



International Conference on Psychology 2016

People's Search for Meaning through
Ethnicity, Culture, and Religion:
Psychology's Role in Handling Conflicts
and Sustaining Harmony in Multicultural Society

Edited by
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July 29-30, 2016

Sanata Dharma University - Yogyakarta
Mrican, Tromol Pos 29, Yogyakarta 55002
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PROCEEDINGS OF THE

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON PSYCHOLOGY

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SDU Press

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in Multicultural Society

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Cover Illustration & Layout:

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ISBN : 978-602-6369-64-2

EAN : 9-786026-369642

First published, April 2017

xviii; 177 p.; 15,5 x 23 cm.

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PUBLISHED BY:



SANATA DHARMA UNIVERSITY PRESS

First Floor USD Library
Affandi (Gejayan) Street, Mrican,
Yogyakarta 55281
Telp. (0274) 513301, 515253;
Ext.1527/1513; Fax (0274) 562383
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(Association of University Publishers in Indonesia)

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Remarks
by The Dean of Faculty of Psychology
Sanata Dharma University

Conflict and maintaining harmony in a pluralistic society such as in Indonesia remain an interesting challenge to be continuously studied. The International Psychology Conference 2016 titled “People’s Search for Meaning through Ethnicity, Culture, and Religion: Psychology’s Role in Handling Conflicts and Sustaining Harmony in Multicultural Society”, an attempt of the Faculty of Psychology, Sanata Dharma University to actively involved in the conflict resolution and maintaining harmonious relationships within the community. The Vision and Mission of Sanata Dharma University which briefly could be stated as “Intelligent and Humanist” challenge us all to resolve conflicts and maintain harmonious relations with an intelligent way and humanist, so that the diversified way out in resolving conflict and maintaining harmony in the society should always be directed to the development of dignified community and individuals.

Articles in this proceeding are selected articles that provide positive contributions to conflicts resolution and maintaining harmonious relationships within the community. Therefore it is worthy to be read.

Thank you,
Dr. Tarsisius Priyo Widiyanto, M.Si.
Dean of Faculty of Psychology
Sanata Dharma University

Remarks by The Chairman Of The Committee

Greetings to all of us. May the Lord of the Worlds is always overflowing with grace and love.

Diversity or multiculturalism could be seen as a strength, but also as a weakness. On one hand, a multicultural society has the potential to be social capital in achieving civil society. On the other hand, diversity could lead to horizontal frictions that trigger conflicts, civil wars, and violence. These, in turn, would result in destructions and other counterproductive situations. Recently we witness various events in various regions of the world related to discrimination, war, refuge-seeking, ethnic genocide, bombing, and killing that tend to use ethnic, cultural, and religious issues as means of provocation.

Indonesia, as one of the most multicultural countries in the world, is not immune to the destructive effects of such conflicts. The tendency to coerce people into certain opinions and dehumanising people with differing views appears to increase. The values of local culture inherited from generation to generation are relatively getting disintegrated, threatened to be extinct. Many lives have been lost as the result of fightings triggered by ethnic, cultural, and religious sentiments.

Psychology, as one of the disciplines that addresses human behavior and society, has a crucial role in facilitating conflict resolution and harmony maintenance. In actualizing its role, psychology scientists and practitioners need to collaborate with colleagues from various disciplines.

Given the complexity of the endeavor and the global trend of leading diversity issues into social conflicts, there is a need for a forum to examine what have been done and what can be done in the area of meaning-making, conflict resolution, and harmonization in multicultural society.

Drawing on this reflection, the Faculty of Psychology at Sanata Dharma University organises an international conference entitled "People's Search for Meaning through Ethnicity, Culture, and Religion: Psychology's Role in Handling Conflicts and Sustaining Harmony

in Multicultural Society.” We invite researchers, practitioners, and students to present studies and practical experiences that explore how meaning making can foster positive personal and cultural change. This conference is held in part to commemorate the department’s 20th anniversary. The theme of the anniversary is “Locally Grounded, Globally Connected.” With this theme we would like to invite the participation of international academics and practitioners to present research findings and reflections that may expand our understanding on the processes and mechanisms whereby the acts of meaning making can lead to positive change in persons and cultures.

Hard work and intensive participation of all components of the faculty and the university for more than a year, supported by parties that we can not mention one by one here really describe the collaboration of various diversity that reflects the culture itself. A strong desire to bring the atmosphere of academic discussion of diversity and harmony, particularly related to issues of race, culture, and religion. Thanks to all those who have supported the implementation of this event, both from the faculty, university, government, police, sponsors, and others that we can not tell the whole one by one.

Hopefully this simple tool can facilitate debate and ongoing recommendations for the lives of people in the world in general, and Indonesian society in particular.

Thank you.

Yogyakarta, July 29, 2016
Chairman of The Committee ICP 2016
Robertus Landung Eko Prihatmoko, M. Psi., Psi.

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P R E F A C E

Psychology, Language, and Power

A. Harimurti
YB. Cahya Widiyanto

Sanata Dharma University

Suppose you are a seventeen year-old Indonesian. You are a high-school student given the chance to choose your political leaders. For the first time, you are admitted to celebrate our nation-state affairs, the so-called local election. In broader national issues, you may consider your responsibility in moving our nation-state footsteps forward. Also at this moment, from the point of view of Erik H. Erikson, you are dwelling in the fifth life-stage development called Identity-Role Confusion. This psychosocial stage distinguishes our path of life between childhood and adulthood, or as Erikson called it, “adolescence”. When you are an adolescent, Erikson claimed, you are searching for your sense of self, personal identity, beliefs, and your social roles. In *Childhood and Society* (1963), Erikson wrote: “The adolescent mind is essentially a mind of the moratorium, a psychosocial stage between childhood and adulthood, and between the morality learned by the child, and the ethics to be developed by the adult.”

The category of adolescence is not sprung up like a mushroom. We may never find this category neutrally presented (Koops & Zuckerman, 2003). In Indonesia, the discourse of adolescence as an ambivalent stage was easily found on 80s and 90s, in the heyday of five-star general Soeharto. It was different from pemoeda (youth), which means more revolutionary in the age of national revolution. By adolescence, it means a category which is an “immature collection of people, often loosely grouped together, sometimes wearing school uniforms, undisciplined, inflammable, wild and, at best, unimportant (Shiraishi, 1997).” In contrast to the revolutionary pemoeda, they are politically tamed and described as a generation of frustrated youth.

This year, 2017, you found out how identity is simply used as the

political vehicle by political actors – almost as a game! Political choices for the parliament candidates are easily selected on their religious or ethnic identity. As an official citizen, you are imposed by these superficial representation, often full of oddities. In the next two years, close to 2020, you will participate in electing your next president. On that day, you are just a child or a pupil; you are a university student. If you are a lucky one, you may learn from today’s political events. So, what can we expect next? It apparently shows that we have to shift our focus from political identities to the urgently needed process of identity formation or identification. However, how can this kind of identification be formed?

In the beginning was the “difference”. Everyone must start from this fact to understand the nature of social phenomena. The difference, of course, highly depends on the historical aspects of community or on the level of the subject. For example, recently in a very vociferous Jakarta local elections debate, powerful political actors were highlighting racial and religious identities disgustingly. They tried to manage opinion among certain communities. The results seems surprising: it worked! Some racial- or religious-baiting successfully stirred for their own vested interests. Nevertheless, there are another groups which are still resistant to these nauseating experiments.

Practically, when we observe social media, people argue and attack each other’s comments related to the idol (or bigoted?) candidates. For your information, people may use a pseudo-name or the real one in social media. Regardless of the compliments or blasphemy to the candidates, we may find a will to participate in political behavior, called “political demands”. The people of Indonesia, commonly called as “rakyat” (people), are often treated unjustifiably by the ruling regime. It is almost appropriate for the ruling regime to use “rakyat” in term of reference to obtain the people’s support (Siegel, 1998; 2001). The truth of social media relies on its role as the *Penyambung Lidah Rakyat* (literally meaning “extension of the people’s tongue”). However, not so many people think so. On the contrary, some assume that social media can be a threat for democracy. Some groups need to assert power and control social media used through a standardized means by particular ministries. No wonder why the people do not have any faith in the members of parliament; the social media is more accesible for showing their aspirations.

Although the group’s dissentment was not followed by physical violence, the tension that occurs in social media is known as “conflict” in the discipline of psychology. The important point to notice here is “tension”. Through the presence of this tension, group dynamics take place either individually or socially. The tension, if unconscious,

would be very easily used by political agents. By socially constructed tension, it would be easy to emanate various kinds of violence and atrocities such as crimes, terrorism, and social unrest. In Indonesian history, in the times of darkness, we find it obscenely. These times have even contributed to the on-going subject of Indonesian today. We may remember the following incidents: the mass murder 1965 (1965-1967); New Order military regime (1966-1998); Mysterious Killing or Petrus (Penembakan Misterius) (1980); “conflicts” in Aceh, Poso, Ambon, Tanjung Priok, Lampung, Mesuji, Sampit, Tolikara, or Free Papua Movement; and, indeed, that which has recently occurred in Yogyakarta, the Cebongan Murderous Raid (2013).

From the presence of many conflicts, what then must the psychologists do? We can not talk about conflict while avoiding its spouse: peace. It means that psychologists today must be aware of how to promote peace, but at the same time realize that conflicts are unresolvable. From this perspective, psychologists have to rethink macro-cultural aspects like the master narratives or the historiography of the recent past (Sears, 2007). The macro-cultural aspects of psychology forced the psychologists to not only focus on human behavior but rather on artefacts, institutions, and cultural concepts around (Ratner, 2008). Precisely, today psychologists should participate in the search for alternate, innovate, and reconcilliate conflicts.

Psychology’s awareness of the peace issues had been presented in the mid-twentieth century, especially when Ralph K. White, a psychologist from the US wrote a book entitled “Psychology and the Prevention of Nuclear War” (1986). He attempted to describe how psychological causes and misunderstandings could potentially drive a nation’s involvement in warfare. In another book, White (1984) discussed the US-Soviet Union relationship, that generated tension and warfare as well, which was based on lack of empathy. This lack is coming from the inadequacy of “understanding the thoughts and feelings of others”. Distinctly, it is not merely sympathy that shows our approval with the other without on-going dynamics among the groups. Therefore, an understanding of the other becomes a salient issue in peacepsychology studies. White’s efforts were supported institutionally by organizing a new division in the American Psychological Association (APA), division 48, also known as the Division of Peace Psychology (Christie, Wagner, & Winter, 2001). Nevertheless, White’s idea and its reproduction “seeks to more deeply understand the structural and cultural roots of violence and is emerging in many regions of the world with focal concerns nuanced by the geohistorical contexts within which violence occurs” (Christie, Tint, Wagner, & Winter, 2008). However, it

misses how conflict is shaped not only structurally and culturally but also symbolically.

Meanwhile, we may find such a typical void in research on the Cebongan murderous raid. This research investigates the killing of four-detainees in Cebongan prison on March 23, 2013, but, it was very surprising that it gained support from some elements of society in Yogyakarta. Focused on this supporting movement, the research found that language use can form knowledge between people in Yogyakarta. This knowledge permitted othering and scapegoating to the victims.

We obtained some peculiarities related to the models of conflict. In this case study, the conflict is not only associated with the network of thuggery in Yogyakarta but also involves the identity of Yogyakarta with its special status (Harimurti, 2017). In support of the Cebongan murderous raid, instead of telling people how this massacre took place, the supporters of the perpetrators (from Indonesian Special Forces Command; known as KOPASSUS), were considering, recognizing, and naming the four-detainees as “thugs”. Thereby, this element of society was focusing on how the stories of Ksatria (Javanese heroes) from the members of KOPASSUS successfully completed their duty to secure Yogyakarta. As the story went on, the narration turned into eradicating thugs. Since the identity of the murder was known, the list of the cases done by the victims (thugs) was released and spread out in the daily conversation of Yogyakarta’s citizens. The discourse turned from the horror of the raid into the sadist and immoral thug-detainees. By this case, we discovered how language has been a key which generates the discourse on the excluded Other.

In addition, ideas on language as a tool to form a shared community is inevitable. It was demonstrated by the role of Indonesian *lingua franca*. James T. Siegel (2009), an anthropologist, claimed that *lingua franca* is the vehicular language of Indonesian national movements. It was a language which is “not owned by particular group” of people. His colleague, Benedict Anderson (2016), added, “the language was both egalitarian by nature and belonged to no single important ethno-linguistic group”. By looking at the case of a *lingua franca*, thus, the problems of using language must be pivotal issues in social science today, both as the way to prolonged and formed violence or vice versa: to cope with violence. Its practice highly depends on the context of events as once done by Sigmund Freud in his therapeutic process.

By relying on the context, it reminds us to the ideas of Walter Benjamin (1892-1940), a social thinker who lived during the Second World War. Benjamin (1978/2007) clearly showed that language can not only be changing from time to time, but it can also be the resolution of a conflict. Languages offered non-violent conflict resolution through

“personal connections between people”: respect, sympathy and trust. Language is “the proper sphere of ‘understanding’”, as he put it. But even so, it is unavoidable that the history of language is also the history of brutality violence.

In an essay entitled “Language, Violence, and non-Violence” (2008a), Slavoj Žižek, a cultural psychoanalyst thinker, offers a critical inquiry: What if, however, humans exceed animals in their capacity for violence precisely because they are able to speak? For him, language does contain violence that unconditionally happens (unconditional violence). From the Cebongan case, we may point out that the murder of preman (thugs) is based on preman constructs of the excluded Other traditions. Therefore, the killed preman were not merely biologically individual subjects but precisely the ideal imagined-visitor. An Indonesian may find its similarity to the massacre of Indonesia communists and those accused of being communists. Of course, some aspects of differences from the both were easily found. The preman and the suspected communists only ‘inferiorized’ during the local-national discourse. They are imposed with the inferiority from the outside, but not on their core Being (Žižek, 2008b).

The truth is that the language used has its duality of Janus-faced. This ambiguous nature of language is also tangible in how the historical narrative of Indonesian nation was constructed. When we juxtapose the brutalities and cruelty of Indonesia national violence with *Bhinneka tunggal Ika* (unity in diversity: culture, ethnic, language, religion, etc.) as the national jargon and *Sumpah Pemuda* (Youth Oath) in 1928, we are convinced that language is a source as well as an alternative to the history of the Indonesian nationalism. The third stanza of *Sumpah Pemuda* is written: “We, the sons and daughters of Indonesia, respect the language of unity, Indonesian.” This Indonesian language was “the logical culmination of at least three decades of linguistic transformation... in the worlds of commerce, politics and literature.” It shows that Indonesian language (*bahasa Melayu*) was not created by nationalism, but on the other hand “a common language helped create nationalism” (Anderson, 1990).

We should note that nationalism is not something purely ideological (Anderson, 1983), but it could also be contained by the aspects of affective empathy as coined by White. This empathy only emerged if we could do inter-cultural comparisons based on field data (Hartoko, 2016). It forced psychologists to look contextually at the four areas of peace psychology: (1) violence, (2) social inequalities, (3) peacemaking, and (4) the pursuit of social justice (Christie, Wagner, Winter, 2001). First, we should draw on violence because it emanates from conflicting viewpoints which could lead to conflict

resolution. Social equalities are a manifestation of structural violence. Christie, Wagner, and Winter (2001) wrote that “in structural violence, hierarchical relations within and between societies privilege those who are on top while oppressing, exploiting and dominating those who occupy the bottom.” The third area, peacemaking, focuses on how to prevent or stop direct violence. As a human, we would be forced to discover the methods to peacekeeping and peacemaking. The pursuit of social justice is related to the second, social inequalities. It endeavors to reduce structural violence.

But, putting stress on the four areas is never enough to reduce conflict in its everyday life. We use language in an encounter. And this encounter is a condition of the possibility where conflict could emerge. Psychology should be added by another disciplines which is important in the sphere of conflict: the world of language (Willig, 2009; Parker, 2015). It urges psychology expertises to be aware of language and its duality on the politico-socio-cultural subjects. The contributions of this Book of Proceedings are thus related to working through and with the Other and its language.

The International Conference on Psychology 2016 (ICP 2016) full papers, collected for these proceedings are divided into four parts. The first is related to the otherness and othering processes. Otherness becomes important nuances in the discipline of Psychology. This may be due to the presence of the culture of connectedness which is gaining attention today. The understanding or concerns about the Other, even self as the Other, becomes a theme that is discussed beyond national boundaries. The next section talks about the importance of context in discussing the question of the Other. The third section, still associated with the Other and contexts, addresses religious life, which is becoming a pivotal issue in the identity of Indonesian society today. The fourth offers a collaborative approach as an experimentation to psychological works between researchers or psychologists with a society to build empowerment. The last part (but not least) discusses how to practice psychological sciences into an applicable one either in the individual or society.

The first part begins with Mark Freeman, an American psychologist, who narrates about a group of firefighters that rescued homeless people in Massachusetts. For him, building fires that burn become “what might be required to bring people closer to one another, more cognizant of one another’s humanity.” In a world that’s full of histories of abominations, “caring for others” became a hope to disentangle an enigmatic event such as “the Other gets othered and

needs to be Erased”. Further, Monica E. Madyaningrum elucidates the othering process which is often reproduced in psychological studies. In order to reduce this othering process, Madyaningrum offers the idea of “reflexivity”. Meanwhile, as a case study, Ichsan Malik describes an example of the othering process by an alternative reconciliation on the Maluku conflict in 1999 based on local wisdom. He meant the local wisdom in this section as the “Baku Bae” movement (literally “baku” means “mutual” and “bae” means “be good”). Baku Bae movement is, as he discovered, creating a sense of we-ness or togetherness. Thus, othering may overcome through a language of togetherness.

Budi Susanto, S.J. opened the second part with an ethnographic study in Tarutung, North Sumatra. In Sinode Godang HKBP (SG-HKBP, Grand Synod of HKBP), JIBOM (Penjinak Bom, police squad of rescue and bomb disposal unit) was prepared to securing the synod. This technology, simultaneously with the discourse of PROTAP (PRO TAPanuli province petition movement), indicates that the present “fears of the potential lost of outstanding HKBP Ephorus, Toba Batak golden age hamajuon, museum-based original Batak identities as well as ambiguities of modern technology devices that arguably can deal with the related burdensome traumas.” The next article, by Laura Aptik Evanjeli, shows that gossip, in a community, has two sides of the same coin. The daily dominant view addresses gossip as negative communication, even when it has some positive contents. But, this paper argued that gossip becomes a social learning tool for students who live in dormitories. Through gossip, social behavior can be controlled and organized. Later, the third article tries to construct the maritime education curriculum. According to Wiwik Sulistiani & Dewi Mustami’ah, the important issues related to maritime and sustainable resources need to be complemented by the creation of maritime education curriculum. This pilot study tried to arrange a maritime education module for kindergarten based on an Indonesian context. This was furnished by the notion of Johana E. Prawitasari; namely, that a psychological approach must be characterized by “diverse approaches based on each ethnic’s local wisdom and social capital that we have” which is discussed further in the last chapter of this section.

Meanwhile, the third part of the volume stresses on institutions that emerged strongly recently Indonesia, namely, religious institution. The first chapter in this section is written by Mintarti, Oekan S. Abdullah, Sudardja Adiwikarta, and Munandar Sulaiman. They noted the contribution of Muhammadiyah schools in everyday tolerance. This paper reports that the openness of Muhammadiyah education will be able to reduce prejudice among society. Still in a religious matter, the next chapter, written by Yohanes Budiarto, works with different

religious participants. Budiarto implements RSS which he adapted from Proios (2015) research in Greece. With Catholics participants, he concluded that the scale is able to measure identity fusion.

However, psychology is also necessary to develop a model of collaborative research. This helps psychology to participate and attempt to empowering the community. Therefore, in the fourth section there are two chapters devoted to collaborative research. The first chapter was written by Titus Odong Kusumajati and focused on institutional and economic factors in a credit union. Through these two factors, Kusumajati stressed the importance of the impact on the achievement of self-reliance and sustainability of a credit union. He found that the "Credit Union in Indonesia is a sustainable microfinance institution because it is built according to the needs of the communities it serves, supported by a conducive institutional environment, and financially independent." In the second article, along with Stephanus Eri Kusuma, Kusumajati offered an approach called focused group symbiosis (FGS). FGS has proven "useful in promoting the effectiveness of microfinance practices as agent of local community development." Kusumajati and Kusuma did a case study and collaborated with Tyas Manunggal credit union.

The last part in this proceedings discusses the practice of psychology in providing practical solutions to everyday problems. Starting with the Dyah Ayu Perwitasari article, this chapter explores the process of self-regulation towards ex-narcotic addicts who work as addiction counselors. The results showed that ex-addicts already had the elements of self-regulation and roommates were having a sense of purpose, self-monitoring, and operating . The factors that affected the process of self-regulation for both participants were a microsystemic ecology factor and self-efficacy. Finally the second chapter to close these proceedings was written by Micha Catur Firmanto, Maya Rosmayati Ardiwinata, Suryana Sumantri, and Wilis Srisayekti. They focus on the importance of the pharmacist profession today and therefore attention to a working system needs to earn pharmacists. Because the requirement for pharmacists has increased, this paper highlights how conflicts occur in the work process of pharmacists. The study was conducted by a survey with 30 pharmacists.

Please allow us to reflect on the preliminary idea of this preface, that is some ideas in this proceedings note that language is not just neutrally of function of various vested interests that merely satisfy the desire of the authoritative Power.

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Care For The Other

Mark Freeman

College of the Holy Cross

I'm going to begin my talk by describing a quite profound event. I am thinking here of a terrible fire that occurred in our hometown of Worcester, Massachusetts some years ago (detailed in Freeman, 2014). Two firefighters had raced into a burning building to search for homeless people thought to be living there. Not long after they entered, the fire intensified, leaving them disoriented, lost, and consumed by smoke and heat. Upon receiving pleas for help, four more firefighters entered the building, in the hope of finding their brothers. None returned.

