Sikep as a granary, but as day goes by, it functions for consolidating their movements in an attempt to rescue the mountains Kendeng. Briefly, it can be said that this house is used as a place of deliberation.

The form of the activities carried out in *Omah Kendeng* formed in an environmental education such as a training on environmental advocacy and local natural resources. In addition, it is still used by *Sedulur Sikep* and citizens for the efforts of solidarity to the citizens of Kayen and Tambakromo in which are still threatened by the similar plan after their failure to exploit the mountains Kendeng in Sukolilo District. In addition, *Omah Kendeng* was able to be accessed via the Internet from its website (omahkendeng.org), which provides information for publics in general for those who want to follow the progress of mountains Kendeng issues. As a conclusion, *Omah Kendeng* could be recognized as a fortress for Kendeng itself.

X. SEDULUR SIKEP FOOD SECURITY : LOCAL WISDOM AS AN EXAMPLE OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

In any ideal definition, development is a way to achieve public welfare. Means development can be rate success if they able to create public welfare (Dasman, 1977). From social perspective, development of state is succes if they can fulfil the ideal purpose of the state. For developing country, especially Indonesia, development viewed as ultimate weapon to diminish poverty. In short, development translated into “increase production and economic growth”. Government set their focus on acceleration of development, neglecting the possibility of consequences from this kind of development is ecology and environment destruction.

The acceleration of development should use sustainability as principle. Nowadays, lots of development neglect the importance of keeping the balance of nature. In the name of greater advantage, development usually neglect the rights of local tribes and their wisdom. They're consider minority and their protest is an obstacle to achieve public welfare.

Human and nature live in networks of mutual influence. All human actions result in nature, and damage caused by human nature turn impact on humans. Natural conditions directly influence the physical and spiritual health of man. The pain comes from deteriorisasi nature, caused by contaminated water, the air, to the ground. Contamination that have an impact on human health. Moreover, on the health of the human psyche also affected (Dewi 2015, 162). Like what Saminese face nowadays, the build of cement factory plan is a threat to their land, their life. For *sedulur sikep* community, cement factory will cause polution that will degrade quality of the soil and water. In the long run, it will affect their farm- the only source of life for them and their existence.

Gunretno, as respected figur in *Sedulur Sikep* community nowadays said the build of cement factory will cause *sedulur sikep* expelled from their home. First start from the amount of dust, nothing can survive in that amount of dust. The dust brought by the factory will disrupt their farming activities, meanwhile they are only allow to live from farming. That condition will push *sedulur sikep* to move from their home, looking for another land to plant. Other thing that consider threat for *sedulur sikep* is the build of general hospital plan by the cement factory. Instead of make them happy, *sedulur sikep* afraid that it means the cement factory will cause major health problems to them. Another concern is addressed to the build of school plan. As we know *sedulur sikep* do not believe in formal education, they are afraid that

school will be used as a tool to internalise new value to their kids. New value that contradictory to their belief.

For state, natural resources exploitation like cement factory will bring lots of economic advantage. It will absorb lots of workers and gives state good income. But from ecology point of view, the build of cement factory will destroy another rain forest, will pollute the spring, the air, and degrades the quality of the soil. For *sedulur sikep*, it will not only cause them lose their life source, but also take away the next generation life. *Sedulur sikep* put sustainability as main principle of their farming activity and natural resources exploitation. For them cement exploitation destroy the environment forever, for not even only two generations need. Our Informant, Gunarti explains her way of thinking, that this cement factory will only able to exploit the cement of Kendeng Mountain for one generation or 80 years maximum. And the next generation will enjoy nothing. While soil and water, if we exploit and treat it in the right way will be able give life till the end of time. This *sedulur sikep* point of view can not be separated from their experience, that they have feel the advantage of soil and water for a really long time, they eat from the same land that their ancestor used to plant.

This conflict of interest should get us think of new kind of development. Development is something that we can not avoid, so it requires deep thinking to minimize the negative effect. The design should be able to accomodate many aspects and interest and put sustainability in the first place. There are many valuable lesson from this *For sedulur sikep* versus cement factory conflict. First, *For sedulur sikep* value that put sustainability as the center of their activity. What they are enjoying right now should be able to be enjoyed by their future generation.

Second, their thought to focus on our basic needs. That nature provides everything we need to live, that as long as we preserve them, they'll always return our favor by fulfilling our needs. That human needs of soil and water are more essential than the need of cement, because human needs to eat, while a house isn't always has to be made of cement.