The entire city fell into a state of shock and then, profound grief. A feeling of senselessness, coupled with an awareness of the accidental nature of things, added to the misery. As it turned out, there were no homeless people in the building. We would later learn that, after knocking over a candle, the one that started the fire, two people – a couple, no doubt afraid and confused – had left the scene. The whole thing had been unbelievable.

The community's response was overwhelming. Amidst all the horror and grief, there was an incredible outpouring of care and love: you wanted to do anything and everything in your power to help, to be there, somehow, for these people, most of whom you didn't even know. Meals were sent to the homes of the families. Donations poured in, not only from Worcester but from all around the state and even beyond. And near the scene of the fire, where a fire engine remained, there emerged a shrine, filled with flowers and poems and photos of the dead.

For quite a few days afterward, all eyes remained on the event and nearly everything else – all the daily stuff that gets people preoccupied and irritated and angry – receded from view. And when we all stood

outside, on the cold December day when a commemorative ceremony was held, watching thousands upon thousands of firefighters marching together in unison and utter silence, we couldn't help but feel that, even amidst our differences, we were somehow one. There was a sense of a common orientation, a common project, and it was good. For those few days, there had come into view what I have come to call the priority of the Other – in this case, the priority of the other person, whether firefighter or familiar face or complete stranger, never to be seen again but for now, briefly, one of my fellow human beings, to acknowledge and to care for. In some ways, the tragedy became transformed into a true celebration: of the lives of firefighters, of the community of Worcester, and of humanity itself – or at least the possibility of humanity. As many a newspaper editorial or letter to the editor had noted, it was amazing how people had come together. For a brief while, people had gotten their priorities straight. There was even the sense that through this tragedy they had discovered the true nature of things, especially the value of other people and of life: that person I've never seen before, standing over there in her otherness, her difference, really is my neighbor. In the best of worlds, we would always know this.

But we generally don't. As editorials and letters to the editor had also noted, there was something tragic about the fact that it took – that it often takes – an accident or a catastrophe to see and to feel the priority of the Other. As I have suggested elsewhere, it seems as though the default condition for most of us is what might be termed ordinary oblivion. This isn't apathy or uncaringness. Rather, it has to do with the fact that we are often preoccupied with the stuff of our own lives, caught up in this or that task or wish or need, with the result that our care for the Other is muted, even buried. Inattention is another way of describing what I'm talking about here. So too is forgetfulness – about what is most important and most real. I'll return to this in a little while.

For now, I will just say that experiences like the Worcester fire really got me thinking both about who we are and, more important for present purposes, what might be required to bring people closer to one another, more cognizant of one another's humanity. As for what I think we learned, there were a number of things. First, something was learned about the depth of sorrow and grief we are capable of feeling for complete strangers. Something was also learned about the possibility of human sympathy and compassion, about the desire to ease others' pain. All throughout the city, there had been remarkable acts of kindness and generosity. People wanted to help, to soothe; they would do whatever it took to be there for those in need. It could

be that some kind of rapid-fire egoistic calculation had taken place, as in: "If that ever happened to me, I would sure want to be helped too." Judging by what went on, though, there was, again, something more direct and immediate about this desire. All one needed was to see what the philosophers Emmanuel Levinas (e.g., 1985, 1989) refers to as the face of the Other. It was this, above all else, that called forth the care that was there.

All of this gives me some reason for hope. The priority of the Other had come into view, spontaneously and with kind of urgency that bespeaks something real, something enduringly significant. I felt that acutely after the Worcester fire, and I have felt it when acknowledging the response after other catastrophes: people are often at their best when hearing and heeding the call of emergency. The face of the suffering Other breaks through the crust of oblivion and mobilizes our deeper regions. This still seems right to me, and it holds some measure of hope that we humans have the capacity to come together. Sometimes this means recognizing our differences and celebrating them, in true multicultural fashion. And sometimes it means seeing beyond our differences and recognizing our shared humanity. Both are possible.

But so too, of course, are hate and aggression and violence – so much so that, at times, even the Hobbesian view seems inadequate. Consider in this context what Primo Levi has written, in a chapter titled "Useless violence" from his book *The Drowned and the Saved* (1989). "Wars are detestable, they are a very bad way to settle controversies between nations or factions, but they cannot be called useless: they aim at a goal, although it may be wicked or perverse" (p. 105). The twelve years of Hitler's reign, on the other hand, "were characterized by widespread useless violence, as an end in itself, with the sole purpose of inflicting pain" (p. 106). "Constant was the total barrenness of the cars," Levi writes; the German authorities, for a journey that might last as long as two weeks . . . literally did not provide anything, neither foodstuffs, nor water, nor mats, nor straw to cover the wooden floor, nor receptacles for bodily needs. . . . This systematic negligence became a useless cruelty, a deliberate creation of pain that was an end in itself" (p. 109).

Levi also writes about violated modesty, coerced nudity, and other such vehicles of dehumanization. Given this basic picture, one could argue, plausibly, that that hope I mentioned before is misplaced and illusory, and that what gets revealed in circumstances like this one is actually our true, beastly nature. "All of these sufferings," Levi adds, "were the development of a theme, that of the presumed right of a superior people to subjugate or eliminate an inferior people" (p. 115).

Of particular significance in this context were the tattoos that had been branded on people. As Levi notes,

The operation was not very painful and lasted no more than a minute, but it was traumatic. Its symbolic meaning was clear to everyone: this is an indelible mark; you will never leave here; this is the mark with which slaves are branded and cattle sent to the slaughter, and that is what you have become. You no longer have a name; this is your new name.(p. 119)

And, he might have added, you no longer have a face either. You have been de-faced, rendered face-less. "One is truly led to think that, in the Third Reich, the best choice, the choice imposed from above, was the one that entailed the greatest affliction, the greatest waste, the greatest physical and moral suffering. The 'enemy' must not only die, he must die in torment" (p.120). One might therefore ask: What else could this possibly be but sheer, unadulterated sadism?

Some sadists were surely present. Amazingly enough, though, Levi offers a quite different account. "The Lager SS were obtuse brutes, not subtle demons. They had been raised to violence; violence ran in their veins. It was normal, obvious. It could be seen in their faces, their gestures, their language. To humiliate, to make the 'enemy' suffer, was their everyday task; they did not reason about it, they had no ulterior ends: their end was simply that" (p. 121). For years, he continues, the perpetrators of these heinous crimes "had been subjected to a school in which current morality was turned upside down. In a totalitarian regime, education, propaganda, and information meet with no obstacles; they have an unlimited power about which anyone who was born and has lived in a pluralistic regime will find it difficult to form an idea" (p. 122).

In a strange and awful way, though, there is even a kind of hope here, in this very circumstance. As one ex-commandant had put the matter, the goal was "to condition those who were to be the material executors of the operations. To make it possible for them to do what they were doing" (pp. 126-127). "In other words," Levi clarifies, "before dying the victim must be degraded, so that the murderer will be lessened burdened by guilt. This is an explanation not devoid of logic but it shouts to heaven: it is the sole usefulness of useless violence" (p. 127).

So, where does this leave us. . . . Well, what I'll suggest here is that, alongside the problem of ordinary oblivion, there is the kind of cultivated oblivion that derives from turning the Other into the kind of

nameless, faceless thing upon which one can exercise the will of one's authorities – whether those authorities are a Hitler or some other charismatically coercive leader or the god or gods one believes to have ultimate say in who lives and who dies. We are not just talking about obtuse brutes, however, but philosophers and other intellectuals too. Nor are we only talking about overt acts of hostility. As Levi (1989) adds,

There are those who, faced by the crime of others or their own, turn their backs so as not to see it and not feel touched by it. This is what the majority of Germans did during the twelve Hitlerian years, deluding themselves that not seeing was a way of not knowing, and that not knowing relieved them of their share of complicity or connivance. (pp. 85-86)

Cultivated oblivion, par excellence. And, on Levi's account, defensive as well – the defense being directed against what one must have known to be one's better, more morally sound, self. It is extraordinary that quite high functioning people had stooped so low in their treatment of others.

Hannah Arendt (1963) puts the matter frighteningly well in her well-known book *Eichmann in Jerusalem*:

And just as the law in civilized countries assumes that the voice of conscience tells everybody "Thou shalt not kill," even though man's natural desires and inclinations may at times be murderous, so the law of Hitler's land demanded that the voice of conscience tell everybody: "Thou shalt kill," although the organizers of the massacres knew full well that murder is against the normal desires and inclinations of most people. Evil in the Third Reich had lost the quality by which most people recognize it – the quality of temptation. Many Germans and many Nazis, probably an overwhelming majority of them, must have been tempted not to murder, not to rob, not to let their neighbors go off to their doom . . . , and not to become accomplices in all these crimes by benefiting from them. But, God knows, they had learned how to resist temptation. (p. 150)

Over the course of these last minutes, I've been referring to some extreme cases. As I move toward closing, I want to bring these ideas a bit closer to home – by which I mean closer to the ways in which we ourselves, or at least some of us, may, on some level, be guilty of some comparable failings to the ones we've been exploring.

I don't know whether what's been going on recently in the States has managed to be communicated here, but we have been going through a particularly difficult period having to do with the relationship between police and African-American men. Sometime ago several African American men were killed by police officers; and given the way things unfolded, there was some evidence to suggest that race had played a part in the haste with which violent measures had been taken by the police. And then, just a few weeks ago, something similar happened. All of these incidents resulted in an outcry, especially, but certainly not exclusively, on the part of African Americans. It also resulted in the killing of five police officers in Dallas, Texas. Apparently, the killing of innocent black men served as a justification for killing white police officers. That, at least, was the killer's stated purpose and goal. Not surprisingly, these killings too caused outrage.

With situations like these, it may seem very difficult to detect any measure of care for the Other. There certainly didn't seem to be a whole lot of care going on in the case of the sniper who gunned down the five policemen. It was despicable and inexcusable. But it may not be incomprehensible. And it may be worth our while, in instances like these, to try to comprehend what might have been going on. Truthfully, I found myself resisting doing so in the case of these most recent killings; they were too fresh and the behavior of the shooter was too extreme. He apparently laughed, at times, during the course of the exchange he had with authorities before he himself was killed.

Let me therefore turn to another case – one that's less severe but significant in its own right. Ta-Nehisi Coates's bestselling book *Between the World and Me* (2015) is a remarkable account of being a "black body" in America, taking the form of a letter to his son. Here is a particularly telling incident:

Perhaps [he writes to his son] you remember that time we went to see *Howl's Moving Castle* on the Upper West Side. You were almost five years old. The theater was crowded, and when we came out we rode a set of escalators down to the ground floor. As we came off, you were moving at the dawdling speed of a young child. A white woman pushed you and said "Come on!" Many things now happened at once. There was the reaction of any parent

when a stranger lays a hand on the body of his or her child. And there was my own insecurity in my ability to protect your black body. And more: There was my sense that this woman was pulling rank. I knew, for instance, that she would not have pushed a black child out on my part of Flatbush, because she would be afraid there and would sense, if not know, that there would be a penalty for such an action. . . . I turned and spoke to this woman [Coates continues], and my words were hot with all of the moment and all of my history. She shrunk back, shocked. A white man standing nearby spoke up in her defense. I experienced this as his attempt to rescue the damsel from the beast. He had made no such attempt on behalf of my son. And he was now supported by other white people in the assembling crowd. The man came closer. He grew louder. I pushed him away. He said, "I could have you arrested!" I did not care. I told him this, and the desire to do much more was hot in my throat. This desire was only controllable because I remembered someone standing off to the side there, bearing witness to more fury than he had ever seen from me – you. (pp. 93-94)

What I most want to highlight here is Coates's fury, which is derived not only from the heat of the moment but from the whole of his history, now surfacing. By "the whole of his history," I refer not only to his personal history but also to the larger cultural history into which we are born and that operates in us and through us in ways that may be largely unacknowledged. I have come to speak in this context of the narrative unconscious (Freeman, 2002, 2012), referring to those culturally-rooted aspects of our histories that have yet to become an explicit part of our stories. "I came home shook," he writes, partly due to the intensity of the event and partly due to the subterranean intensity of this larger history that had come into view. The idea of the narrative unconscious can also be applied to his son, who, no doubt, would integrate this frighteningly awful event, this trauma, into his own history, spread among countless others, also tied, in one way or another, to his black body; all of this would become part of his own deep memory and deep identity. Finally, the idea of the narrative unconscious can be applied to us, his readers, who have inhabited a culture and world that is violent and divided and that permeates our mind and our being, often, again, in ways unbeknownst to us.

What Coates has sought to reveal in his book is what we might think of as a kind of cultural oblivion. "This is the world I live in and that

my son will live in," he essentially tells us in the book. "You think you know about it, but you really don't." As for the protests we have been seeing, and the violence, the idea is much the same: "This is nothing new," the protestors have been saying. "It's been here all along; it's just taken these horrific tragedies to get you to see it. And it's time now for it to stop." "See us," they might add. "Know us." "Care for us. It's our country too."

One of our daughters – she's a hair stylist in Boston – has a tattoo on her arm that includes the image of a scissors shaped into the "greater than" sign. It says "Love is greater than fear." I think she's right about this. But as we've seen throughout this talk, love, and care for the Other more generally, is easily overwhelmed and submerged – beneath ordinary oblivion, found in our routine dealings with others; beneath cultivated oblivion, found in our capacity to be blinded by ugly, immoral ideologies and so-called absolute truths, to dehumanize other people and to do profound violence to them; and beneath the kind of cultural oblivion that we have just considered. That it is difficult to care for the very distant Other in some faraway land is, sadly, understandable. Distant others frequently remain psychologically anonymous, faceless; and unless we get to see them and to witness their suffering in some way, they may remain so. This problem, the problem of distance, is a moral catastrophe and is undoubtedly behind some of the many atrocities that littered the 20th century especially. But the problem of distance is in no way limited to our relationship to those in faraway lands. It also includes those in our midst whom we render distant, whom we other – and in this othering, lose a sense of their realness and humanity. This too is a moral catastrophe, and by all indications it is as difficult to address as the previous one. Caring for the "near" Other, whoever he or she may be, may be every bit as challenging, if not more so, than caring for those in faraway lands.

Perhaps the largest and most devastating moral catastrophe, though, is when the Other gets othered and needs to be erased. As Robert Jay Lifton (2000) has framed this last impulse, especially with regard to certain fundamentalist religious groups, eager to "purify" things, it's a matter of "destroying the world to save it."

This may be the biggest threat to caring for the Other – perhaps even bigger than the various forms of oblivion that have been considered. It too is borne out of care in a way, maybe even love. But it is a love of one's own, alone: the priority of the Same. Me first. Us first. Unlike the "autism" of oblivion, which we have seen to be threatening in its own right, we have a virulent, culturally constituted narcissism, which regards all others as obstructions and impurities, destroyed so the world – or at least their world – can be saved. Isis comes to mind

here.

I won't pretend to offer any simple solutions to the kinds of problems we've been considering here today. The good news is, care for the Other appears to be an enduring feature of the human experience; we even saw hints of it in Levi's discussion of useless violence. The not-so-good news is that this care is very easily derailed and corrupted and is very difficult to sustain – which is why it sometimes takes catastrophes like terrible fires to shake us awake. The task, therefore, is to imagine what might be done to preserve care for the Other. At the very least, what seem to be needed are concrete practices oriented toward strengthening attention and moral discernment, ones that serve to keep in view the priority of the Other. Also needed are practices oriented toward what

Iris Murdoch (1970) has called unselfing, the letting-go of one's own ego-centric and narcissistic preoccupations and wishes. The challenges at hand are massive ones, especially given the kind of world we've come to inhabit. I believe psychology can play a vitally important role in addressing them. And conferences like these are a very good way to take some of the needed steps.

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Researching Diversity: Othering and Reflexivity

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Abstract

Whilst promising a better understanding of social heterogeneity, researching diversity also carries the risk of reinforcing the issues commonly associated with social differences such as exclusion, marginalisation and discrimination (Bell & Hartmann, 2007; Martinsson & Reimers, 2013; Vercotec, 2012; 2014). One of the socio-psychological mechanisms through which such issues can be unintentionally reproduced in research practice is through the process of Othering (Jensen, 2011; Johnson et al., 2004; Krumer-Nevo & Sidi, 2012). In this paper, I aim to discuss this notion of Othering as well as to explore the notion of reflexivity (Ben-Ari & Enosh, 2010; Finlay, 2002; Pillow, 2003) as a valuable practice in addressing the risk of Othering in the research context. The argument is built on the experience of conducting a study about a community based rehabilitation program (CBR) in Bantul district, Yogyakarta. The program sought to advocate for the equalization of opportunities and social inclusion of difabel people. Drawing on this experience, I discuss the notion of Othering and reflexivity as a way to develop a more critical approach to diversity studies. I situate the discussion specifically in the Indonesian academic context and in relation to disability issues.

Keywords: diversity, othering, reflexivity, disability

Introduction

As reflected in its title, this conference is intended to generate discussions that promote better understanding of the notion of diversity both as discourse and as practice. For social researchers, this conference is a call to explore theoretical and methodological frameworks through which the notion of diversity and its complexities can be better investigated and explained. Responding to this call, in this paper I offer my reflection as a novice researcher engaging with the notion of diversity through my doctoral thesis which addresses the issue of disability.

Drawing on my experience, I aim to discuss one of the challenging aspects of researching diversity as a notion that encompasses social differences (Vercotec, 2014). The particular challenge that I would like to address is what is called the risk of Othering. Othering is a process of portraying out-groups as essentially different, and with inferior classifications or characters. The manifestations of Othering can range from blatant exclusions and discriminations to subtler forms of prejudice (Jenssen, 2011; Johnson et al., 2004; Krumer-Nevo & Sidi, 2012).

In relation to research practice, some scholars have argued that the process of Othering can be unintentionally reproduced through the way researchers undertake their research into the issue of diversity (Krumer-Nevo & Sidi, 2012; Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 1996). In this paper, I discuss this risk in reference to my experience as a non-disabled researcher undertaking research which addresses the issue of disability. Based on this experience, I would like to argue that reflexivity is a valuable practice to address the risk of Othering in the context of research.

This paper commences with a discussion on the risk of Othering and how it relates to the notions of subjectivity and researcher positioning in a study. The next section explores the concept of reflexivity (its meaning and implications) and how it may assist a researcher to be more critical in approaching the notion of diversity. Thereafter, I bring my experience as a scholar who works in the Indonesian academic setting and my current doctoral study as the context within which I situate my discussion about reflexivity.

Researching diversity as categories of difference

At the core of diversity are “categories of difference” which are based on peoples’ social identities. The notion of diversity usually

encompasses social categories like race, gender, ethnicity, culture, social class, religious belief, sexual orientation, age, and disability (Vertovec, 2014, p. 2). Drawing on this understanding, I use the term diversity to refer to various social identities commonly used to categorize people into different groups. In diversity studies, social identities are usually situated as the entry point for examining a particular phenomenon. As reflected in the title of this conference, ethnicity, culture and religion are positioned as the lenses through which people make meanings of their social interactions in a plural society.

In many parts of the world, discourses on diversity are often anchored within the context of civil movements for categorical rights and recognition. In relation to this context, researching diversity is usually intended to promote respect and recognition of people's rights to express their social identities (Blommaert & Verschueren, 1998; Faist, 2014; Vercotec, 2012; 2014). Within this frame, people's social identities are examined to better understand their meanings as well as their personal and communal implications. Such an understanding is considered crucial for developing ways to promote equality and tackle exclusion, marginalization and discrimination (Bell & Hartmann, 2007; Faist, 2014; Martinsson & Reimers, 2013; Vercotec, 2014).

However, taking social identities as the focus of a study also comes with some risks. Despite the intention to better understand the meanings of people's social identities, studies on this topic can in fact reproduce the practice of exclusion, marginalization and discrimination. Researching social identity usually becomes a problematic process when the characteristics associated with social identity are viewed as a static attribute that can define and differentiate the persons conclusively. People are locked into a single-reductive identity with absolute characterizations. The intersections of various social categories that shape people's multiple identities are disregarded as is the permeable nature of identity (Bell & Hartmann, 2007; Faist, 2014; Martinsson & Reimers, 2013; Vercotec, 2012; 2014).

The problem as described above is usually manifested in studies, which do not situate social identities as categories that are constructed in particular socio-historical and political contexts. Instead, social identities are assumed as a natural category that has constant and uniform meanings (Faist, 2014; Reyes-Cruz & Sonn, 2011; Vercotec, 2014). For example, in research about the Javanese, such a problem arises when the study fails to consider Javanese as a contested notion and assumes the existence of homogeneous meanings of being Javanese. Such a study ignores the historical and political forces, which continuously shape and reshape the idea of being Javanese, therefore, its meanings as an ethnic identity are constantly moving and

negotiated.

When social identities are positioned as natural categories of difference within a study, thereby ignoring their historical and political embeddedness, researchers may be at risk of reproducing stereotypical representations about the group being studied. Through such stereotypical representations, the practice of exclusion and discrimination are usually justified and normalized. For this reason, scholars argue about the importance of unpacking the taken-for-granted assumptions surrounding social identities as categories of difference (Faist, 2014; Reyes-Cruz & Sonn, 2011; Vercotec, 2014). Instead of portraying the differences as neutral and natural categories, scholars need to investigate the processes through which those categories are politically constructed to maintain a social hierarchy that privileges a particular category over another (Reyes-Cruz & Sonn, 2011; Vercotec, 2014). Without such a critical approach, a study on social identities may reproduce what is called the process of Othering (Krumer-Nevo & Sidi, 2012; Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 1996).

The absence of reciprocity and the process of Othering

Researching diversity often involves a process of putting one's social identity under scrutiny. One's race or ethnicity or religion is examined to investigate how it affords the person distinct characterizations that differentiate him or her from those belonging to other social categories. The characterizations identified in the study are often described as the inherent attributes of the social group under study (Faist, 2014; Reyes-Cruz & Sonn, 2011; Vercotec, 2014). Often missing from such an approach is the presence of the researcher as the lens through which those characterizations are identified, interpreted and constructed. The characterizations are framed as an objective portrayal of the other. The research participants' ethnicity or religion or race is positioned as a distant object of study, outside the researcher. The researcher as the medium through which those characterizations are selected, named, labelled and analysed is absent from the description. It is through such an absence that the process of Othering is potentially present in a study (Fine, Weis, Weseen, Wong, 2000; Krumer-Nevo & Sidi, 2012).

The notion of Other is central to social sciences. In various fields of study including anthropology, sociology and psychology, the attempts to understand the Other (e.g., the natives, the indigenous, the impaired, the disordered, the abnormal) are at the core of their scientific endeavours (Dervin, 2015; Krumer-Nevo & Sidi, 2012). However, as it has been widely discussed in studies about orientalism,

colonialism, racism, sexism and ableism, the process of studying the Other is hardly a neutral process. Studying the Other often involves a process of comparing the Other with what is positioned as the standard or the norm. As highlighted in fields like postcolonial, gender and disability studies, studying the Other is often based on a premise of juxtaposing white, male, heterosexual, non-disabled body, against the Other. Accordingly, those who fall outside such criteria are vulnerable to be analysed and named as the abnormal or even the inferior (Bell & Hartmann, 2007; Dervin, 2015; Fine et al., 2000; Krumer-Nevo & Sidi, 2012; Reyes-Cruz & Sonn, 2011; Vercotec, 2014). The notion of Othering refers to this process of portraying the Other as “essentially different and translating this difference to inferiority” (Krumer-Nevo and Sidi, 2012, p. 299)

The practice of Othering in psychology has always been an ongoing topic of criticism. In fact, the emergence of some streams in psychology such as feminist psychology, indigenous psychology, and liberation psychology are representing the movement against Othering in psychology (e.g., Montero & Sonn, 2009; Smith, 1999; Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 1996;). For example, feminist psychology has been an arena in which Othering against women is critically challenged. One of the key features of feminist psychology is its resistance to the pathologizing approach which puts women as the problematic Other (for example through concepts like penis envy complex, the fear of success syndrome, pre-menstruation syndrome). By pathologizing women, psychology has ignored the role of gender inequality as the root of the problems (Gridley & Turner, 2010).

An illustration from feminist psychology as described above suggests that the representation of the Other is very much determined by the approach used by the observer or researcher. The illustration indicates that the construction of women as the problematic Other is primarily shaped by the ignorance or masculine bias of the researcher rather than by the inherent conditions of the women under study. However, the ignorance or the bias of the researcher that orients the way he or she describes the research participants is often unrecognized, let alone acknowledged. Instead, the researcher will present his or her findings as an objective description about the research participants. Referring to this kind of awareness therefore the process of Othering is often associated with the absence of reciprocity in research practice (Fine et al., 2000).

In research practice, underpinning the process of Othering is the power imbalance between the researcher and the research participants, in which the researcher has the main control in constructing the research participants as the Other. Such a power imbalance can be

operated through various ways, one of them is through the absence of reciprocity in the research process (Fine et al., 2000). As researcher, “we ask for revelations from others, but we reveal little or nothing of ourselves; we make others vulnerable, but ourselves remain invulnerable” (Behar as cited in Fine et al., 2000, p. 109). In other words, as researcher, we often problematise and question others’ ethnicity or culture or religion and theorise how those identity markers orient their thoughts, attitudes and behaviors. On the other hand, we hardly problematise or question how our own ethnicity or culture or religion may influence the way we perceive others (Behar, 1996).

Through the absence of reciprocity as described above, examining the others may potentially become a source of dominance since the research participants are positioned as “given objects and not as a product of the author’s selective interpretation” (Krumer-Nevo & Siddi, 2012, p. 300). In such a context, the researcher puts aside the role of her own identities (e.g., gender, disability, ethnicity, culture and religion) as the lenses through which she constructs the others. Without taking into account the influence of her own identities, a researcher is at risk of doing injustice to the research participants by claiming her selective interpretations of the research participants as an objective description about them.

With the absence of reciprocity, research becomes a one way process of investigating the research participants’ subjectivity (e.g., their gender, culture, ethnicity or disability). In such a context, the researcher ignores the role of her own subjectivity in producing a selective representation about the research participants. This kind of practice may unintentionally reproduce the process of Othering for the researcher fails to recognise how her subjectivity may limit her ability to objectively represent the research participants (Behar, 1996; Finlay, 2002; Pillow, 2013). For this reason, there has been an increasing literature in qualitative research, which discusses the notion of reflexivity as a strategy through which researcher subjectivity can be better integrated into a research process.

Reflexivity: making researcher subjectivity visible

The increasing concern on the notion of reflexivity stems from the acknowledgment that conducting research is hardly an objective process. Instead, research always reflects the subjectivity of the researcher. The researcher’s personal and social identities (e.g., gender, disability, ethnicity, culture, religion) along with her worldviews, beliefs and values cannot be fully separated from her empirical work.

As much as it is about the research participants, a research report will always reflect who the researcher is in relation to the topic under study. The researcher's presumptions, attitudes and positioning to the issues raised in the study will influence the direction of the research, selection of topic and who to study (Ben-Ari & Enosh, 2010; Fine et al., 2000; Nolas, 2011; Pillow, 2003; Probst, 2015). Grounded on such arguments, engaging with researcher subjectivity in the research process has increasingly become an area of concern, particularly in qualitative research methodology.

Under the positivist tradition, there was a certain period in psychology in which the issue of researcher subjectivity was dealt with a distancing attitude. Within the tradition, researcher subjectivity was usually approached as a potential interference, which might risk the objectivity of the investigation. Consequently, subjectivity needed to be controlled, minimized and distanced from the situation or issue under study. Drawing on this tradition, separating out the researcher from the topic of study tends to be a familiar practice in psychology. As a result, recognizing how researcher subjectivity may influence the research process is usually absent because the researcher dissociates herself from the issues and people under study (Behar, 1996; Fine et al., 2000, Pillow, 2003; Probst, 2015).

However, with the coming of the "interpretive turn" in social science, researchers have shifted toward the opposing direction in their approach to how subjectivity should be situated in academic inquiry (Pillow, 2003, p. 178). Under the interpretive tradition which views knowledge production as an interactive and contextual process, subjectivity begins to be acknowledged. One of the arguments underpinning this shift is the criticism toward the idea that disconnecting researcher subjectivity from the research process can increase the likelihood of producing an objective account of a phenomenon. By bringing in the issue of power in research relation, scholars put this idea into question. They argue that instead of promoting objectivity, disregarding subjectivity often results in the researchers' ignorance of their limitations in making an accurate description of the phenomenon under study (Behar, 1996; Finlay, 2002; Pillow, 2003, Probst, 2015). Consequently, what is supposed to be reported as a selective account of a phenomenon (i.e., a particular study, about particular people, by particular person, in a particular context) is reported as an objective description of the phenomenon.

Based on the criticism as described above, scholars argue about the importance of interrogating researcher subjectivity in research process through reflexivity. Reflexivity is a concept, which has been much discussed, in qualitative research. Its proliferation results in the

diverse meanings associated with this term (e.g., Ben-Ari & Enosh, 2010; D’Cruz, Gillingham & Melendez, 2007; Finlay, 2002; Probst, 2015). Among others, reflexivity has been discussed as a method, a skill and an ethical positioning. For the purpose of this paper, I find Nolas (2011) provides a relevant definition. She explains that:

Reflexivity refers to the practice of situating oneself in the research context and analysing the implications of one’s subjectivity both in the context of and in relation to the research being carried out. It is an awareness of, a sensitivity to and engagement with the social and cultural embeddedness of our theories, methods and research questions, as well as a way of checking and critiquing one’s assumptions about the research (p.123).

The definition above suggests that reflexivity requires a researcher to make her subjectivity visible. Therefore, as argued by Pillow (2003), practicing reflexivity often involves an on-going process of being “critically conscious through personal accounting of how the researcher’s self-location (across for example, gender, race, class, sexuality, ethnicity, nationality), position and interests influence all stages of the research process” (p. 178).

Having critical consciousness of one’s own subjectivity and how it may impacts on the research process will enable the researcher to recognize, acknowledge and address her limitations in producing an accurate account of the phenomenon under study. This understanding is reflected in Pillow’s (2003) article in which she describes reflexivity as “recognition of self” (p. 183). This phrase suggests that reflexivity is a process of acknowledging the presence of researcher’s subjectivity in the story she builds about the particular people being studied. Making subjectivity visible potentially assists both the researcher and the readers to do justice to the story as they can better consider the extent to which the story accurately represents the particular people being studied (Behar, 1993; Ben-Ari & Enosh, 2010; Finlay, 2002; Pillow, 2003; Probst, 2015).

Other than addressing the issue of accuracy in representing the others, reflexivity is also valued for its potential in interrogating the researchers’ ethical sensitivity. Having critical awareness on her own ideological, moral or political position and interest may enable a researcher to be more sensitive with the ethical implications of her story about the Other. Reflexivity facilitates the researcher to question the extent to which her worldviews, beliefs and values will enable her to develop a story that promotes better intergroup understanding or

will they potentially reinforce the existing stereotypes and prejudices (Gullemin & Gillam, 2004; Pillow, 2003).

Using reflexivity as a way to interrogate the ethical implications of a study is particularly crucial when the research is dealing with groups who are structurally disadvantaged for being categorized as the deviant others (Krumer-Nevo & Sidi, 2012). One such group is difabel people. In many parts of the world, difabel people still experience systemic prejudice, discrimination and marginalization due to their difference from the 'body norm'. This context suggests that undertaking disability study carries an ethical responsibility to not reproduce the system that normalizes the oppressive practices toward difabel people (Symeonidou & Beauchamp-Pryor, 2013). In the following section, I discuss my experience of trying to put the notion of reflexivity into practice, particularly in relation to my positioning as a non-disabled researcher engaging with the issue of disability.

Practicing reflexivity: its meaning and implications

I wrote this section not from a retrospective position of having finalized my research and then looking back at how I translated the notion of reflexivity throughout the research process. This section is written from my current position as a PhD student grappling with the challenges of trying to put the notion of reflexivity into practice, particularly in relation to the issue of disability. What is presented in this section is, by no means, intended to provide a final and consolidated overview of how the notion of reflexivity is developed in my research. Rather, in this presentation, I would like to utilize my work in progress as a means of continuing a conversation about the potential and challenges of being a reflexive researcher, particularly in the Indonesian academic context and in relation to the issue of disability. Given the limited space of this presentation, I focus my discussion mainly on the conceptual aspect of reflexivity as a measure of research rigor by attending to the issue of subjectivity and researcher positioning. Discussing reflexivity as a method (i.e., the concrete steps of practicing reflexivity) is not part of this presentation.

Researcher positioning is a crucial issue in disability study, particularly in relation to the role of non-disabled researcher. The problematic position of non-disabled researcher reflects the long history of oppressive research practices experienced by difabel people. A part of that history is the domination of pathologizing approach to disability study. This approach views disability as individual abnormalities and tragedies that need to be treated and helped by non-disabled experts.

Non-disabled physical characteristics and functioning are positioned as the normality toward which difabel bodies needs to be adjusted to. This approach frames difabel people as the problem and the object of research. On the other hand, non-disabled researcher is considered as a neutral subject whose her or his political and ethical views on disability do not pose any harming implications on difabel people's life (Barnes & Mercer, 1997; Stone & Priestley, 1996; DePoy & Gilson, 2011; Mallet & Runswick-Cole, 2014).

The discussion about the problematic role of the non-disabled researcher as described above became the background knowledge for my fieldwork last year. I started my fieldwork with an intention to study the meanings and implications of participating in a CBR program, which was developed to improve the equalization of opportunities and social inclusion of difabel people in Bantul district, Yogyakarta. Although knowing that disability is the key issue in the CBR program, initially I was reluctant to situate disability as one of the central frameworks of my research. Instead, I started my fieldwork with an emphasis on the role of the Non-Government Organization (NGO), which initiated and managed the CBR program.

Having knowledge on the problematic role of non-disabled researcher as described above, I avoided the complexities of studying the CBR program from the vantage point of the difabel people who participated in the program. What do I know about being difabel? What if I accidentally do more harm to them through my research? What if I cannot contribute much for their struggle as much as what they would possibly do for my personal development? Driven by this kind of question I avoided engaging with the core issue of this program. At that time, I thought I was doing the right thing by thinking that only difabel people who have right and competency to do a study on disability. However, as I started to interact more with the difabel people who participated in the program and engaged with the readings on the social model of disability (Barnes, 2012; Goodley, 2011; Mallet & Runswick-Cole, 2014; Oliver, 2009; 2013), I became aware that through my reluctance I have instead reproduced the marginalization of difabel people.

The social model of disability rejects the victim-blaming approach by asserting that disability is "a social problem requiring education, attitude change, and social adjustment on the part of both abled and disabled people" (Mertens, Sullivan & Stace, 2011, p.229). Using this perspective to contemplate on my interactions with the research participants, I realised the need to approach my research differently. Instead of approaching disability as a remote issue that exists outside of me, I needed to locate myself within the issue. Disability is not only

about difabel persons but also about the socio-political and cultural system, which place non-disabled and difabel people in unequal relations (Barnes, 2012; Goodley, 2011; Mallet & Runswick-Cole, 2014; Oliver, 2009; 2013).

The awareness that I need to confront my distancing attitude toward disability came as I engaged with the discussion about being a reflexive researcher (e.g., Behar, 1996; Ben-Ari & Enosh, 2010, Finlay, 2002; Pillow, 2003). The discussion has prompted me to do Probst (2015) described as “gazing in two directions at the same time” (p. 38). The phrase refers to a process in which a researcher tries to understand what is happening in the field of study and at the same time becomes aware of her own projections, assumptions and bias. Driven by such an argument, I approach my interviews with the research participants as a two-way mirror. The interviews said something about the research participants as well as about me as the researcher.

Approaching my interviews as a two-way process has helped me to be more critical of my own assumptions and prior knowledge and how they may impact on the research process. Below is an example of a particular conversation with one of the research participants, which generated a critical awareness of my own assumptions and prior knowledge, particularly in relation to my position as a non-disabled researcher:

Just because something is made by a difabel person, sometimes it is overly appreciated. Say you go to a food vendor owned by a difabel person. Honestly you think her food is just so so or lack in hygiene, but when she is asking you how's the food, you say something really nice about it. You say that her cooking is very good. You are afraid that being honest about the food will hurt her feelings. Because if something is made by a difabel person and the quality is not good enough, people usually still say that it is good enough. Difabel people are not appreciated for what they create but because of their impairment (Ilham, pseudonym)

Ilham did not direct his comment personally to me but what he said immediately prompted me to think about my position as a non-disabled person and how it afforded me a particular view, attitude and behavior toward disability. I started questioning the extent to which I had been reinforcing that kind of patronizing attitude through the way I conducted the research, particularly through the way I interacted with the research participants. Integrating this kind of questioning

allows my interactions with the research participants to reshape the course of my study. The study has evolved not only because I have more extensive interactions with the research participants (which is the nature of a qualitative research), but also because I have developed an awareness of how and why I know what I know about the research participants. This experience supports the argument that reflexivity may “promote rich insight through examining personal responses and interpersonal dynamics” (Finlay, 2002, p. 225).

Having a reflective approach to the research process has enabled me to realize the possible distortions in my research. The approach has raised awareness that avoiding the issue of disability might in fact reinforce the marginalizing assumption on disability. By not taking disability as one of the main frameworks of the study, I might have reiterated the view of disability as the problem of the individuals who experience it. I was unable to see that as a non-disabled person who is embedded in a society that normalizes discrimination against disabled people, I am part of the root cause of the problem (Mertens et al., 2011). Driven by such awareness, I then changed my approach to the study by positioning disability as one of the central frameworks of the study. Disability is interrogated in the study not to problematize the individuals who experience it but to unpack the social systems and practices that maintain the everyday prejudice and discrimination against disability in Indonesia.

Reflective note on reflexivity

The previous section outlined an example of how taking a reflective approach to research can disrupt taken-for-granted assumptions and prior knowledge about disability. Through the disruption, the influence of my subjectivity was made visible. Based on such an experience, I concur with Pillow (2003) who states that “To be reflexive, then, not only contributes to producing knowledge that aids in understanding and gaining insight into the working of our social world but also provides insight on how this knowledge is produced” (p. 178). In other words, reflexivity encourages a researcher to continuously question and be critical toward her own interpretations and knowledge production as a way to do justice to the story (Hertz, 1997).

Whilst acknowledging its potential, I agree with a body of work, which discusses the challenging aspects of practicing reflexivity (e.g., Bott, 2010; Pillow, 2003; Probst, 2015). My experience confirms the argument that being a reflexive researcher requires a particular skill and stamina, which may include critical thinking, willingness to question

established beliefs, and courage to confront one's own limitations and biases (Probst, 2015). Acquiring those skills and stamina can be quite challenging especially when using a reflexive approach is not a familiar practice in the academic atmosphere in which we operate. As a scholar, I grew up in a socio-political and cultural context in which being critical was not in favored or even socially condoned. The context had produced academic settings, which emphasized obedience attitudes (Hadiz & Dhakidae, 2005). Coming from such a context, I find that exercising critical thinking to reexamine my beliefs, assumptions and previous knowledge is one of the challenging parts in practicing reflexivity.

As mentioned earlier in this presentation, the notion of reflexivity is nested within the interpretative/constructivist paradigm in social science (Fine et al., 2000; Pillow, 2003; Probst, 2015). Therefore, practicing reflexivity, which requires a researcher to interrogate her own subjectivity, can be a challenging process for those who are more familiar with objectivist epistemology. When I did my undergraduate in psychology, objectivist epistemology was the preferred approach. Later on, I have learned about interpretative/constructivist approaches, which are becoming more widely accepted. However, the foundational training that I received during my undergraduate years has instilled in me particular scholarly habits which are informed by the positivist tradition. One such habit is the tendency to dissociate myself as a researcher from the phenomenon or people under study. Having this habit, I find that interrogating my own subjectivity is another challenging part of practicing reflexivity. I am more familiar with the idea of a researcher investigating, analyzing and making conclusions about the research participants without questioning the role of her subjectivity as the lens through which the research participants are selectively examined.

Dealing with these challenges is still an on-going process for me. Drawing on my experience, I find that having awareness of my intersectionality is a crucial step to interrogate how my subjectivity impacts on the research process. The term intersectionality refers to identity as a plural construct. It explains the multiple social categories, which co-exist and intersect in one's identity (Gridley & Turner, 2010; Nash, 2008; Yuval-Daviz, 2006). Being aware of intersectionality means recognizing the intersection of my multiple identities (i.e., my position as a non-disabled, my gender, social class, academic background, ethnicity and religion) and how they afford me particular beliefs, assumptions and worldviews through which I selectively interpret other persons' and my own experiences. For example, as a psychologist, I have the tendency to attribute one's behavior to his or her personal dispositions. Having awareness of my subjectivity mean

being critical of how such a tendency may influence my ability to view disability as a politically contested issue.

Conclusion

Drawing on my current research journey, in this presentation I discussed the notion of reflexivity as a valuable practice to enhance research credibility by taking into account the role of researcher subjectivity in knowledge production. Particularly in relation to the topic of this conference, I argue that a reflective approach to research is crucial in developing a more critical perspective on the notion of diversity as categories of difference. Engaging in a reflective approach may prevent the researcher from reproducing diversity studies, which generate distorted representations of a particular social group as a consequence of the researcher's unrecognized limitations and biases. Practicing reflective approach is even more crucial when the study entails the issue of social justice and power in knowledge production.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Christopher Sonn, Adrian Fisher, Amy Quayle and Kirsten Meyer for their helpful comments. This work is part of the PhD candidature at Victoria University supported by the Prime Minister's Australia Asia Endeavour Postgraduate Awards.

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Intractable Conflict Maluku, Local Wisdom in Reconciliation, and We-ness

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Intractable conflict Maluku

Early 1999, one year after the 1998 regime change, Indonesian people were startled by communal conflicts, with religious and ethnic identity in Maluku, Poso and Central Kalimantan (Manoppo, 2005; Salampeppy & Husain, 2001). The ethno-religious conflict prompted waves of solidarity, widespread in different locations in the sprawling Indonesia, particularly from people living in Java Island, particularly the elite. Such situation had led all into social disintegration because social tolerance merely reaches religious and ethnic groupings.

In the Indonesian modern history, the Maluku conflict is a stage of violence, the most startling after the slaughter against the communists in 1965 (van Klinken, 2007). Since the beginning of the conflict on January 19, 1999 up to January 2003, about 5,000 people were recorded to have died, about 500,000 people displaced, and nearly 80 percent of buildings of public facilities and residence damaged (Yanuarti, 2003).

Bar-Tal (2000), an expert in conflict who conducted researches on identity-based protracted conflicts rooted in history, concludes that identity conflict is an intractable one and has nearly no hope to resolve. Coleman (2006) depicts clearly the character of the intractable conflict, i.e. history of dominance and past unjust condition; dominance change; complex of issues intermingled among the economy, politics and culture. Apart from it, such conflict is identified to mark with very emotional character of the conflict process, deep humiliation, very violent clashes, involving all levels of social layers, totality of involvement, high intensity. The character of the conflict, as Coleman forwards, is clearly seen in the Maluku Conflict.

The character of the conflict, as Coleman forwards, is clearly seen in the Maluku conflict, in which all public agenda was centered on conflict. Nearly all Maluku people were involved in the conflict, either for self-defense or for attacking adversaries. All age groups, i.e. old and young, either men or women, even children were involved in the conflict. Public servants, vendors, lawyers, unemployed, even police and military officers were also involved. Nearly all people became victims but also perpetrators of the conflict. The Maluku people were divided and segregated into Muslim and Christian groups.

Reconciliation efforts conducted by the Indonesian government tended to ignore the identity split of the people involved in the conflict. Government instead applied approach of law enforcement, security policy, and of economic activities. Parties whom the government invited were always political and religious elites. Such is commonly identified as top-down approach (Bar-Tal, 2009; Muluk, 2004; Wessells, 2008; Van der Merwe, 1999).