Third, government as regulator should put more attention to agriculture sector and society. Farmer it's not only an occupation but also a culture, it has social value and practice of local wisdom. Their wisdom should teach us about the importance of sustainability aspect in development, and the importance of agriculture sector itself in order to fulfill citizen basic needs. Government should be able to keep this local wisdom spirit alive, and develop it's country without demolish local culture and environment, this is because that the local presence *Sedulur Sikep* of course assist the government in maintaining national food security. According to the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), "food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life". At the level of development that Indonesia has reached, food security is embedded in a broader set of political, economic and technological forces. As a consequence, food security needs little specific policy attention (Timmer, 2004). In the nineteen fifties, food security was considered essentially in terms of production. It was assumed that adequate production will assure adequate availability of food in the market as well as in the household (Swaminathan, 2001).

Food is human basic necessity. Therefore, its fulfillment is not only to satisfy basic human rights or moral obligation of the Indonesian people, but also become economic as well as social investment to have better generation in the future (Yudhoyono, 2010). In state level, food security is always be national agenda. For Indonesia, where most of it's 200 million people eat rice daily, rice national stock is national issue. Java as the center of national rice production, has total wetland area in 2012 is 3,4 million Ha which it's almost half of total Indonesia wetland area. But this area productivity is not even close to fulfill national demand. Indonesia average rice consumption per capita is too high : 130kg/year, while world average

rice consumption is only 60kg/ year. This high level of consumption unfortunately followed by the decrease of wetland area and farmers, make Indonesia become third biggest rice importer (Ministry of Agriculture 2013).

Opposite of land conversion into factory, statistics show that we even need to open new land. But it's not even easy, low price of rice is one of major cause that make farming is no longer attractive. This condition is major concern for every farmer in Indonesia including *sedulur sikep*. Gunretno, our main informant, even questioned whether is it ever across the minister mind, to think about the farmer prosperity. He even felt sorry that agriculture which said as one of nation foundation is never strengthen. He wondered what if in the future, farmers no longer interested in farming or even worst refuse to sell their product, and choose to consume itself.

XI. CONCLUSION

From the results of research conducted by researchers at Sukolilo District, researchers found that *sedulur sikep* position towards cement factory can not be sepeated from their local wisdom. Their strong belief about human – nature relations, that expressed through their way of life. They believe that what they are obliged to become farmers is a commitment to maintain the balance of nature, and they assume that if the environment is threatened by the destruction of their livelihood will be threatened too.

Second, cement factory case has transformed *sedulur sikep* society, created new local wisdom. From a very inclusive society, their fight for their rights push them to make some cooperation. Transformation of local knowledge realized through awareness conducted by *Sedulur Sikep* to all citizens that the importance of soil and water to sustain life for their descendants, their save the environmental movement is more organized and massive that eventually get the attention of the agencies and environmental activists and the public to form JMPPK, they are cooperating with the ASC Yogyakarta to conduct research on all the wealth and life in the mountains Kendeng as comparative data from document EIA of cement's factory. In addition, *Omah Kendeng* is a physical proof of local wisdom transformation, a fortress that guard Kendeng mountain, meeting point between *sedulur sikep* and outside world to work together saving the environment.

XII. DISCUSSION

Conflict between indigenous society and modernization plan is not something new. The preservation of the tribe, human rights violation, and environment are issues that always brought up by the local society and outside organization who helped them. Sure there is indigenous society right to live that must be protected, but modernization itself isn't something that held to do harm. Such the cement factory building plan, or school, or dam for example, they will provide new employment field, education that sure will improve the quality of the society, and dam for electricity that can be enjoyed by a lot of people.

The problem is the building plan usually took a place that already inhabited by indigenous people. For this cement building factory case in Kendeng, every involved party should have strong consideration and argumentation. For cement factory, they should have good argumentation other than business calculation. Why is it have to be in Kendeng, why not in other location, outside Java where cement price is so high. What would their factory do to the local society, is it harmful their environment and daily life, is the negative eeffect worth the positive contribution. For local government who granted the building plan, regarding the ratio of wetland and demand of rice that still imbalance, why they gave the permission. For *sedulur sikep*, what is their alternative solution, are they willing to relocated as long as they can continue to practice their believe. Or are they refuse to sell their land, but let the cement factory build with their note on the design. Because cement is also needed, if not by them, by other people which number is greater than them. For organization who support the local

society, should have good argumentation, scientific consideration based on data is required, other than preserving indigenous way of life.

From our view, the central government role is very important in this case. Especially on what can they do to attract cement factory investment outside Java.

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