A different reconciliatory effort and the contrary of what the Indonesian governments have taken is what is called *Baku Bae* movement in Maluku starting from mid-2000. The movement involved grassroots people or middle groups up to the lowest, the members of which were the conflict perpetrators and also the victims. The movement did not involve political elite or elite members of the government, which then known as bottom-up reconciliation (Muluk and Malik, 2009; Van der Merwe, 1999). The movement did not apply either legal, political approaches, or formal forgiveness, like the government-led reconciliation. The *Baku Bae* efforts focus on identity split of the Maluku social groupings. The movement opines that the Maluku conflict is religious identity conflict and the reconciliation key therefore refers to identity reconciliation. This study examines this stance.

During three years since April 2000 up to January 2003, *Baku Bae* movement had conducted 19 times of workshops (Joint Committee, 2001; Lubis, 2003; Panggabean, 2004; Sen, 2009). The workshop's participants were combatants, displaced persons, journalists, lawyers, religious leaders, intellectuals, university students, indigenous people leaders, military and police officers, NGOs, particular other individuals of social influence; all amounted to 335 persons. The movement also advanced peace campaigns for Muslim and Christian communities who originate from Maluku yet living out of the area, like in Jakarta, Jogjakarta, Surabaya, Makassar, Palu, Manado, and also overseas like in Brussels, Amsterdam and Utrecht. Other agenda taken were public polls, twice held, involving 11,843 respondents; opening a market at peace zone publicly entitled *Baku Bae* market; opening a neutral zone

at Pohon Pule and Nania in city of Ambon. Besides, the movement also set up a legal aid institute; pushed through the setting-up of a media center and initiated the embryo of the council of Maluku's traditional leaders (*latupati*).

The role of the facilitator was very crucial and central in the movement including in the workshops, and the facilitator was the vein of the movement (Sen, 2009). She or he functions as a neutral, impartial communication bridge for both divided groups for the conflict and for the religious identity in Maluku. The facilitator encouraged the emergence of trust for both conflicting parties and of mutual understanding, collaboration and hope between both groups.

It seems the Baku Bae movement as though ignores four important substances in reconciliation as brought up by peace psychologists like Kriesberg (2007); Lederach (1997); Muluk (2004); and Van der Merwe (1999) about past truth disclosure, justice, recovery and security. The movement process centers on the victims and the perpetrators, and it strived to re-integrate all divided layers of society for different religious identities (Malik, 2003). The movement also strives maximally to dig out and to use local wisdom of *Pela* and *Gandong* that existed in history and people's memory in Maluku on peace (Bartels, 2001a; Leariza, 2002; Putuhena, 2003). The movement conducted all of these efforts to create togetherness in Maluku's society, and that this togetherness is a manifestation of reconciliation in Maluku.

The Maluku reconciliation through *Baku Bae* movement essentially could be stated that to encourage integration from us (as Muslims) and from another us (as Christians) that there may be formed a We-ness that is a realization of reconciliation.

Pela and Gandong a local wisdom

In Maluku, *Pela* and *Gandong* are known for resolving social problems or social conflicts ((Bartels. 1977; Learisa, 2004; Putuhena, 2004). *Pela* is defined as a relation of brotherhood agreement between one village with another or some other villages after war or disaster occurs. Villages that commit *Pela* are usually situated in different isles and, the inhabitants of each sometimes adhere different religions. While *Gandong* literally means 'from one womb', is defined as kinship relation, blood ties between two brothers and sisters, yet for certain incidents, particularly during the colonial time, had caused them to separate. The separation is usually followed by changes of religious adherence.

One of the kinds of *Pela* in Maluku is called *Pelakeras* (or called

tuni that means rocks or blood). Usually such *Pela* brotherhood was committed for protracted war, in which none defeats the other or an impasse. *Pelakeras* was stipulated with a severe vow, with which whoever breaks it will be cursed very gravely. Therefore the Maluku people usually comply with this *Pela* tie.

Local wisdom of '*Pela* and *Gandong*' is considered capable of becoming a guidance for Maluku social groups and that *Baku Bae* movement is a ground to resolve conflict and to re-build Maluku people's future. During the worse time of the conflict, social group sees that *Pela* and *Gandong* relationship remains settled albeit the conflict. However serious the revenge of the Maluku people, they keep respecting *Pela* and *Gandong* relationship so that mutual killing was very rare between them when conflict takes place. Even they try to communicate and keep exchanging warnings that both do not become victims of the then on-going conflict. But the people were aware that the *Pela* and *Gandong* tie only covers two or three villages, while in fact Maluku has about 800 villages, all in conflict.

Local wisdom for reconciliation is also known in several conflict areas in South African reconciliation (Meiring, 2002) applies local value called ubuntu in Nguni language that derives from proverb "*umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu motho ke motho ba batho ba bangwe*", meaning "a human being is a human being because of others human being". This value is the basis to build togetherness in S. African reconciliation.

In S. Korea local value known as "*Cheong*" (Choi & Choi, 2001) means emotional relation between one individual with the other for feeling of togetherness as human being (feeling of We-ness). The characteristic of a person with high value of *Cheong* is to put importance in other's interest, patient, hearty, and careful of the other.

Local mechanism for reconciliation is also known in several conflict areas in Indonesia. In Poso of C. Sulawesi *Mo Tanbu Tana* (P4K Tadulako, 2004) is known for a mechanism to resolve social conflict. People conduct public gathering (*musyawarah*) to resolve conflict. After reaching a pact, they slaughter a buffalo and bury its head as symbol of all problems and revenge have been resolved and each party could proceed with life in the world in peace.

In Aceh of northern tip of Sumatra, *Suloh* is known as local mechanism for conflict resolution (Juned, 2005). Since the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda (1607-1636), Peujroh or Suloh law has been invented and implemented as a local mechanism to resolve and reconcile social conflicts. The term originates from Arabic language that means peace or disputes resolution.

Apart from *Pela* and *Gandong* value in fact in Maluku reconciliation terms related to reconciliation are rediscovered like *Baku Bae*

(Manoppo, 2003; Sen, 2009). *Baku Bae* words represent reconciliation. These words are usually used by children in Maluku when after fighting then they come to term, they mention words *Baku Bae*, while one is touching the other's right thumb with one's own. Literally '*baku*' means 'mutual', while '*bae*' means 'be good'. The word '*baku*' refers to a relation of reciprocity.

Eventually there are assumptions on the meaning of *Baku Bae* worth to note (Muluk & Malik, 2009; Sen, 2009). The word of 'peace' and 'war' have the notion of winning or having defeated and being defeated or surrender; or a relation that represent a zero-sum. *Baku Bae* instead has the meaning of 'win-win solution' or a positive-sum relation. The replacement of the word 'peace' (*damai*) with '*Baku Bae*', apart from facilitating reconciliation process, has caused the disappearance of the feeling of shame towards the conflicting communities. In the term of *Baku Bae* there is no party has to surrender.

Cohen (2004), who conducts a study on relation normalization process between Japan and Korea, finds how large the influence of the application of precise term for realizing reconciliation. After negotiation process during 14 days for relation normalization, in 1965 then Japan introduced the work '*Hansei*' that means 'remorse' or a reflection of unfavorable period during the World War II yet they remain the same stance of not guilty. International pressure on Japan keeps coming, particularly from China, which demanded the word '*Shazai*' that means 'apology' for war crime in the past.

In 1995 Japan Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama used the word '*Owabi*', meaning 'remorse, feeling guilty and be responsible'. However, because of pressures from war veterans in Japan eventually Murayama corrected his word that was considered as originating from himself as a person or personal apology and not representing the Japanese people. In 1998 Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto also mentioned *Owabi* for suffering people for World War II but the Japan speaker kept stressing it was a personal message.

So far, it could be concluded that essentially each society has a mechanism for conflict resolution. Each mechanism is unique that it cannot be applied for other societies with different cultures. However, the ideal cultural strategy to take in reconciliation is integration strategy in which cultural identity is fully taken up in reconciliation and larger population is therefore expected to be able to adapt with it

Reconciliation process and Baku Bae workshop

Research result shows that psychological wound remains intact, with strong prejudices, bitterness with scars of past conflict, rampant injustice in society. Maluku conflict victims, however, keep being willing to engage Baku Bae movement to start reconciliation process. In line with the process, the victims have to be capable of liberating themselves from different burdens for the conflict.

The most recent research of Bar-Tal et al. (2009) finds an interesting fact out of an intractable conflict i.e. that the victims generally suffer the syndrome of victimhood in which they behave, feel, express negative emotion toward the other group or toward other conflict perpetrators. Negative feeling and emotion engenders conflict ethos and collective memory of the people to linger that drag the conflict to carry on. It could also happen, however, that feeling as conflict victims lead an individual or a group to go to peace.

Bar-Tal's research result is also in line with Yildiz and Verkuyten (2011)'s, arguing that collective trauma can be used to unite and integrate the identity of the conflict victims. In identity conflict, in which victims are also perpetrators, the identity should be an identity that transcends and unites victims' identity of both parties.

Collective memory has also important role in reconciliation, in which its content can worsen conflict and complicate reconciliation, but can also be the contrary. In reality, collective memory often worsens conflict as Oren and Bar-Tal (2006) maintain. The most crucial situation of reconciliation process is when conflict cannot be stopped and keeps protracting. Victims accumulate and hatred against the other increases and victim groups take notes about those important incidents into their memory (Oren & Bar-Tal, 2006). Such painful suffering causes wounded-ness to perpetuate and feeling of being treated unfairly in the past and such would be handed down from one generation to the next (Bar-Tal, 2009). Volkan (2004) who conducts research on Bosnian war has taken notes about the trauma transformation from one generation to the other. He finds that conflict victims basically take the most painful trauma, kept from generation to generation through sustained ceremonies. The findings of Oren, Bar-Tal and Volkan have confirmed about the importance of the role of collective memory of the victims in order to maintain conflicts.

In Maluku conflict case, bitter memory on conflict is a fresh one, and suffering has not long experienced. It has not long settled in collective memory of the Maluku conflict's victims. At the time *Baku Bae* movement intensively and creatively (Arai, 2005) takes efforts to unearth and to fully use common memory about *Pela* and *Gandong* for

reconciliation process. Bitter memory of conflict is as if confronted with sweet memory about past togetherness. Data show that most participants state the value and the principle of *Pela* and *Gandong* are still effective to apply in Maluku reconciliation.

Paez and Liu (in Bar-Tal, 2009) maintains that it is nearly impossible to compromise with past bitter memory on conflict (as if 'sowing seeds of fear and mistrust'). Nearly all experts studying collective memory agree that past bitter memory has to be confronted with peaceful future that reconciliation process can initiate soon (among others Muluk, 2004; Cairns et al., 1998; Cairns & Roe, 2003). *Baku Bae* movement did not take that option but confront past bitter memory with past sweet one to build awareness that both conflicting parties are basically one big Maluku family or in Maluku people's term 'they originate from Alifuru', the first ethnic stock in Maluku. With such awareness hope of living together in the future is plausible.

Perhaps, what *Baku Bae* movement endeavors resembles with recommendation of Fujisaki (2003)'s research that likens painful collective memory of conflict victims as ghost. The way to reconcile with the past is, then, to 'weave the ghosts'. At this stage the role of facilitator is important to comprehensively unearth remaining bitter memory and sweet memory of past togetherness, and then raise them up into the awareness of the victims so that they could resolve and change into new memory beneficial for reconciliation. This is what McGuigan (2009) calls as the shadow (unconscious bad memory) and archetype (conscious good memory) in mediation process i.e. to open up lingering darkness to change into positive energy.

Research data shows that memory of *Pela* and *Gandong* togetherness that kept being lived out in different contacts and encounters of *Baku Bae* movement gradually start to sprout into hope of the individuals and the groups that the parties find it possible to stop conflict and therefore reconciliation can soon initiate.

Values of togetherness among Maluku people and the emergence of hope for reconciliation are a situation and condition that encourage personal contacts among members of groups in the movement to be more intense. Intensive contacts have reduced stereotypes and prejudices of the individuals and have generated the openness of movement room of the individuals within the groups (Allport, 1954; Taylor and Moghaddam, 1994; Tobias, 2008; Gibson and Claassen, 2010). Relation starts to grow and individuals are identified as part of the groups of the *Baku Bae* movement. There the individual must have felt, thought, acted and re-acted as part of the group, and she can no longer only think over herself as an 'I' or a 'you', but start thinking, acting and re-acting as Us (*Kami*) and perhaps also as 'We' (*Kita*).

When they are within the group, tendency to categorize and to compare one with other between Muslims and Christians, according to Tajfel and Turner, has to be eliminated (Hogg & Abrams, 1990; Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994). Thought that my group is better and superior feeling of each group has to be evaded. The emerging relation can generate cognitive and motivation changes of the groups (Gaertner, Dovidio, & Bachman, 1996). New relation also pushes anxiety in interaction to disappear, while increases togetherness as group's members and broadly develops positive attitudes towards out-group (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kawakami, 2003; Cehajic, Brown & Castano, 2008).

It has still to deeply question over whether the configuration of the *Baku Bae* group as a full integration of the Muslim and Christian groups may represent common identity because the relation is not built long enough and not yet sufficiently tested. The form of the integration may still be a dual identity as Riek et al., (2008) maintains i.e. a new established group yet each (Muslim-Christian or in-group-outgroup) keeps retaining original identity though mutual understanding and collaboration have been engaged. Baron (2008) reminds that as long as trust and inter-group collaboration are not established yet, togetherness or We-ness remains as a fragile 'we' (*kekitaan*).

Research data, in addition, show that there are still many problems in the *Baku Bae* movement, in which truth disclosure and justice delivery keep haunting the group relation although prejudices have distanced away (Supan, 2008). From his research in Sierra Leone on the integration of conflict perpetrators, Supan finds that although the perpetrators have endeavored to forget the conflict bitterness and to forgive and social groups generally have agreed to mutually forgive (warm-heart), however, there remain persons in the group who want revenge and to punish conflict perpetrators from the other group (cold-heart).

Problems of justice in reconciliation also remains not fully resolved for its complication up to the present. Restorative justice that accommodates forgiveness and bitter memory oblivion has been considered too 'big' and luxurious (Stokkom, 2008). This can cause false reconciliation (Hamber, 2007). Nevertheless *Baku Bae* movement withstands all of such negative development and even steps forward with conducting common activities with building neutral zone, *Baku Bae* marketplace, setting up a new institution of an NGO i.e. the *Baku Bae* Joint Committee, and helps setting up the Maluku Media Centre for journalists. Other important activity is the establishment of *Baku Bae* Legal Aid Institute for lawyers and of the Council of Traditional Leaders.

Other interesting finding is that in fact most of the participants who become members of the *Baku Bae* group state that all are guilty yet at the same time are also not guilty when they get involved in the Maluku conflict. Forgiveness process, therefore, is irrelevant for all engaged groups in the *Baku Bae* movement. According to them, there is no need for formal statement of apology. This situation in the Indonesian language is called '*senasib sepenanggungan*', a condition in which each person feels of having understood what the other feels, identified as empathy (Noor et al., 2008; Fernandez, 2002).

The nature of empathy basically does not only refer to understanding other's perspective cognitively but also emotionally to the capability of feeling what other feels (Sorensen, 2010). Research conducted by Yabar and Hess in New Zealand (2007) that observes the influence of empathy in interpersonal relation concludes that if two groups in their interaction apply empathy, there then appears more open relation, comfort, and the group's perception towards the other is more objective. Noor et al. (2008) argues that trust and empathy is predictor of forgiveness within the group.

Baku Bae movement has encountered nearly all layers of Maluku society that become victims of and implicated in the have been encountered through series of workshops, the process of which is facilitated intensively and in a sustained fashion by a facilitator during the period of three years. They include combatants and youth leaders, traditional leaders (rajas) from villages, displaced persons, non-governmental organizations, university students, intellectuals, religious leaders, journalists, lawyers, military and police officers, and groups of laymen. The core group representing the first layer among all participants has engaged the *Baku Bae* movement during three years and are involved in the workshops the average of 12 encounters.

Intensive, sustained engagement of the facilitator of the *Baku Bae* movement during three years in the Maluku reconciliation process basically has generated the emergence of trust to the facilitator from both conflicting parties (Sen, 2009). Neutrality and legitimacy of the facilitator prompt both parties to feel comfort and convince them that the facilitator has the same concern with both parties (Pointras, 2009). As time goes by and along with collaboration held by the facilitator and the victims, empathy emerges among both parties.

Baku Bae workshops are equivalent with Iterative Problem Solving Workshop (IPSW) from Kelman (Muluk and Malik, 2009). Though Kelman has conducted IPSW during 30 years for Israeli-Palestian conflict, in literature it is not clear yet how many IPSWs have been held and whether participants should be the same persons or they may every time be replaced (Spillman and Wenger, 1999).

There is a fundamental difference between *Baku Bae* workshops and IPSWs of Kelman (1996) at the point of the main components. In the IPSWs the main components are (1) identification and analysis of the problem; (2) joint shaping of idea for solution; (3) influencing the other side; and (4) creating a supportive political environment. Meanwhile, at the *Baku Bae* workshop they are (1) exploration of attitudes and values, existing in the groups; (2) analysis of conflict sources and implicated groups; (3) analysis of strength, weakness, opportunities and threats for reconciliation process; and (4) action plan for reconciliation process (Malik, 2003).

Kelman starts IPSW rationally with identification and problem analysis, while *Baku Bae* movement starts with workshops of exploration of attitudes and values existing in the groups. Kelman starts with analyzing the existing problems and the solutions, while *Baku Bae* movement starts holistically with observing existing values behind the problems. At the end of the activity Kelman is more passive with asking political support for the on-going reconciliation process, while *Baku Bae* is more active with formulating action plan to process reconciliation.

Referring to the approach in mediation like Ridley-Duff and Bennett (2010) maintains, Kelman rather applies a more directive approach in IPSW, more parallel with problem solving approach resulting in participants's dependence on facilitator is very high and participants tend to be passive with waiting for facilitator's initiatives. While in the workshops of the *Baku Bae* movement, facilitator applies facilitative approach, parallel rather with transformative approach so that participants in the workshops can explore to find their own solution independently, more empowered and encourages therefore the acknowledgement of both parties.

In the first workshop of the *Baku Bae* movement, inviting 12 individuals representing Muslim and Christian groups, they are requested to explore options of attitudes that can be adopted regarding the Maluku conflict (Joint Committee, 2000), whether they opt for aggressive-destructive attitude or permissive, inactive attitude or assertive attitude while starting to find solutions out of the conflict. The ideal option is of course the assertive one.

During the process of value system analysis, workshop's participants are asked to explore values of peace, justice, law enforcement, plurality and human rights. At the discussion on peace and justice values, heated debate protracts that the first workshop has to be longer than planned. Up to 21 days there is no yet agreement on both values. Both groups refuse the word 'peace'; both have also not found meeting point whether first perpetrators of the conflict are to send to court of justice

(restrictive justice), or that the most important matter is to reconcile to repair relation of both groups that are already divided (restorative justice). At the end of the workshop, it is agreed that facilitator has to conduct public polls asking the Maluku people whether they agree that the workshop be followed up or just be stopped at once.

The result of two times of public polls toward 11,843 respondents from Maluku says that *Baku Bae* workshop can move on, and participation has to be enlarged (Joint Committee, 2000). In the second workshop it is agreed that the word of 'peace' be replaced with the term of '*Baku Bae*' (mutually doing good), local wisdom for reconciliation be unearthed and be taken advantages, and that they take the option of restorative justice. During three years the *Baku Bae* movement has conducted 19 workshops involving 335 individuals representing the Maluku people.

Public polls aimed at Maluku people basically give a mandate and legitimacy either for the *Baku Bae* movement or the facilitator of the movement. Bercovitch and Orellana (2008) maintain that for religious division charged conflict the facilitator has to obtain strong legitimacy and influence to prevent failure in mediation process. With the existing legitimacy, the facilitator is able to encourage the setting-up of trust in between both conflicting parties.

Discussion on values in the *Baku Bae* movement essentially elucidates that after the workshops there appears motivation of the victims to stop conflict and the victims attempt to heal themselves and be at peace with themselves. Muluk and Malik (2009) maintain that the replacement of the word 'peace' with the term '*Baku Bae*' is a creative step to substitute 'peace' that is identical with the notion that there is a defeated party and a winner and therefore the term '*Baku Bae*' is able to prevent a shame that a party may suffer.

Sandage and Wiens (2001) maintains that crisis of 'social face' will happen in interpersonal conflict. It relates to 'self-honor' and dignity. 'Loosing face' means an individual or a group is humiliated and her dignity abused in front of other groups. 'Saving face' is an important matter in Maluku society and Indonesia in general. In an individualistic society, the most important is saving one's own face, while in a society with a collective culture, the important matter is 'to save other people's face along with his own.'

Through *Baku Bae* movement, victims also attempt to heal themselves and be at peace with herself. Snyder (2007) maintains that the words of 'victim' and conflict perpetrator are always related to guilty. Who breaks has to pay her liability. This has generated the culture of the wound (wound culture) and created long endured trauma. Gobodo-Madikizela (2002) forwards the concept of remorse,

i.e. mature feeling of guilt accompanied by empathy for the other. This pushes motivational changes, trauma recovery and encouragement for reconciliation.

Landman (2001) argues that in the self of the conflict perpetrators there is an endeavor to seriously evaluate themselves, there is a deep sadness within, and very painful shame. It is different from the notion of normal embarrassment, the nature of which is emotional as people prefer to evade, shame in this context pushes the individuals to reform herself and conduct self-improvement. Remorse and deep regret will encourage forgiveness for the adversaries and willingness to collaborate, and even they feel '*senasib sepenanggungan*'. Both are assumed to help processing reconciliation in Maluku.

Past togetherness, nurturing hopes during the *Baku Bae* workshops, growing trust, empathy, saving face of one for the other, and profound remorse, all peaks into what a participant expresses as 'we are brothers and sisters' or '*torang basudara*'. Common identity of the victims represents We-ness (*kekitaan*) on the Maluku conflict victims who are engaged in *Baku Bae* movement. Hassan (2005) calls it as the togetherness of Us (*Kita*), i.e. a togetherness that keeps maintaining originality and uniqueness of the individuals and of the group. Choi and Choi (2001) call it as *Cheong* or feelings of We-ness.

We-ness as a result of reconciliation in Maluku

Since the beginning of this study I have reiterated that the Maluku conflict is an identity conflict that its reconciliation is to re-integrate the divided identity, and the realization of the integrated identity is We-ness (*kekitaan*). The main components of We-ness, since the beginning, have been proposed, are i.e. in line with its sequence are components of past memory of togetherness of the victims, empathy among the victims, common identity of the victims, and the role of facilitator. Data analysis confirms that those components are the main ones of We-ness. What is the dynamics of each component, however, that they become one unity that represents We-ness requires deeper analysis.

There are two actors who play role in realizing We-ness i.e. the victims and the facilitator. At the victims attached all components of We-ness i.e. past memory of togetherness, hope, trust, empathy and common identity. While at the facilitator are only attached trust and empathy. How does each component influence the victims and the facilitator will be explained below.

When a victim become perpetrator, what to do is to re-arrange all

bitter memory and suffering in herself for the conflict; she has to act fairly for herself and for the other adversarial group. The one that can neutralize bitter memory on conflict and feeling of injustice suffered for the conflict is the component of past memory of togetherness i.e. *Pela* and *Gandong*. The memory has grown the component of hope. In line with the internalization of the togetherness spirit of *Pela* and *Gandong*, the victims gradually are able to put fear aside over the past and generate courage to see a better future. Both components grow and develop at individual level, yet the other component can only grow at group level.

At the subsequent development, trust develops in line with the disappearance of inter-group prejudices, no group dominates, group identity acknowledged, collaboration done, cultural and language similarity exploited in interaction. Such condition can generate the component of empathy among the groups that there appears feeling of solidarity and ability to feel what the other group feels. The peak is then the emergence and the growing of the common identity component or in local language it is called '*torang basudara*'. Common identity has eliminated all identity partitions that had existed earlier among the groups. What now appears is all groups representing the conflict's victims and all are tied to brotherhood as Maluku people.

Facilitator as the third party being present in between the divided groups for religious identity conflict like in Maluku, which has claimed thousands of casualties and has caused enormous damages, is in an absolute need of trust component (from the conflicting parties). This component grows slowly, gradually, starts from workshops to encounter victims and perpetrators, to build legitimacy through public polls, to dig up local wisdom to be used in reconciliation, to reduce existing fears of the victims and the perpetrators of the conflict that fresh hope grows. Trust component is very fragile because it has to be tested in common activity of all conflicting groups. Togetherness that takes place between the facilitator and all conflicting groups, common activities conducted in peace campaign to all Maluku people in the country, and togetherness when all faced reprisals from other groups who reject peace, either armed attacks or verbal refutations, all have fostered feeling of solidarity or the component of empathy, from the facilitator to the victims or the contrary.

Based on such explanation, the victims as reconciliation actors and the facilitator are tied to two components of We-ness i.e. the component of trust and of empathy. Both components can only grow and bloom in group interactions. And because We-ness is a new relationship that Baku Bae movement builds, it can be stated then that trust and empathy components are predictor of the realization of We-

ness in grassroots reconciliation.

The dynamics of the six components sets three kinds of forms of We-ness that grassroots reconciliation produces. The first is false We-ness the form of which can be seen in the following diagram.

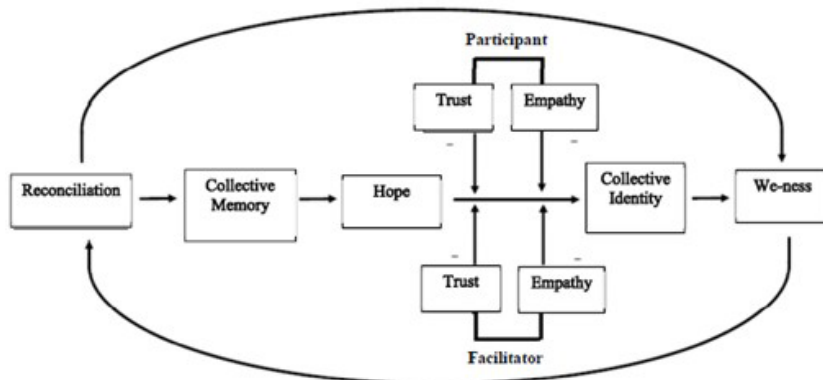


Figure 1. False We-ness

False We-ness occurs when the component of trust among groups and facilitator is negative or void, and when the component of empathy either between victim groups or of the facilitator is negative or void. What exists is only the component of past memory of togetherness, the component of hope of the victims, and the component of common identity. The past memory of togetherness and of the hope of the victims are indeed the social capital yet they are only nostalgia when not used to build trust and empathy that represent determining factors of the realization of common identity. If such condition persists, the existing common identity is the one in the form of nostalgia that is very fragile in conflict situation.

The second is Pseudo We-ness, the condition of relation can be seen in below diagram (Figure 2). Pseudo We-ness realizes when there is a component of six main ones that affect negatively to the other components, particularly the determining components i.e. trust and empathy of the victims and the facilitator that sometimes exists but sometimes may be void. Both components are only realized and tested in the process of common sustained activity.

The third is the Real We-ness, the relations of which can be seen in below diagram (Figure 3). The real We-ness realizes when the six components positively contribute to the groups, meaning the victims are fully aware of their past memory of togetherness, the emergence of new hope among them, stronger trust among the victims, the

emergence of empathy in the form of solidarity of the victims, of the common identity of '*torang basudara*', and that both conflicting groups put real trust in and empathy for the facilitator.

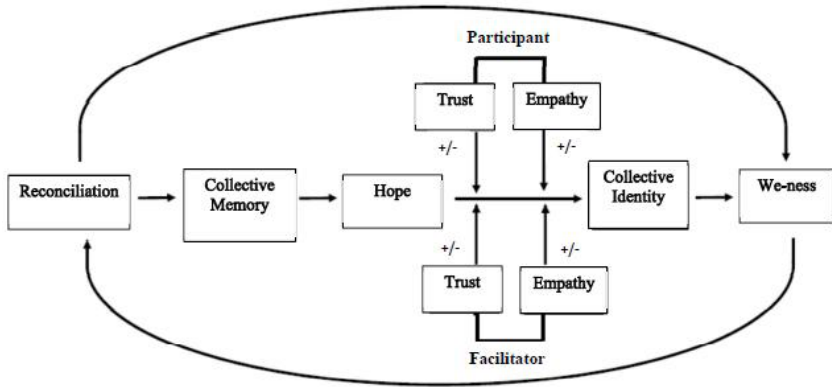


Figure 2. Pseudo We-ness

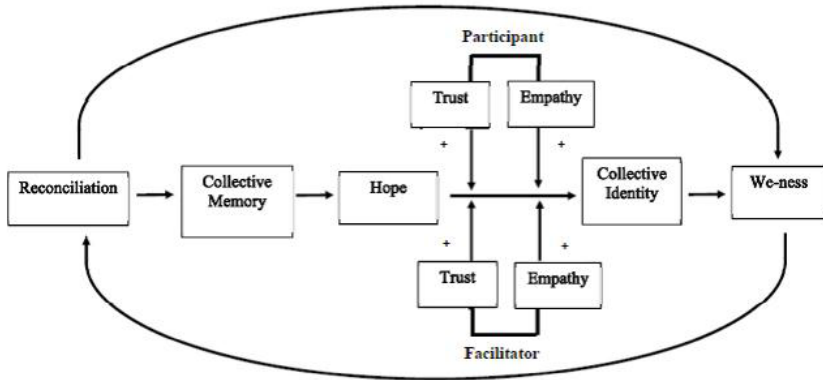


Figure 3. The Real We-ness

Referring to the Diagram 3, conclusion can be drawn that the grassroots reconciliation conducted by the Baku Bae movement for three years with involving the victims and the facilitator of conflict have been able to realize a real We-ness in Maluku.

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J I B O M **Rescue & Bomb Disposal Unit¹**

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The first time I visited and lived in the land of Toba Batak was thirty years ago. At that time over one and a half years (July 1986-December 1987), I lived in the land of Toba Batak mostly in the island of Samosir which is surrounded by the water of lake Toba. During the last four months of the year of 2012, I visited back and dwelt in the land of Toba Batak, particularly in Tarutung, the capital town of North Tapanuli regency. Reading newspaper daily became the author's habit. In early September 2012 morning, I intended to buy newspapers, and found a small shop named Sumber Agency, located not far from the Simpang Empat (an intersection of Trans North Sumatera highways), the main business area of Tarutung. The shop sells not only a variety of newspapers and magazines but also groceries and other household amenities and needs. People of North Sumatera has called that kind shop as *Kedai Sampah*, Junk shop.

I immediately chose to buy a local newspaper published in Medan – the capital city of North Sumatera Province – the *Sinar Indonesia Baru* (SIB) dated Thursday September 13, 2012. I over-heard another buyer talked to the shop “I want to buy all the papers that inform news on what happen at Sipoholon HKBP.” At that week the biggest Protestant Church in North Sumatera, namely HKBP (Huria Kristen Batak Protestan) was organizing a Sinode Godang – HKBP (SG-HKBP, Grand

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Synod of HKBP), on September 10-16, 2012 in Sipoholon, a vicinity of Tarutung. HKBP is the oldest Protestant church originally ministered and served by the German missionaries of Lutheran of Rhein Germany Mission (since 1856) in Tapanuli, the Toba Batak Lands. HKBP has had approximately 4 million members at home and abroad. The buyer next to me did buy some local as well as national (Jakarta) newspapers. I was a bit shocked to see a photograph related the SG-HKBP posted at the SIB newspaper. The photograph's caption said,

JIBOM SQUAD: a police squad of rescue and bomb disposal unit is standby at the location of the Grand Synod held at the Sipoholon Seminarium; anticipating unwanted things happened.(SIB, Wednesday 12 September 2012 – FotoSIB/John Manalu)

JIBOM is an abbreviation of “Penjinak Bom” means the police squad of rescue and bomb disposal unit. In fact a few days earlier, a local North Sumatera newspaper, Metro Siantar, published in Pematang Siantar, issued a photograph of the same JIBOM police car unit parked in the yard of HKBP headquarter in Pearaja, a vicinity area of Tarutung. The SG-HKBP expected more than 1300 participants who came from various regions in Indonesia.³

As quoted by a Metro Siantar newspaper reporter, Jumongkas Hutagaol, HKBP members supposedly hoped that the implementation of SG-HKBP should go forward with a spiritual atmosphere. In short, the election is to select a *pelayan* (minister) and not a *penguasa* (ruler) HKBP. The reporter wrote that the main activity expected in SG-HKBP is on the selection of the leader without worldly vested interests and a selected original leader born by way of God words. Jumongkas also reminded the participants that HKBP was not a kind of a typical Indonesian political party. An Ephorus, the highest leader in HKBP ministerial hierachical bureaucracy, usually is selected in previous district synods participated local HKBP church members. A HKBP Ephorus will be in his office for four years.

For four days (September 10-16, 2012), Tarutung and its people were witnesses of the HKBP Ephorus election and its (odd) presence of the modern JIBOM police squad and car unit. The presence of JIBOM and its related matters somehow creates an (imagined) public fear of (bomb) terror. Even the fear was still in imagined or virtual forms of a coming potential public threat, danger and chaos – if not a potential

3 The JIBOM car unit – as it was issued by the Metro Siantar of September 11, 2012 – can be downloaded at www.metrosiantar.com

death. The Toba Batak Batak societies and cultures actually also have been familiar with an eternal life atmosphere, an involvement of the deceased peoples in daily life. Visiting the Toba Batak Lands, sooner or later someone will realize that he is “greeted” by the deceased. The Toba Bataks have practiced secondary burials for their beloved ancestors buried in expensive and exclusive monumental graves. It’s not impossible and understandable that buried worshiped and beloved persons greet and welcome the passing by people who are gazing, looking or studying them.

In 1987, I did my field research and conducted interviews with a Catholic Toba Batak grandfather who was in charged in ministering the local Catholic Church in Toba Samosir region during the Japanese military occupation (1942-1945) and the following years of national revolutionary youth movement (1942-1945-1949). In my first interview with him, I was quite shocked because he had built a tomb, a typical Batak traditional grave, for himself. The grave was in the yard next to his residence located at the side of the Medan – Balige main road. He explained that his grave will make his offspring and relatives, in case of looking for particular messages, advices and special protections needed. The practice of talking with the deceased is not something unusual for contemporary society. We are too, quite often and sometimes still talking to anyone for any reason with our deceased parents, brothers and sisters, relatives, friends, acquaintances, etc.

The following article is about how a certain indigenous communities – in North Sumatera highlands – have tried to identify their Toba Batakness, with regard to the changes and diversities available in contemporary societies – for good or bad – provided by modern technology devices. The high tech JIBOM and its related matter, for example, even have created an ambiguous public fear. Analyses of the fears about as well as from within the Toba Batak people and particularly the HKBP “identities” may shed light on problems of social inequality, psychological (popular) anxieties about the conditions of contemporary Indonesian(ized) global economics and cultures, and coping strategies under conditions of economic hardship. This ethnographic studies of cultures of fear hopefully can produce powerful insights into subjectivities, epistemologies, social relations and politics of contemporary certain Indonesian societies and cultures.

This new bomb, this real JIBOM

The JIBOM car unit is an operational mobile device managed by the rescue and bomb disposal squad of the Indonesia National Police. Role

of the JIBOM squad actually has not been simply to do rescue and bomb disposal, but also to deal with problems and other affairs considered – likely more by the ruling class rather than by the commoners – as public fears. This JIBOM ethnographic description and discourses that make the fears intelligible are closely entwined with state strategies and techniques aimed at eliminating or managing perceived threats. Discourses about fear incite the state to particular kinds of actions.

At least three local newspaper and a national newspaper namely *Metrosiantar*, *Sinar Indonesia Baru*, *Medan Bisnis* and *Suara Pembaharuan* have published the same picture of JIBOM unit car photographed at Pearaja HKBP headquarter. Marked with big capital letters JIBOM on both sides of the car body, additional four phone numbers also are written informing its call center services. For an additional information, under the National Police Troop of Explosive Affairs, a JIBOM unit car is available in almost in every regional National Police Main Office. A JIBOM car unit is equipped with a bomb trailer car attached at the JIBOM car. A JIBOM car also has an X-ray computer used to detect exactly a hidid bomb location.

The tight security of SG-HKBP at the Sipoholon Seminarium (School of HKBP Pastoral Minister) was carried out by police officers of Tapanuli Utara (North Tapanuli) National Police Office during 10-16 September 2012 involving 250 personnel; assisted by 10 officers of the Rescue and Bomb Disposal Squad, a platoon of Anti Riot police officer from the North Sumatera police headquarter. Even a platoon of Army soldiers of the Tapanuli District Military Command 0210 / TU, 30 civil government police officers, and 10 personnels of the Tapanuli Utara Transportation Department involved in the Ephorus election of SG-HKBP. It was a hope of the security team that the process of the SG-HKBP could run successfully, the participants could give his/her vote according to their conscience. Since the election is related to a church or religious affairs, it should not be shaped and affected by an external interest nor political nepotism, collusion and money politics. The HKBP Ephorus Election is something different with a typical regional and general election process.⁴

On the day of the Ephorus election voting process, SIB (September 12, 2012) published an article at its front page with a big title, “Headline: Pdt Dr. Bonar Napitupulu: HKBP is God’s church, not a religious club. All participants agreed to choose a new Ephorus with spirituality.” Retired General Luhut Panjaitan, 65 years old and a former Kopassus

4 For your information, each candidate of North Sumatera Governor Election held in 2013 was predicted to spend a budget of Rp. 60-70 milyar (IDR 60-70 billions). Even the budget will be bigger if the election runs in two rounds. See, *Batak Pos*, December 10, 2012.

(Indonesian Army Special Troops) soldier of 21 years military service was also present and gave a speech in the Opening Session of the SG-HKBP. Luhut was appointed as a Coordinating Minister of Politics, Security and Defence Affairs in Joko Widodo presidential office. In his speech in front of more than 1300 SG-HKBP participants, Luhut told them that he had survived various dangers on the battlefields. It happened because of a strong needs of praying in his life. Previously, when on duty, he experienced how burdensome of carrying large backpacks; and now, he said, "I wear a three pieces suit like this is one of a long process." Luhut believes that God actually has a blueprint in everyone's life ("Jenderal (Purn) Luhut Panjaitan: HKBP Jangan Hidup dari Ingot-Ingot," 2012).

Most HKBP members have been proud of their church and adore their most respected Ephorus Ingwer Ludwig Nommensen. As one of the first Lutheran German Rhein missionaries, he did a great deal of modern developement for Toba Batak societies. HKBP was officially established in 1861, at Saitnihuta, a nearby village of Tarutung, by Nommensen. In order to celebrate the 150th anniversary of HKBP (1861-2011), a large-sized statue of the former Ephorus Ingwer Ludwig Nommensen was erected at the corner of the village Saitnihuta. Nommensen statue left hand signing a direction to the Hutadame HKBP first church, and his right hand keeps the Bible. In 1868, Toba Bataks who joined HKBP numbered 1250 people. In the year of 1881, twenty years after Nommensen pastoral work, the HKBP population rose five-fold to about 6250 people. In 1901, according to records in the existing Hutadame congregation, 48,000 Toba Batak people were already baptized. When Nommensen died (1918), HKBP recorded 185,731 members within North Sumatera. In the early 1960s, HKBP members numbered almost 900,000 in all parts of Indonesia and in Singapore. In 2015, HKBP has about 4.5 million members with some representatives abroad, such as in Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, Los Angeles, Seattle and Colorado State, USA. For his great services to modernize and improve socio-economic qualities of the Toba Batak communities, certain HKBP members gave a honourable traditional Batak name of Ompui – the respected Grandfather – to Nommensen. The present HKBP headquarter in Pearaja was established in 1873 under Nommensen Ephorus leadership. Pearaja has an approximately 20 hectares land located in the vicinity of Tarutung. Local Toba Bataks have preferred to name areas of Tarutung, Pearaja and Sipoholon as Silindung valley in the mid of highland Tapanuli or Bataklands. Some HKBP people gave name "Yerusalem" to Silindung.

Later told by one of my interviewees that the tight security conducted in Tarutung and its vicinity areas was due to a tragedy of

past violent HKBP new Ephorus elections during the years of 1992-1998. Most HKBP members can hardly forget that the Suharto New Order regime involved (in)directly in SG-HKBP and internal conflicts and disagreement on certain matters of Ephorus elections of those years. Since then, there has been a burdensome trauma for HKBP members because of the not supposedly state intervention on church spiritual policy happened. A kind of double HKBP Ephorus leadership unfortunately existed in those years.

Approximately a week before the SG-HKBP began, the North Tapanuli Police Chief Officer, Wijadmika, already held a coordination meeting between hundreds of security forces to ensure the success of the 2012 SG-HKBP. The Chief mentioned that high security is mandated by ways of pre-emptive and preventive actions, law enforcement, repressions to support early detection and investigation in order to create safe and orderly social conditions. The hope is that the participants to feel safe and comfortable in carrying out a whole series of SG-HKBP agenda without any interferences. The Police Chief also said that in the due time, he would erect the so called sterilization check points on the entrance roads to the location of Sipoholon SG-HKBP; until the completion of the SG-HKBP.

The typical Indonesian police term "sterilization" means that directly or indirectly a visible or hidden creature or other thing that can create publicly something to be feared and chaotic have to be dealt with clearly. Anything related that can cause radicalism, terrorism and an unpredicted bomb blast are the examples. Fearful public enemies recognized as OTK (Orang Tak diKenal, strangers) and OTB (Organisasi Tanpa Bentuk, radical underground group) have been target of the typical "sterilization" repressive social political control engineered, introduced and done by the New Order authoritarian military regime under Suharto presidency.

Looking and gazing at the JIBOM car unit photographed at the parking area of Pearaja and Sipoholon, someone may says that it is the presence of the absence bomb blast; related to the kind of fearful OTK and OTB radicalism or terrorism. As a matter of fact, JIBOM cars can often be seen strolling on roads and streets not only in North Sumatera area, but also in almost all provinces in Indonesia. The high tech JIBOM car, perhaps and hopefully, can assure Indonesia people who may helplessly feel without power in front of dangerous and chaotic public enemies. Indeed, high-tech camera, print and audio-visual communication and information mass media, newspaper included, have been excessively manipulating our views and visions.

Although, other factual different experiences also happened in North Sumatera regarding the JIBOM Squad and car unit. The JIBOM unit

has been used by the National Police since 2010. The North Sumatera National Police headquarter eventually introduced the JIBOM unit, i.e., to children of certain Medan kindergarten and elementary schools. Indonesian societies often assume children are still being honest with their words, not knowing politics of language yet. With an intention of promoting a sustainable reformation of National Police human power, the North Sumatera Mobile Brigade Police that has had a national "Quick Win" program⁵ to invite educated young people, children included, to recognize early partnership of public security responsible duties. Without mentioning the name of the school, on Tuesday, June 7, 2010, it was reported that there was a school children visit. They were welcomed by the chief officer of the JIBOM squad. A variety of the JIBOM related squads have abilities of: bomb disposal, anti terrorism combat, Search and Rescue task, mobile intelligence officers, and VIP security guards. During the visit, the children had a chance to see directly tools and equipments of the JIBOM squad. Here is the report,

The children were very enthusiastic and very excited of watching the JIBOM personnel wearing protective equipment (body armour). Some of the kids honestly said that it was a kind of robot or that sort of astronauts.

The children and their teachers also had a chance to touch the equipments and take pictures together. Most of them know and see for the first time those JIBOM tools and equipments. They got also an opportunity to ride the JIBOM Barracuda cars, going around the North Sumatera Brigade Mobile Police head office (Lengkong, 2010).

Some of the kids even said that they have a dream of becoming members of National Police. The visitors felt that the police, especially the JIBOM personnel are friends of society, people that not to be feared.

Joshua Barker, an anthropologist who has studied extensively on Indonesian politics of fear, noted that one of the most immediate stimulus of fear is something internal to the psyche, such as a bad memory or an unconscious thought, the expression of fear, regarding – whether spoken or not – and the means by which people seek to address it both involve others (Barker, 2009). The Suharto New Order authoritarian military regime government violent involvement in 1992-1999 SG-

5 The Quick Program is a central strategic plan of Indonesian National Police . It is intended to search and detain terrorist network members. See, Suara Pembaruan, April 29, 2016.

HKBP Ephorus democratic elections certainly is the fear assumed by both side – the police as well as certain HKBP members – who sought to address it according to each side interests. From the government side, there has been likely a steady expansion of bureaucratic means of social control and surveillance. In the bureaucracy, fear does not lose its force but reactions to it become routinized.

Laurie Sears once wrote on how a never ending public trauma related to the 1965 “coup d’etat” blamed mainly on PKI (Indonesia Communist Party) and a genocide followed, somehow can be deal with and terminated by way of a narration or discourse. She appreciated Ayu Utami as, “one of the most impressive of the new generation of novelists writing in Indonesia today. Combining her skills in research journalism with a poetic feel for language and a fresh approach to women’s subjectivity and sexuality” (Sears, 2007). Ayu’s novels have become popular in Indonesia and abroad as well. Her serial novels, mainly *Saman* (first published in 1998) and its sequel *Larung* (published in 2000) have described how trauma shapes and haunts Indonesian archives. During the rule of Suharto New Order military regime, history-writing was supposed to follow government master narratives. Short before and after the 1998 May Reformation, critical work on history, politics and cultures by Indonesian scholars have been possible to be published. Sears suggested that inabilities of trauma victims to narrate the past are common things, especially on the problems of witnessing faced by Holocaust survivors. Trauma survivors live not with memories of the past, but with an event that could not and did not proceed through to its completion, has no ending, attained no closure, and therefore, as far as its survivors are concerned, continues into the present and is current in every respect. Trauma survivors experience time differently from others and that this has implications for both witnessing and testimony (Sears, 2007).

New built museums in Tapanuli established by retired Army Lieutenant General Tiopan Bernhard Silalahi, a Toba Batak and HKBP member likely is one of the ways on how to deal with fears and traumas of the Toba Bataks. He was once a Minister of State Bureaucracy Management under Suharto New Order government. He also hold important positions under Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono presidency. Since 2006 he has had a private museum called TBSC (Tiopan Bernhard Silalahi Center) and a Batak Museum located in the hilly area of Saposurung, next to Toba Lake area. TBSC aims to motivate Batak younger generation continuously to achieve future goals by looking at the experiences of TB Silalahi. Although his childhood also spend as buffalo-boy he managed to become an Army general. The Batak Museum was officially open on 18 January 2011 by the President of

Indonesia, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. I visited TBSC and the museum several time during my stay in Tarutung. The front yard of TBSC has a used military helicopter and a battle tank. After enjoying the TBSC collections, by the exit hallway, a visitor will obviously see a big size portrait of Nommensen, a dearly famous HKBP past Ephorus.

The proud of HKBP continuous outstanding Ephorus leadership since nineteenth century Indonesia, a spectacular Nommensen statue of Saitnihuta, Pearaja modern HKBP headquarters, and Nommensen photograph showed at TBSC are monumental things of HKBP great past. Based on a typical Javanese parenting cultures. Saya Shiraishi explained that selendang (a kind of long shawl worn to carry children by Javanese mothers) describe a comfort and warm feeling as well as a complete mother protection for her baby or little kid. She wrote,

The infant who is carried in a selendang needs no symbol to represent the sensation he is enjoying there then. Nor does he need any word to signify the warmth in which he has been held since he was born.

The selendang represents complete security for those who have already lost what it once offered them. And it is the mother, not the child , who carries a six – or eight – year old child in the selendang rather than leaving him lying on the bed ...

It is grown-ups, the adults members of the family and society, who value and treasure complete security and the warmth of the selendang provide for children. They intensely remeber the sensation of warmth in the selendang because they have lost it. The sensation of hangat (warmth) is a constructed memory. In other words, hangat signifies their early childhood in the selendang, its warmth and happiness, which they know they have lost and cannot recover. It derives its deeply felt meaning from the collective memory shared by all who have lost it or might have never had it. The heat of hangat becomoes intense, because they have created it as something they long for (Shiraishi, 1997/2000).

To put in our mind, a proud of HKBP “original” Ephorus leadership, the Saitnihuta spectacular statue, the TBSC honoured photograph, and Pearaja HKBP old age modern headquarters, all are derived from the precious past that to be distracted by fear of the high tech JIBOM

related imagined enemies. In case of the (Javanese) selendang and in a certain sense also similar to cases of HKBP monumental things, Shiraishi noted, "it is the (fearful) loss itself that makes what is lost genuine and the longing for it really real" (Shiraishi, 1997/2000).

PROTAP, imagining the lost past

PROTAP means PRO TAPANuli province petition movement in an attempt to establish a new province of exclusive regencies located at Tapanuli, the Toba Batak lands that belong to the existing North Sumatera province. The quite radical attempt has not been successful. Although population of Central Tapanuli Regency and Sibolga municipality has been dominated by Toba Bataks, both two local governments don't support the PROTAP. Since Indonesian national independence in 1945, North Sumatera province has recognized previously three regencies located at Tapanuli, the Bataklands – North Tapanuli, South Tapanuli, and Central Tapanuli; Tarutung, Padangsidempuan, and Pandan respectively are the capital cities. Tarutung of the past was a central capital town of "one" Tapanuli Regency⁶ where all Dutch colonial government offices located. Present Tarutung is a small town in the Silindung valley and inhabited by a majority of Toba Batak people (and culture). Its population consists of 66,970 inhabitants (2010). Ten years before it was just 52,800 people. Since Dutch colonial time, began in early twentieth Century, to some extent, Tarutung – and its nearby Pearaja HKBP mission headquarters – has had a cosmopolitan life style.

The dominant local newspaper in North Sumatera, Sinar Indonesia Baru belonging to a large family clan, Panggabean. The clan and SIB has been the patron and main sponsor for the PROTAP movement. SIB was established by GM Panggabean on 9 May 1970. Recently SIB has around 35-40 thousand copies per day distributed mainly in North Sumatera. The Panggabean belong to Silindung Toba Batak clans. GM Panggabean and his family members used to be North Sumatera Golkar Party elite leaders. During S.B.Yudhoyono presidency, the Panggabean changed to the Democratic Party. In short,⁷ the PROTAP movement that supported mainly by four regencies of Tapanuli Utara,

6 Based on Central Government of Indonesia of the Regional Development Strategic Plan, since 1998, the originally called North Tapanuli Regency has been divided into three new independent regencies: Toba-Samosir Regency (1998), Humbang Hasundutan Regency (2003), and Samosir Regency (2010).

7 In my first draft Indonesian version of this essay, I wrote a longer text on this PROTAP paragraphs.

Toba-Samosir, Humbang Hasundutan, and Samosir failed or, perhaps, temporarily terminated in 2009. The movement began in the year of 2000 inspired by the Central Government Regulation 129/2000, and later Government Regulation No. 078 of 2007. In November 2006, several Toba Batak bigshots work and live in Jakarta, such as: Luhut B. Panjaitan, Prof Dr. Midian Sirait, legislator Panda Nababan, Dr, G, M Panggabean, etc. gathered, supported and raised fund for the movement. In his closing words at the gathering, G.M. Panggabean said that the movement will be a success one because of Luhut Panjaitan's *martondi* (spiritual) support.⁸ However, one important requirement of PROTAP plan that not obtained yet was North Sumatera People Representatives official recommendation and permit. Taking an opportunity of plenary session of North Sumatera Parliament meeting, a PROTAP support group organized a demonstration demanding the proposed PROTAP plan to be agreed and the recommendations signed. Unexpectedly and unfortunately the demonstration on February 3, 2009 ended tragically. Abdul Azis Angkat, a GOLKAR politician who was newly sworn in as a chairman of the North Sumatera Parliament (November 27, 2008) died because of certain violence happened at the demonstration. Soon after the demonstration, certain version SMSs of racial based news went viral in the internet. The chairman, likely, passed away because of his chronic heart illness. Chandra Panggabean, son of G.M. Panggabean and a dozen other PROTAP activists were accused of their responsibility for the tragic demonstration, and sentenced to prison. Finally, the Minister of Domestic Affairs, Gamawan Fauzi previously assigned as West Sumatra governor, delayed any attempt of proposing PROTAP plan. He recommended that the PROTAP plan will be discussed by the next Government with a new president.

There is a question, perhaps, on how the Toba Bataks concerned in this essay in dealing with modern technology that somehow has shaped their fears? The previous paragraphs show how certain Toba Bataks were overwhelmed and felt vulnerable with engineered technology products and its related traumatic matters. Is there still a good and blessed future similar to the hamajuon introduced and engineered in late nineteenth century by the German Lutheran mission, the then HKBP in Tapanuli and in North Sumatera and beyond in general? Since late nineteenth century North Sumatera Province that used to be imagined as "Happy Land" has been one the most lucrative areas of various minings and plantation export products in Indonesia.

8 Summarised from sources: <http://www.pasberita.com/2015> – see the article by Rie, 04 january 2015, <http://tempointeraktif.com>, 19 November 2006, and an article "100 figures Tapanuli" in <http://portibionline.com> and <http://waspada.co.id>

A tech dandy

There has been an ambiguous attitude on modern technological products available in developed as well as developing societies. With regard to the 2012 SG-HKBP, the JIBOM car unit is one of the examples. Most likely, it is not because of the will of the Organizing Committee as well as of more than a thousand participants of the 2012 SG-HKBP that the JIBOM car was necessarily presented in Pearaja and in Sipoholon SG-HKBP. The JIBOM squad and car unit that considered to guarantee a proper, good and peaceful new HKBP Ephorus election. One the first best German Ephoruses was Ingwer Ludwig Nommensen (1834-1918). He has been the example of an outstanding and proper modern HKBP Ephorus that is supposedly to be. His statue in Saitnihuta, a Silindung Toba Batak village located not far from Tarutung and Pearaja as well as his photograph exhibited at T.B.Silalahi Center and Batak Museum located not far from Toba Lake, has been a proof of Toba Batak people who really pay their respect to him. The center and museum actually are located next to the national revolutionary hero Singamangaraja monumental tomb. Nommensen has been believed as a Toba Batak Protestant apostle who actually brought hamajuon – modern development program of education and technology based social economic activities in Tapanuli.

Rudolf Mrazek, an expert on the history of nationalism in the Dutch colonized Indonesia also noted on modern technology ambiguity and irony manipulated by modern (European) societies. Mrazek quoted Robert Musil's best novel to show the ambiguity. Austrian novelist Robert Musil wrote *Man Without Qualities*. He invited readers to participate in imagining an excitement and uncertainty of modern dandy man of the early twentieth century; especially in the years after the end of First World War and the beginning of Hitler's Nazi ideology of power. In his novel that originally published in German in 1930 (volume 1) and 1993 (Vol.2) Musil described how a modern dandy man behaved when he has to deal with a variety of available technological advances and devices. Musil – and Mrazek as well – had a fear of losing human quality caused by technology products. The fear exemplified in the way how fashioned clothes was exploited by a modern man. Here is the story quoted by Mrazek,

The hero takes a stroll through a romantic, unspoiled countryside somewhere near Vienna, Austria. He walks and talks with a woman friend – as educated, brilliant, beautiful, and of society as himself. There is a growing physical attraction rising between them.

How difficult it is nowadays, the man suddenly realizes, to get naked. Being removed of one's clothes, would that not strip one of the signs one carries as a part of this world of radiance and belonging.

Getting naked, would that not make one necessarily leave society and descend somewhere into subhuman world? Would not one disappear to one's society? Can a modern man, in the modern times, make love to a modern woman without keeping his clothes on? (Mrazek, 2002/2006)

Moreover, in his book on how a modern colonial Government in the Dutch Indies – the then Indonesia – were imagining and developing the (exotic) engineered Happy Land, Mrazek also reminded his readers that modern technology devices based human social relationship could be largely mechanical in its processes. It helped to loosen the ties between sound and voice, between word and deed (Mrazek, 2002/2006). In an appreciation of Mrazek's book, Siegel lucidly said that a (self)deception of technology has been practiced in the colony – in contemporary Indonesia as well – in part because of “technology” itself.

That is, the power of technology to enable one to see, to find out, to reveal, to uncover, and to present again in another form was a source of this deception. It is not that technology answered a difficulty of, say, the economy; that was there before its arrival. Rather, regardless of what people were afraid of before, with the power to reveal what the country looked like, menaces appeared everywhere. Dangers were multiform. Questions of health, of politics, of personal security, of wild animals; the list goes on and on with no definitive end (Kusno & Siegel, 2002)

Kusno & Siegel (2002) added that Mrazek's book on technology shows,

a certain potential of technology has the same effects in two cultures with different and opposed political aims. Nationalism progresses without significant conflict with colonialism as colonizers and nationalists deceive not each other, but themselves. Anyone familiar with Indonesia recognizes the sad continuation of Mrazek's story in the present. Today it is conflict between nationalist leaders

and their followers, class conflict, which is hidden, as, indeed, it was already from the beginning.

The mentioned JIBOM, PROTAP and hamajuon discourses above hopefully can serve to organize and make intelligible fears that are latent, masked or unconscious. This is evident even in cases where the form of intelligibility given to fear is that it is inexpressible or incomprehensible.

I would like to mention also “ironic” attitudes of contemporary (post)modern Indonesian commoners – people on the street – regarding the fear of and reality of bomb terror in Jakarta recently. It is in a comparison with the similar terror tragedy in New York city and the one in Paris a couple of months ago. It is interesting to briefly pay attention to the comparison of how the reaction of the victims or the audience about the bomb explosion and the traumas followed. Largest daily newspaper in the US, The New York Times, ten years after the 9/11 disaster, reported cases of PTSD (post traumatic stress disorder) suffered by some victims who are witnesses and spectators of the tragedy. Since the tragedy, The New York Metropolitan City government and the US Federal Government have provided millions of dollars and services to thousands of fire-fighters, police officers and other volunteers directly involved doing rescue actions for the victims and survivors (Hartocolis, 2011).

Tempo, a national weekly published in Jakarta, in its three successive editions (January 18-24, January 25-31, and February 1-7, 2016) reported at length on bomb terror blasted in a Starbucks Coffee shop annexed to Sarinah Department Store located in main business area of Jakarta, in early 2016.⁹ There were several victims died in the bomb blast and shootings; included two of the terrorists. There is no doubt that some of the survived bomb victims and/or spectators also have experienced kind of PTSD. However, for many people of Indonesia who read newspaper, watch TV, and are familiar with high tech use of smart phones and other gadgets modern and internet social media, the suicide bomb blasts detonated by the terrorists in Jakarta actually considered as a kind of spectacular show. It is like that they usually watch any tragic and deadly terror actions broadcasted through television sets. When similar bomb terrorism occurred as it happened in New York and Paris, it certainly make people panic and run away. What happened in Jakarta, on the morning of January 14, 2016, certain Jakartans witness the event, walk by and felt relaxed as if they watch a

9 Site of the Sarinah terror bomb blasts is located only about one kilometer from the President Palace.

movie producer is making film scenes and stock shots. *Tempo*, mostly read and subscribed by middle-class people, wrote,

In a country that endured terror, we have to be smart enough to do “proper security” approach” while respecting human rights. Pace of democratization in Indonesia will not be delayed. We have to deal with that hard work, guaranteeing public security and yet not to violate human rights principles. The government should be able to ensure both principles are walking together (*Tempo*, January 25-31, 2016. p.27)

In the week before, *Tempo* editorial staff briefly gave notes,

The State apparatus ignored to do “sterilization” the place right after the first bomb blast, and let people freely gathering around that made the terrorists deliberately shot with their guns. To make empty the surrounding areas is very important considering a possible bigger attacks to come.

National Police has to do fast and work together with other state agencies including the National Intelligence Agency, and National Agency of Counter Terrorism. With a big national budget – the National Police has had an additional amount of IDR 20 billions for its national budget – the police supposedly they will have no difficulty to do a better job in dealing with terrorism. There will not happen any stale-mate terrorism or to be startled when the attack happens (*Tempo*, January 18-24, 2016, pg. 23).

Last quoted words

This essay described fears of the potential lost of outstanding HKBP Ephorus, Toba Batak golden age hamajuon, museum based original Batak identities as well as ambiguities of modern technology devices that arguably can deal with the related burdensome traumas. My ethnographic description on the mentioned matters has showed – again, as Siegel said shortly – the defence against the danger was not its removal. It is a deceptive solution. Due to my respects to both scholars, here are my last quotations of Mrazek and Siegel. Mrazek (2002/2006) said that,

like the trains and the planes, the late-colonial telescopes were shelters. They allowed a gazer to be absorbed, and to watch the beautiful Indies, beautiful worlds, and beautiful stars, all on the same plane, distinct and safe.

In his introduction to an Acehnese journalist's a compilation book of short-stories that narrate people "traumas" due to state violence and atrocities during the Aceh (Civil) War in the 1980s, Siegel (2014) said,

abnormal situation and simple historical facts can be narrated so astutely so that human suffering and atrocities have been almost undetected, although victims of the stories really took the burden. An (Aceh) journalist wittily wrote short stories on a political situation where the violence and atrocities happened, and yet an authoritarian rule cannot get the claim.

The short stories, I do believe, have been literary texts required to establish Benedict Anderson's imagined nationalist communities, and "It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (Anderson 2006). Newspapers, magazines, short-stories, novels, etc. published and disseminated by independent and altruist writers and publisher hopefully will be alternatives ways in dealing with modern terrorism and its related traumas.

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Gossip Dynamics as A Social Learning

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Abstract

Gossip is one way of communication that always emerges in everyday life without we realize doing it. Most people view gossip in a negative way of communication although the content is not always about negative things. Indonesia that has eastern culture still looks gossip as negative thing and it must not emerge in our life. The aim of this research was to explore the dynamic of gossip as social learning. This research is qualitative research that use depth interview as main instrument and supported with observation. Both instruments also become a way of triangulation. Depth interview is used for gathering data from subjects and also their significant others such as the head of dormitory. The observation is used for gathering data from the subjects. There are three subjects in this research. The criteria are girls, age 18 to 22, and live in a dormitory. The result of this research shows that subjects get social learning from gossip. Gossips often emerge in their everyday life and they know gossips from their peers. The gossipers and gossipees often evaluate the target attitude and give their opinion. Subjects of this research can get social learning from others opinion and point of view about the gossip. The social learning which subjects got from gossip is about norms and social behavior in dormitory.

Keywords: gossip, adolescent, social learning

Introduction

Yogyakarta is one of the Indonesian city considered as a center of education that many teens are interested in continuing their education in the city. Beside wide selection of advanced education, there are range of housing facilities that gather teenagers from different backgrounds and cultural habits. Wide selection of temporary residence is offered for students who continue their education in Yogyakarta, but only a small percentage of them chose the dormitory as their temporary shelter. Most people, particularly teenagers, regard the dormitory as an alternative place to stay because it has strict regulations and not as free as other alternative place to live.

The dormitory is an alternative living place that can accommodate quite a lot of students and generally homogeneous. Regulations imposed teach discipline and each occupant must conform to the rules and the other occupant. Adjustment that experienced by boarders do not always run smoothly, sometimes there are disputes between residents and violations of the rules. Information about the things that happened in the dormitory are often discussed and known by boarder through gossip. Gossip is often a source of information and social learning tools for the boarder.

Indonesian Dictionary (1990) defines gossip as a form of conversation that talk about other people or negative stories about someone. The definition shows the view of Indonesian culture that see gossip as a negative matter. However, most people seem to be enjoying when they are gossiping. Likewise, with the teenagers, they enjoyed when talking about peers who did not there. Violation of the dormitory's rules is one gossip topic that often discussed by the boarder without knowing the cause of the violation and the background of the problems.

Santrock (2011) explains that teenagers have attention to the social context to make a decision. Teens who entered college face more complex situation. Their ability to deal with the complex situation and diverse experience, especially the experience of teenagers who live away from home, can improve the ability to reason and find their identity (Phinney in Santrock, 2011). Adolescence studies social life by work directly in the community and learn how to interact with the social environment. Furter (in Monks, Knoers, and Hadinoto, 1999) revealed that in adolescence, moral behavior began to grow, as well as understand and internalize the moral values which then become a personal value. At this period also, they tried to find their own norms independently. Baumeister, Zhang, and Vohs (2004) stated gossip can make people learn social norms and redirect them when norms

are changing, as well as an indication to behave in accordance with social norms. Gossip also serves as a place to explain norms based on the evaluation group to a particular situation (Eder and Enke, 1991). Gossip can be one means for young people to know the social norms and assist them in obtaining social learning through the object of gossip.

Gossip can be done either by men or women, but women are more identified with gossip. This is probably because women have more attachment in group, as well as more easily express their feelings and share their stories with others. Baumeister and Zhang (2004) revealed that men are required to organize hierarchically in large social groups, while women focus on close relationships; such as two-way relationship, and other intimate relationships. This allows young women to gossip more than teenage boys. Bigger opportunities of young women to listen to the gossip stories should help them in obtaining social learning. Therefore, this study specifically looked gossip in adolescent girls.

As other forms of conversation, gossip has certain functions in human life such as dissemination of information and social learning. However, not all the girls were using gossip to get social learning. Seeing these problems, researchers are interested to see the dynamics of gossip as social learning.

Theory

2.1. Gossip

Gossip definition which is understood by the Indonesian people in general does not seem to be clearly distinguished by the term *ngrasani*, rumors, and huddle. APA Dictionary of Psychology (2007) expresses the sense of gossip as a form of personal conversation in spare time that is often the disclosed information was unproven and may reveal an embarrassing story or with bad intentions. In contrast to the gossip, rumor is a story or information about a case with unknown reliability that circulated from person to person. Those definition shows that gossip is part of the rumor. Different definition described in Indonesian Thesaurus (2006), gossip and rumor has the same meaning, namely the gone by the wind chatters, bird stories, rumors, and blather. Huddle mean gossiping, backbiting, and rustling that in Javanese language said as *ngrasani*. This study uses the proper definition in accordance with Indonesian culture, gossip as the gone by the wind chatters, bird stories, rumors, and blather. Moreover, gossip has several characteristics, namely the informal

conversations that arise spontaneously, discussion of events in the past and involved a person who is not present when the gossip takes place, evaluative and secretive or tend to hide, regarding someone known, and there is gossip triad (gossiper, gossipee or gossip participants, and the target or object of the gossip).

2.2. Social Learning

Social psychology has some theories on social learning, namely the reinforcement theory, social learning theory and social exchange theory.

2.2.1. Reinforcement Theory

Reinforcement theory perspective emphasizes the behavior that is influenced by external factors beyond the human self, not shaped by internal factors. The main concept of this theory leads to events that can be observed directly. The events that related to change in behavior is referred as stimulus. Changes in behavior which was preceded by stimulus is called response. Reinforcement is expected as a result of a response because it strengthens the response that increases the likelihood of the repeated behavior. Response that is not given retrofitting will disappear or will not occur again (DeLamater and Myers, 2007).

2.2.2. Social Learning Theory

The explanation of this theory is using a cognitive explanation of external and internal reinforcement to understand how to learn from others. Through observations about the social world and cognitive interpretation of the world, a wide range of complex information and expertise can be learned. This theory holds that humans are not driven by forces from within and by environmental stimuli. The function of psychology in this theory is explained as an ongoing interaction and reciprocity of the personal and environmental determinants (Dahar, 1989). Social learning theory emphasizes that person can obtain a new response through conditioning and imitation. Both of these are considered important in the socialization process and explain how a person obtains a complex social behavior (DeLamater and Myers, 2007).

2.2.3. Social Exchange Theory

The assumption of this theory is that every individual has the freedom to choose and face social situations that require them to

choose from a selection of alternative behavior. These behaviors can be resulted in gifts / present and requires sacrifice. This theory sees social relations as exchange of things and services between people. Individuals will only participate in a relationship if they get something beneficial. An individual weighs the more interesting relationship by comparing the advantages presented. If someone participates in a social relationship and receive an alternative best results, it can be interpreted as the level of comparison to other alternatives (DeLamater and Myers, 2007).

Method

3.1. Research subject

An important criterion in the choice of subjects, which is the final stage of young women aged between 18-22 years. Selection of subjects in late adolescence was the notion that this period is characterized by a strong desire to grow and develop as a mature in order to be accepted by peers, adults, and culture (McCandless & Evans in Joseph, 2000). At this time also, teens gain a clear awareness of what people expected of them. The next criterion is the subject of research stay at the dormitory as a temporary shelter during their study. The study was conducted in a female dorm in Yogyakarta as a students' alternative place to live and inhabited by about 120 female students. The dormitory that becomes the place of research has more stringent regulations than the other alternative residence and inhabited by enough people so it looks as a separate community.

3.2. Method of collecting data

Data collection method used is in-depth interviews supported by observation. Banister, et al (in Poerwandari, 2005) describes the interview as a conversation and directed question and answer activity in accordance with the purpose of research. In qualitative research, the interview intentions are to obtain knowledge about the subjective meaning that is understood by individuals with regard to the under study topic and exploration of the research issue. In particular, this research using interview techniques with general guidelines that contain issues that must be covered without specifying the sequence of questions (Patton in Poerwandari, 2005). This type of interview helps researchers in revealing certain aspects of the research topic in accordance with experience of the subject.

An observation method is used as supportive data in this study to observe accurately, noted the appeared phenomenon, and

considering the relationship between aspects of the phenomenon. Through observation, researchers can give a description about setting of the study, the ongoing activity, the people involved in the activity, and the meaning of events seen from the perspective of the people involved in the observed incidence (Poerwandari, 2005).

3.3. Data Analysis Method

This study uses thematic analysis that can assist researchers in translating the symptom / qualitative information into qualitative data according to the needs of researchers (in Poerwandari Boyatzis, 2005). In particular, thematic analysis can assist in analyzing the data to look at the raised issues, gives meaning to the material, and analyzing qualitative information. The process of analysis is to provide the code on interview data (coding). This phase is done to classify and give a specific code in the data so that it can assist researchers in seeing the picture of the topic. Themes obtained can further modify the data retrieval process. In addition, a transcript repeatedly read before coding can help you gain a general idea about the theme and avoid trouble in concluding (Poerwandari, 2005).

Results

The results showed that each subject has different experience in gossiping. This study revealed three topics of gossip that often arise, i.e. about dating, lifestyle, and violations of the dormitory rules. A gossip story can appear between dormitory dwellers because of observations on the other boarders who became the object of gossip or of other occupants who know a gossip story. In addition, the gossip is also a means to express criticism that cannot be delivered directly to the object of gossip. Gossip story that is expressed in a group will be taken to the opinions of other gossip participants. The spread of this rumor can make the object of gossip knows gossip about them either directly expressed by others as well as indirectly through the observation of the others behavior.

Rumors that are known by the subject helps them in getting social learning. Subject obtain direct learning to understand and evaluate the behavior of the object of gossip or by the opinions of others. Stories, gossip and opinions of the participants in the story the subject of gossip helps in knowing the views of others to an event or behavior performed by the object of gossip. If the subject sees negative on the gossip object's behavior and other gossip participants' opinions are similar to the subject of the opinion, the opinion of gossip participants

can be a positive reinforcement. On the other hand, the participants' opinions differed with the gossip subject, it becomes a negative reinforcement and can be considered for gossip subject in viewing problems in gossip stories.

Discussion

The information obtained from interviews with the subject makes the researchers know the gossip dynamics as social learning. Gossip contain elements of evaluation through the opinions expressed by the gossip participants. It is, indirectly, a form of social learning by means of reinforcement. Gossip participants' opinion that accordance with the subject opinion gives positive reinforcement, while opinions that differ with the subject opinion brings negative reinforcement. The first subject tells gossip story about the lifestyle of a dorm member that looks luxurious, the second subject reveals gossip about dorm member often come home at night, and a third subject about one of dorm member is a slob. The objects behaviors that are disclosed in the gossip story was responded with negative opinion and assessment by other gossip participants. Negative opinions towards the gossip object is a negative reinforcement that the subjects can understand that her behavior is considered bad behavior.

If the subjects know which is considered bad behavior, the subject looks back into her behavior and trying not to do anything that is done by the gossip object. Second and third subjects try to examine their behavior and understanding the opinions of others. When another dorm member assesses negatively of gossip object's behavior, two subjects know that the behavior is considered bad, trying to look back their everyday behavior, and did not perform the same behavior as the object gossip. The first subject sees the knowledge and lessons learned from the gossip story but doesn't think about it. Lesson that is considered appropriate will be applied in everyday life and use more gossip stories she had heard as a comparison with a similar rumor in different scope. Gossip stories which reveal positive things, like about the dorm member's achievements and dorm member that naughty but have a responsibility, and responded with a positive opinion can be a positive reinforcement for the subject. Subject feel more passion and wanted to try to be better by listening to gossip story that reveals positive things and positively assessed also by other tenants. First subject understand that gossip does not reveal positive things because it does not create gossip conversation continues into the evaluation phase of the positive things.

Gossip stories can also have the effect of indirectly to the object of gossip, which is a means to alert when a behavior does not meet the dormitory social norms and means of punishment provided by the environment. However, this can be perceived by the gossip object when they have a sensitivity to the environment. If an object of gossip has a sensitivity to the environment, she will be aware that she was the subject of gossip. Instead, the objects that are less sensitive to their environment tend not to realize that she was rumored. Knowledge of the object that is rumored by others can be obtained through gossip participant that tell gossip she had heard from others. Matters that discussed by others can be lessons for the gossip object about what is considered good or bad by its environment and becomes the means for introspection. In addition, gossip also bring function in helping people learn about life in their respective cultures (Baumeister, Zhang, and Vohs, 2004).

Motivation and effort to maintain the thought that has been made can be seen from the results of this study. Each subject has a view of each of the objects and the gossip stories they hear. From the interviews, the subjects express their views on the object of gossip based on the view of each subject. Gossip story that reveals the opposite to the views / votes of the subject, brings cognitive dissonance inside the subject self. Inside the subject self occurs a cognitive process to understand and assess the information she heard, as well as evaluating the views held by the subject towards the gossip object.

Evaluation that happens makes the subject reassess the views that have been made with regard to the story of the gossip. The results of these evaluations may affect the perspective of the subject, but the subject is trying to assess and look at the object of gossip in accordance with an initial assessment of the subject. A shift in perspective still have the possibility to appear on the subject, but it is not accompanied by a change of attitude towards the object of gossip. However, a paradigm shift occurs indirectly on the subject because the truth of the gossip story is questionable.

Another psychological dynamic that emerged was the accommodation, in the form of adjustment to new information received by someone. The dormitory as an alternative place to live for students from outside Java has more stringent regulations than on other boarding places. Rules and discipline instilled in dormitories may be different from other place of residence and cultural environment of each dorm member. Dormitory inhabitants must adapt to new customs and ordinances in dormitories, as well as with the other dorm member who have different character.

All three subjects revealed that information about the character

of others and new things going on in the dormitory are often obtained by gossip. Information about the character of fellow boarders can help subjects when exposed directly to the boarder which becomes the object of gossip. In addition, gossip stories which evaluates the behavior or events experienced by other dorm member provide new information for the subject about the events happening in the neighborhood. These evaluations help subjects study the social norms in the dormitory, especially to know the things that are considered good and bad. Subject makes self-adjustment towards social norms that are learned from their previous homes into social norms in the dormitory.

In this study, the research subject is the dorm member. Each dorm member has different background and culture of origin. Live together in a dormitory make a dorm member aware of the differences in each individual character and culture of origin. Differences that arise between dormitory inhabitants often become the talk of the life in the dorm. Adolescent girls who live together with their peers tend to gather and tell each other of an experience because women are more easily express their feelings and experiences with others, especially with peers. However, gossip is often a means for young women to express their opinions and feelings that cannot be expressed directly to the person who becomes the object of gossip. Supported by the Eastern culture in Indonesian society who are not accustomed to expressing their opinions and criticisms directly creates gossip become a common means to express opinions and criticism of others.

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Grow Interest in Maritime on Early Childhood Kindergarten in Coastal

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Abstract: Indonesia is maritime nations agrarian because the filled with the sea and agricultural area, but focused all power to catch up in the aspect of knowledge and technology. This has led to potential distinctive and unique Indonesia that consists of thousands of island with competitive advantage all over archipelago, not done well. As a country maritime, a large number of areas Indonesia consisting of the sea, but the effort to develop and preserve the ocean is still needs to be developed. Efforts to introduce nearest environment with students of the maritime, needs to be done through education early. One efforts to be made in a kindergarten, is through themes that have determined in accordance with the curriculum. Based on it, researcher made learning module with the theme maritime to grow interest maritime in children aged kindergarten. Module that arranged researcher has adapted to stage the development of the baby so as to attract the interest learn children about maritime. This module furnish the theme are present in kindergarten, so that it can be applied without changing the theme. This report is written with approach his experiments with design one group pretest-posttest. The research results show surge interest significant of 45, 96 %. Thus learning module thematic maritime to grow interest maritime in early childhood in a kindergarten proven effective.

Key words: *Password: learning module, thematic maritime, interest, early childhood in a kindergarten, coast*

Introduction

Coastal zone is a very complex, dynamic and delicate environment because of the influence of both terrestrial and marine ecosystems. As it a delicate environment, sustainable utilization of its resources can only be achieved based on multiple, best and reasonable use with integrated approach (Gunawan, 1998)

So far, the existence of resources marine and coastal development the potential less attention that resulted in the emergence of problems development, it seems poverty fishermen and damage their ecosystems. For that various problems in the coastal the more complicated in the next, social welfare development the possible, required environmental education that studies issues in the region coastal. Education is expected to see ethics resources management guaranteed to environmental sustainability and supports the development goals (Prawiroatmodjo, 1997; Kusnadi, 2007)

One effort to preserve the environment maritime is through education namely by raised matter maritime as cargo local coastal areas. According to Sudianto (2006), in general curriculum charge local served aimed to make school tuition having insight, the attitudes and behavior that steady about its environment and willing to preserve and develop natural resources, social and cultural, social of the existing economic around, as asset national in order to support regional development and national. While specifically the goal of teaching local charge is as follows: (1) student can understand and familiar with its environment (the natural environment, social and cultural and social economics in order to avoid any alienation to the environment own, (2) students can take advantage of knowledge and skill to solve the problems faced by generally that is around, (3) students to help their parents and save ourselves in compliance with living needs.

Efforts to introduce a local coastal areas marine environment, needs to be done through education early. One that you can do is through education in a kindergarten, through themes that have determined in accordance with curriculum kindergarten.

The results of the study early by Sulistiani and Mustami'ah (2013), students in kindergarten coastal areas not introduced with the environment maritime. Whereas, one of the theme their experiences in kindergarten namely "my environment", ideally introduce marine environment. But in fact children get to know environment land. This known from responses given by children when asked terrestrial animals, easy respond to children, with fondness, children get to know fried chicken, fried rice compared with derived from the sea, the internet squid, crab or shells. and the food come from areas, residence

children. So will the son of get to know a means of transportation who is in the land than a means of transportation in the sea .This indicates children should know with the environment him , instead does not occur .It is probably children do not introduced formally when the children study in school.

One of the efforts could be done in early childhood is to provide information, stimulation related to the environment marine and in the end expected to grow interest children to maritime. The efforts most effective via an education channel. This is in accordance with opinion Krisdiyanto and Bando (2011), that admit education maritime in national education curriculum in all levels a unit of education is an accurate steps in overcome the low the spirit and soul of nautical Indonesian. Education maritime can afford to build attitude and information students about the condition of its geographic as a nation maritime in the form of archipelago the largest in the world. Thus perspectives and understanding love nautical have to keep taught and made familiar since early of students through education formal that is.

Based on fact above researchers to design a learning module with the theme maritime to early childhood in kindergarten. Module arranged by taking into account a method of learning for children kindergarten the principles of learning children aged kindergarten. Module that is that can be used they could be needs to be done trial. In the study is done pilot learning module thematic maritime to grow interest maritime in early childhood in a kindergarten to see the effectiveness of module that have been made.

Learning model early childhood education

Methods used in learning children closely related to dimensions the development of the baby namely by motor, cognitive, language, creativity, emotion and social. To develop cognition children can be used methods by which able to move children to grow reflect, think, capable of draw conclusions, and make a generalization. The way is by understands the environment around, knows those and that objects exist, understand the body and feelings child themselves, train for take care of themselves. In addition train the use of language about people, and do what is assumed to be true based value that is in the community (Hildebrand 1997, Moeslichatoen, 2004).

According to Trianto (2013), learning model is steps learning with the notice characteristic of a child and competence to be reached, interaction in learning, instrument / media, and judgment.

There are many learning model that may be developed and applied in kindergarten /RA. Methods learning for children TK/RA like play, karyawisata, conversing, tell you, demonstration, project and the imposition of duties also models learning. Learning in kindergarten / RA is thematic conducted in adjustment, so their experiences in the TK/RA not be done in the method single. That is why, learning model who introduced is that is an alloy (integral).

Learning thematic based maritime

According to Trianto (2010), learning thematic seen as of instruction designed based on certain themes. Learning from thematic provide and the depth of the implementation of curriculum, offer a very many to their students to bring up of dynamics in education. Thematic unit is epitome of a whole language learning that facilitates students for productively answer the question which is raised own and satisfying curiosity with naturally about the world around students.

One of the approaches a lesson for early childhood is with the approach the environment. Learning environment approach is teach concepts in subjects of the staple of a or a particular topic by adopting both the environment we need to first seek for information about the involvement of the concept of are taught with an event or occurrence in environments that are nearest .Persuasion this environment the students invited to understanding the concept of learning by the use of the environment as a source of learning. Thus, students is expected to have concern to its environment. Radiating from a common understanding and concern that, students can find a solution, make decisions, and perform the act of realer if a when the children in dealing with problems in the environment by themselves (Trianto, 2013)

The coastal, nearest environment with students of is the sea. This is a local charge for kindergarten around. Local charge are the activities to develop competence adjusted with a distinctive and the potential of the region, including regional here is excellence, that the material cannot were placed in the. Substance charge local determined by a unit of education. Approach in the neighborhood the students called understanding the concept of learning by using environment as a source of learning. Thus, students is expected to having concern to its environment. Starts with understanding and concern that, students can find a solution, judge, and do a real action whenever a when the children has had problems environment own (Trianto, 2013).

Learning model thematic maritime on child kindergarten is the introduction of various the concept of easily and clear and attract

children, with reference to approach learning on child kindergarten. Concepts given is the approach to environment closest to children, namely sea environment like an animal and plants that exist in the deep sea, a means of transportation the sea, that objects in the sea, and activities that exist in the deep sea.

Interest maritime

Interest is taste is more like and taste an interest in a thing or activity without any who commands (Suryabrata, 2002). Interest is a source of the incentives compels people to do what is wanted if individual that free to choose. If individual see that something will be profitable, individual feel interested in (Hurlock, 2007). Interest can be viewed as an intrinsic motivation that drives someone to do certain behavior. This is because a positive feeling of that accompanies the act of which is based interest so individual will experienced a feeling happy (Ormrod, 2003, Prawitasari and Astiningrum, 2014)

Interest can be learned: 1) In learning try erratum, children found that something caught. Interest obtained by this method maybe last long or maybe it turns out that only a pleasure, that it be quick. If guided learn trial and error is the way valuable to develop interest in new for the son of have the opportunity trying to what is interesting for children and see if it really meet the particular needs in life or not. 2). Learning by identifying with a loved one or admired, children snatch away interest others and also pattern his behavior. 3). Interest possibly have developed through guidance and counseling someone who proficient considered a generation of kids able. Because method learned this reckon a generation of kids able, are more likely to get the development of interest that will satisfy the needs of a child of on how to learn try erratum or identification (Hurlock, 2007).

Interest have substantial relations with knowledge early owned individual (Tobias, 2012). Interest maritime a sense of like or are interested in maritime. The son who is interested will take into account the maritime things about related maritime, and the curiosity and studies things about related maritime. For example children will interested in marine animals, likes to eat food from the sea.

Research methods

Research experiment is the study was performed with do manipulation aimed at know manipulation of behavior individual

observed. Manipulation done can be a situation or particular course of action given to individuals or groups and after was seen their influence. Experiment was conducted to obtain effect caused by a treatment given deliberately by researchers (Latipun, 2011). Researchers used learning module maritime that had been developed based on the theme learning children aged kindergarten. Pattern design research is one-group pretest posttest design. The effectiveness of or influence the provision of learning the theme maritime (X) is likely to seen through had been the results of the score pre test (O1) and posttest (O2). Each student that will be the subject matter to be get pre test and post test. Pre test and post test in this research was based on sheets of observation interest maritime.

Research results and discussion

The results of experiments on children in 4 kindergarten coastal areas (TK A, TK B, TK C and TK D of learning module thematic maritime to grow interest maritime is as follows:

1. The theme "ideal", children the majority (97,6 %) the ideals that does not deal with marine and ideals pertaining to maritime only 2.4 %. After he received module of 22,8 % who called ideals pertaining to maritime. It means after he received learning children may be know and interested or best interest and his at profession that deals with maritime. Inflation figure of 20.4 %. This is in line with opinion Havighurst, (Hurlock, 2007) that interest have strong relationships with ideals.
2. The theme "my favorite food" only 4 of the child (4.8 %) of 83 students who calls with derived from the sea: whitefish and "pindang". 95,2 % food is not originated from the sea. But after receiving learning with the theme maritime increased be 45.75 % or 38 children or surge 40,95 %, includes: squid, whitefish, "pindang", shrimp, fish, anchovies and crabs. This is in line with opinion Erikson that personality children affected by environment. Opinion is also encouraged opinion Bandura (Santrock, 2008) that child learns of social environment.
3. The theme "a means of transportation", children who called mainland transport of 98 % or 81 children and only 2 son what calls vessel (2.4 %). And these children the majority living in coastal but not know a means of transportation in the sea. But after he received learning with the theme maritime children the significant that is being 72,29 %, up 40 children who called sea transportation, mass a ship, a ship, raft, a boat and a sailboat.

4. The theme “sea animals”, the only child of the sea animals which are of large size, the internet pope , dolphins, the sharks and fish and sea lions. So after he received learning theme maritime children the sea animals small ones and the usual found, the internet crab, shells, anchovies, tuna. So for experiment children may be varied about sea animals.
5. The theme “my environment”, children the the environment as it relates by sharking of 78,34 %, while pertaining to the sea as a son coastal is only 21.66 %. But after he received learning maritime increased by 67,44 % to 89,1 %. Children best interest and his at the environment as it relates by: conch, ship, a passenger ship, ship, raft. In addition the interest with turtle, submarines, boat, the sea and sand.
6. The theme “a means of communication” more mentioned goods in his house , the internet cell phone as many as 29 children (34,9 %), telephone as many as 30 kids (36,1 %). There are also mention ipad as much as 8 children (9.6), radio three sons (6.8 percent) and television as many as two children (2.4 %). But after he received learning with the theme maritime children interested in on a communication that deals with maritime the internet compass as many as 51 children (61,4 %) , then cell phone as many as 11 th son of (13.3 %), telephone as many as 10 children (12,04 %), while others the the speaker (6 %), tablet 6.8 % and laptop 6.8 %
7. The theme “the universe”, children said things that are not close together with maritime is as much as 82 %, and only 18 % interested in on a ship. After he received learning with the theme maritime, children best interest and his at the universe which relates to the ocean of 77,8 %. This could include: sea of 20.5 %, sea water of 10,8, sand 13.3 %, a boat of 10.8 % said their source, waves 8.4 % and interested in the fish of 6.8 percent. While the best interest and his at other than other is only 22.2 %.

If children do not introduced on the maritime environmental early, so hope that the children can be recognized, understand and end up creating interest maritime will not be reached. Hurlock (2007), interest is a source of innovation compels people to do what they need if free to choose. If individual see that something will be profitable, feel interested. If satisfaction reduced, interest to reduced .

Interest is not something that owned by somebody just, nor carried since born, but something that may be developed. Gunarsa and Gunarsa (2012) an interest learn will cause of something indicated and understand it and learning, because of an increasing learn the

larger also spheres of interest learning. If applied in interest maritime, the kids kindergarten will have interest maritime if the students are mostly learned about maritime.

According to Gunarsa and Gunarsa, (2012), factors that can arousing and stimulating interest learning is the lessons would be taught to students. Lessons learned that interests student learning, will often have you studied by students. In contrast lessons learned that does not attract will set aside. According to him teachers also affect the emergence of interest student learning. It means if in a school kindergarten there are matter maritime that is delivered in thematic, so kids is going to have interest on maritime. If a teacher capable of given the lectures by pulling will make students interested in the material that was delivered .It means if a teacher capable of given the lectures learning maritime by pulling, the kids will be attracted to the matter maritime.

The developmentally appropriate curriculum according to (Bredenkamp 1987, Hughes, 2010), 1. Purpose curriculum should reach area the development of the baby who including the development of physical, social, emotions and cognitive integrated and affect each other. 2. Purpose and plan must be in accordance with needs, strength and interest children. Information about family and cultural backgrounds have to open insight children. 3. The children have to active participate in learning and have to push freely explore materials, adults and other kids. Game free to be important in this section.

Conclusion

Based on the research done can be concluded that learning module thematic maritime can grow maritime interest in early childhood in a kindergarten .The research results show there has been increasing interest maritime, kids are more sensitive to its environment that were closely related to the sea .This can be concluded learning module maritime applied effective to grow interest maritime in early childhood in a kindergarten

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Local Wisdom, Social Capital, and 'Psikologi Nusantara'

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Abstract: Major parts of this paper has been presented at an international symposium in Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN), Malang in June 2014 and in my book (see Prawitasari, 2011). This is an effort to market Nusantara Psychology that is not a single entity, but diverse approaches based on each ethnic's local wisdom and social capital that we have. What I propose here is based on four major writings. 'Psikologi Nusantara' was published in Psychology Bulletin (see Prawitasari, 2006). This idea of psychology concept was renewed in my clinical psychology book (see Prawitasari, 2011). Other source is a paper that has not been published, but has been presented in an international conference in New Zealand in 2010 by Prawitasari, Zaumseil, and Sullivan. An idea as to how to use local wisdom and social capital, that have been published in several international journals by other people, is also discussed.

This paper is combinations of several published and unpublished papers. Some major parts have been presented in international symposium in Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang in 2014. Some important part about 'Psikologi Nusantara' has been updated in my book (see Prawitasari, 2011). Idea related to traditional knowledge and social capital was expressed in our writing (see Prawitasari, Zaumseil, and Sullivan, unpublished paper).

In this combined papers, I propose an idea of the development of psychology in Indonesia. This might be an effort to put a new perspective in psychology as a food of thought for behavioural scientists in developing world. Sometimes, we do not dare to develop our own theory, concept, method, technique that is so unique to be applied on our own people's welfare. Recently, however, there is an awareness that behavioural scientists in developing world could do more than just accept what is in the market. Currently, there are centers for indigenous and cultural psychology in major universities in Indonesia, i.e. Center for Indigenous and Cultural Psychology at UGM, Center of Indigenous and Peace Psychology at Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang, Center for Applied Indigenous Psychology at Universitas Negeri Sebelas Maret (UNS), Center for Indigenous and Health Psychology at Universitas Udayana, Laboratorium for Indonesian Psychology Development at Universitas Paramadina, Indigenous Psychology Research Unit at UIN Sultan Syarif Kasim, Riau, Center for Islamic and Indigenous Psychology at Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta.

This paper will review some articles published in the International Journal of Research in Psychology as state of the arts of indigenous and cultural psychology. Those articles were written by mostly people from the Center for Indigenous and Cultural Psychology, Faculty of Psychology, UGM. I have not found articles written by people from other Centers yet.

Specifically for local wisdom, I will cite some writings that we have done previously (see Prawitasari-Hadiyono et al., 2009; Zaumseil et al., 2012; Zaumseil et al., 2014). Some studies on local wisdom and social capital in Indonesia published in the international journals will also be reviewed. This paper will be ended by copying my idea about psychology concept 'psikologi nusantara' (see Prawitasari, 2006, 2011).

State of the arts of Indigenous and Cultural Psychology

Current development of science can be reviewed from articles based on empirical findings published in journals. Also we can observe the conceptual and theoretical review in the bulletin. Articles in the journal are usually peer reviewed to ensure that there is no plagiarism. Journal is a vehicle of scientific community where members are allowed to express their position on the issue being raised. Almost every faculty of psychology in Indonesia has journal to publish its members' research results. Long time ago, mostly the self-publication is to be used for the promotion to a higher academic functional position. Since the policy of promotion for government officials working in the university has been changed, the self-publication is in jeopardy. The publishers need to be smart in exchanging articles from other universities. Then, the journal is to be accredited by the Ministry of Education, Directorate General of Higher Education. To my opinion, it is impractical to have such diverse journals in psychology in each university. It would be better if there would also be different journals published by professional psychology associations within Himpunan Psikologi Indonesia (HIMPSI).

One journal accredited by the Ministry of Education is *Anima*. It is a strange name for a psychology journal, even though the term is very psychological. Usually international journal has a name connected to the discipline. Different than international journals that are published by business type publisher, such as Elsevier, Sage, Springer, national psychology journals usually are published by the faculty of psychology. Strange as it is, this is really a unique phenomenon that happens in Indonesia.

When our article was to be published online by one journal published by Springer, we had to pay 3000 US Dollars for open access (personal experience). This means that we pay in advance for people who will download for free our articles published by that publisher. Everything is commercial and profitable in the global world. And we, who live in Indonesia, will every time late in catching the spirit of publishing our research results since we are pleased enough when our articles are published in our own journals. It was few years ago. Lately there have been publications in the *International Journal of Research in Psychology* written by mostly people from Center for Indigenous and Cultural Psychology (CICP), Faculty of Psychology, UGM.

Three emotions were studied in CICP. There were anger, happiness, and sadness presented by some members of the center. Another issue being raised was trust. Those studies were claimed of using indigenous psychology approach. Putri et al. (2011:29) clearly cited Kim and Berry (1993) who stated that indigenous psychology is "the scientific study

of human behavior or mind that is native, that is not transported from other regions, and that is designed for its people.” This seems a generic definition of indigenous psychology. The method used in this approach is qualitative method and its procedure in analyzing the data. There seems no specification of the method usage in indigenous psychology approach.

Sadness was studied by Putri et al. (2011). She was my advisee in her script using the data from the CICP. Almost all data collected by CICP used an open-ended question developed by Korean scholars (see Kim and Park, 2006). Key words on the subjects’ answers, who were 461 high school students, were categorized. The answers on the “meaning of the sad moment” were “life lesson”, “disruption”, ‘self-reflection”, “motivation”, “life obstacles”, “memorable moments”, and “spiritual lesson” were categories found in the study. These categories were based on the percentage of subjects’ answers on that open ended question.

Primasari and Yuniarti (2012) presented the result of their study on happiness among high school students. Primasari was the advisee of Yuniarti’s on her script. They studied on the source of happiness of 467 high school students. The open ended questionnaire developed by Kim (2009) was used. The data was categorized into 8 sources based on the similarities of the answers. The categories were family, achievement, spirituality or religion, friends, leisure time, and money. They also did validate and verify the frequency and cross tabulations of the data by using focus group discussion. For the teenagers they studied, the “relationship with significant others” was the most important source of their happiness. To love and being loved by their family members was the source of happiness, they said.

Another emotion being studied was anger. Thontowi et al. (2014) described the cause of anger among 425 high school students. This study was done by more senior members of the CICP. They made a thorough review of the literatures on anger and its cause. Appraisal theory was used as a basis for their findings. Data was derived from anger question on the happiness open-ended questionnaire of “what events cause the person most angry.” Based on the answers to the question, they put open coding, axial coding, and selective coding, and categorized them accordingly. The categorical responses were cross-tabulated. They found four major categories: violation of trust, insults, unpleasant experiences, and disturbance. Their findings were very contextual to the Indonesian culture. They were different than the appraisal theory. The theorists stated that goal obstruction was the main reason for someone to become angry.

Three other studies were about trust. Tyas, Yuniarti, and Kim

(2012) studied trust in mother-child relationship. Hakim et al. (2012) described the term “ngemong” in trust among children toward their parents. Kurnianingsih, Yuniarti, and Kim (2012) presented trust among students to their teachers. Those researchers were senior members of the CICIP. Uichol Kim is a scholar from Korea who promotes indigenous psychology in major universities in Indonesia. Almost all studies done by the CICIP used Kim’s open-ended questionnaire.

Studies that claimed using indigenous psychology approach seem using the same method from Korea. The data analysis is also done quantitatively using descriptive statistical techniques, even though the categorization procedure is using qualitative method. It would be better if we are more open to use many different ways in interpreting the data, even though it becomes more tedious. For example, we could probe the answers to receive more in-depth analysis toward the phenomena of emotion and trust. We could also use our wild imagination to put together the qualitative data and narrate the findings. Triangulation of theories, methods, and source of informations are also possible to be used in the future studies.

It seems that what have been studied in CICIP are almost all preliminary studies using large samples of high school students. It would be better if the center also study lay people, since high school students are exclusive than people in general. The cultural uniqueness was also less discussed in each article. Anyhow, praise to Yuniarti as a motivator for the center to go global by presenting results of the studies anywhere in this world. Yuniarti promotes the members to write internationally as well at least all studies done were published in the online International Journal of Research Studies in Psychology and International Journal of Research Studies in Education. These journals are not as competitive as other international journals published for example by Elsevier, Sage, or Springer. They are very active in asking people to put their research results in their journals. These journals are also not meticulous in editing typo or grammatical errors. The publication time is also very short. Only in a month an article is received and the next month it will be published online.

Local wisdom and social capital

There are so many ethnic groups in Indonesia with their own traditional knowledge, wisdom, culture, arts, and other venue to express themselves like music, theatres, martial arts, dances. In our natural disasters context, we developed what we called “Happy Stage” (see Prawitasari-Hadiyono et al., 2009) based on the traditional

people's theatre. This method can be used to change for a better well-being in communal lives after natural disaster in Yogyakarta, when there was a heavy earthquake in May 2006. What we observed that alliance with the whole community members was eventually gave them a chance to reflect and improve perceived unfair conditions for some members of the community after so many aid came from different sources. Some studies (Crowe & Grenyer, 2008; Lepper & Mergenthaler, 2007; Lindgren, Barber, & Sandahl, 2008.; Puschner, Wolf, & Kraft, 2008; Sommerfeld, Orbach, Zim, & Mikulinger, 2008;) showed that therapeutic alliance may become a good predictor for therapy outcome besides other factors, such as group cohesiveness, group climate, level of conflicts, group members' ability to work actively, and other patients and therapist variables. Alliance with and involvement of the community members in preparing the play ensured the good outcome of the study. The local wisdom of "gotong royong" was obviously observed all the way through the study specifically during preparation before, during, and after the "Happy Stage" performances.

We used participatory action research. Involvement of some important community members in each decision making processes and active involvement of all community members during the preparations and performances of the play in the "Happy Stage" may become a good predictor for a positive change in the village. Thus, the social conflicts may be solved by the active involvement of the whole community members in the preparation of the performances at the traditional play and revitalize local wisdom of gotong royong that has been left out for a while.

We did also study the individual and collective way of coping with long-term suffering after the disaster and perceived injustice of the aid distribution (Zaumseil et al., 2014 in "Cultural Psychology of Coping with Disasters: The Case of an Earthquake in Java, Indonesia"). The aim of this second study was to find out how people who had experienced extreme suffering and misfortune continued to cope in the long-term as well as how this suffering was handled and interpreted in connection with disaster assistance as well as their ability to deal with enduring threats. As a result, our study was to find starting points for the creation of a more culturally sensitive approach to disaster management and to find out how cultural meanings and resulting in emotions mediate subsequent resilience and disaster preparedness.

"Gotong royong" is one local wisdom that was revitalized and was used for social capital by the community to be more optimistic toward the future after the natural disasters. Other than that "retaining to God Almighty" is also one wisdom that is usually used by people when they face the hard life like experiencing heavy earthquake (see Zaumseil et

al., 2014).

According to Oishi, Choi, Diener, and Kim-Prieto (2007) there will be daily events that affect well-being. They did cross-cultural study on the subject. Daily satisfaction among Asian American, Korea, and Japan has strong correlation with positive events compared to European American. People who live in East part of the world will be affected more by positive external events than people who live in West part of the world. The inference of this study is that when people could revive their traditional theatre reflecting their wisdom and solving the horizontal conflicts, then their subjective well-being will also be improved and when all people in the village experience the same, then the whole village will also experience improved wellness (see Prawitasari-Hadiyono et al., 2009).

Before presenting studies on social capital, there is a good article questioning whether social capital is really “a good concept” (see Bjørnskov & Sønderkov, 2013). They used Gerring’s work on the conceptual goodness. There are eight criteria according to Gerring: familiarity, resonance, parsimony, coherence, differentiation, depth, theoretical utility, and field utility (Bjørnskov & Sønderkov, 2013:1227). Based on those eight criteria, they concluded that the social capital is not a good concept. They argued that the concept of social capital has been used to describe many phenomena in social science. It is not a unitary concept as proposed by Robert Putnam. He defined social capital as “features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions” (Putnam, 1993:167 in Bjørnskov & Sønderkov, 2013:1225).

Although according to Bjørnskov & Sønderkov evaluation that social capital is not a good concept, yet there was one study using that concept to describe mothers’ social capital on child health in Indonesia. Sujarwoto and Tampubolon (2013) studied mother’s social capital and child health in Indonesia. They believed that mothers could use their networks to gain information on health related issues. The access to social relationship among women could become mothers’ social capital. Specifically when they were active in the community, they could get more knowledge about child health related issues. They found that there were positive effects of mothers’ social capital on child health through their active involvements and participations in the community.

Another study done by Syafwina (2014) described the story of “Smong” to be used in the disaster management after gross tsunami occurrence in Aceh in December 26th, 2004. She described result of her preliminary study of the use of local knowledge of “smong” in

combination with new technology such as television, radio, movies, books, and musics. Smong itself is a story to be told from generation to generation in Simeulue Island. The story is about running away to a higher place when there is tidal wave or tsunami. Smong is a warning shouted when there is indication of the surface of the sea lowered abnormally that tsunami will follow.

Local wisdom and social capital are abundant in Indonesia. Therefore, using them as the basis to develop psychology in Indonesia is possible. Each ethnic group has its own wisdom and its social capital within their community specific to their cultural background. Many different stories being told from one generation to another can be explored about the morality behind them. Traditional theatres are also available to be used as vehicles to solving the community member social conflicts. The involvement of the community members in the activity and their togetherness in preparing the play can be used as social capital to resolving the social conflicts.

Psikologi Nusantara

This part is copied from my previous publication on the subject (see Prawitasari, 2006, 2011). This is more an idea as food of thought rather than a final end. If we go this way, there must be consequences in revising the curricula of psychology in Indonesia. The main concern is how we become a free mind scholar in putting ideas publicly or at least in our own scientific community like in this conference. We should be more confident in exploring what we have in the field such as local wisdom that can be conceptualized to explain our own behavior. The concept then can be framed by scientific methods that can be more accountable, so that it could be accepted in our global scientific community. With the advancement of information technology, actually we may cut in the middle of the development of behavioral science that we do not have to start a new like our fellow early psychologists in Europe or America. We may develop the richness that we have and contribute to the development of behavioral science in the global world.

To support the development of Psikologi Nusantara, we should use the support of philosophy of the idea of deconstruction. Jacques Derrida cited by A. Sudiardjo (November-December 2005) in Basis magazine was an example. Derrida had experience failure twice. In 1947 he failed in his bachelor examination and in 1955 he failed in the oral examination on psychology. Even so, Derrida became famous when he was invited to go to Johns Hopkins University in America in

1966. He became famous with his idea about deconstruction. It will be better if we also deconstruct grand theories coined by founding scholars of psychology from Europe and America. Why we are afraid to construct our own psychology? Specifically we need to be brave enough to develop psychological construct based on our experiences and our ideas. To do so we need to separate between social constructions and to do deconstruction on the security of the previous construct.

It was only recently I know that Interactional Group Discussion (IGD) that we developed to reduce the unnecessary use of injections in Gunungkidul, Yogyakarta, Indonesia (Prawitasari Hadiyono, Suryawati, Danu, Sunartono, & Santoso, 1996) has been replicated successfully in Cambodia, Pakistan, and Tanzania (Hutin, 2004). IGD can be part of Nusantara Psychology since we developed it in Indonesia and based on our empirical findings that this approach is very effective in changing health personnel in health centers. In IGD behavioral principle was used. Yet, this is an example as to how a behavioral scientist contributes to interdisciplinary approach in drug use studies and the method that has been developed was replicated in other countries. This method has become widely known for people who join International Network for Rational Use of Drugs (INRUD) inaugurated in Yogyakarta, Indonesia in 1991 (see Prawitasari Hadiyono, 2001).

There is an effort to develop Nusantara Psychology. Happy Sola Gracia (2004) studied "isin" or embarrassment as a moral control and form of adjustment for Javanese people. Endang Ekowarni, Diana Rahmi Andriani, and Andri Kushendarto (2004) studied high value among Yogyakarta Palace servants. Those two studies were supported by Faculty of Psychology SP4 project. This project focused on the local wisdom to observe and describe Javanese behavior in Java. Gracia used qualitative approach. Ekowarni et al. (2004) used quantitative approach. These studies hopefully support and contribute to Nusantara Psychology.

For her dissertation Nanik Prihartanti and her advisors (2003) had contributed to Nusantara Psychology by studying about the concept of "rasa" or feelings that was coined by Ki Ageng Suryamentaram, a Javanese Prince who was unhappy in his life and found happiness as he became a lay person in his community than in the palace. Prihartanti used the concept of "rasa" to solve life problems and to reduce maladjustment. Prihartanti and Karyani (1998) studied social competence by the use of "rasa" concept to develop the quality of personality. Besides Prihartanti, Darmanto Jatman has long before her to use the concept of "rasa" in his private practice as well as his consultancy to business (Jatman, 2003).

Effort to come to Nusantara Psychology has been started. Now it

depends upon our scientific community to decide whether we would accept the name and the construct. There must be questions as to how to come to just one name “Psikologi Nusantara” because there are so many ethnic groups and thousand islands in Indonesia. The term nusantara is literally in between islands (*nusa antara*). So I guess it is a matter of how we support the idea of having a name to psychological construct that is developed indigenously. It is, therefore, that we need to develop our own curricula in our psychology program if we would like to accept the term Nusantara Psychology and its consequences of developing various concepts to support the name.

Psychology education curricula

When we decide to develop Nusantara Psychology with its uniqueness, the psychology curricula has to be suited to the development. There are so many changes in the curricula nationally in every study program. Study program of psychology also has to adjust to the change of policy in higher education. If we agree to develop Nusantara Psychology, then we need also to develop the curricula in our undergraduate program. We should match the end product of our graduates that we would like to have and adjust the curricula accordingly.

It would be better if the psychology education curricula were to be reviewed and revised accordingly. Supratiknya (2003) has written about competence based curriculum. He wrote in detail that the goal of psychology education is as professional helpers for undergraduate, graduate master’s level and graduate doctorate level. He made a matrix of curriculum based on general competence, assessment, intervention, research and evaluation, consultation and education, management and supervision, with major and supporting competences. The curriculum model written by Supratiknya is to open a chance to develop Nusantara Psychology by the use of qualitative approach and cultural review. But, there is something that I disagree with his proposal that as if all students must become professional helpers. I would much agree if the students are to be prepared to become behavioral researchers or behavioral designers. We then interpret the curriculum based on research or design of behavioral change. As if Supratiknya’s model is only to support professional psychology education. To my mind, undergraduate program is terminal. A student may continue to the graduate program or just stops and works where ever s/he wants. Nusantara Psychology, then, will be more open to be developed this way.

When we educate undergraduate students to become researchers or designers of behavior change, then the competence proposed by Supratiknya can be used, but the content will be different to reach the competence of those two professions than professional psychologists. The general competence will be the same that is the knowledge of grand theories of psychology as the basis to learn psychology. For the assessment competence, it will be better if the unit of analysis is not only individual organism, but also systems outside it such as family, community, organization, policy, and global network. It is, therefore, that the assessment will not be limited to psycho diagnostics only. We will not teach students to do counseling or psychotherapy, but macro approach of interventions to prepare the graduates to work in multidisciplinary team work. Modification of our rich psychotherapy concepts and techniques could be applied to the larger system than just individual organism since we are in a populated country that individual approach is too luxurious. Competence on research and evaluation is to be weighted additionally so that the graduates would be ready to do research or design behavior change when s/he works anywhere s/he pleases. Competence on consultation and education, management, and supervision could refer to Supratiknya's model.

To reach the goal of the graduates as researcher or designer of behavior change, it would be better when the lecturers also have projects to develop Nusantara Psychology that we will have our speciality to market our approach in the global world. Students will do research under the supervisions of the lecturers who have the projects. Research results are to be published together in the national and international psychology journals. Are we ready for it?

Shall we look at our neighbors' curriculum, such as at Chulalongkorn University in Thailand? It seems that this university prepares their students to become scientists. It shows that courses are mostly fundamentals of psychological theories and their applications on architecture, language, industries, business, medicine, family, mass communication, environment, sport, education, gender differences, arts, cultural psychology from child to adolescence, and the psychology of Buddha. From the curriculum it shows that the scientists there have developed psychology according to local culture and religion. There is none about psychodiagnostics.

National University of Singapore offers single major in psychology or sharing with other major. This university seems to model universities in England in its learning system by the use of modules. It seems that this university prepares the graduates as scientists even though the university offers also the introduction of counseling and for they who would like to graduate with honor; they are offered

psycho tests and psychometrics. They have also laboratories for each branch of psychology like psychobiology, cognitive psychology, applied psychology, social psychology, and developmental psychology. Neuropsychology is also introduced in undergraduate study.

University of Malaysia at Sarawak offers professional psychology program in the undergraduate study. It seems this university offers cognitive psychology profession, human resources development, and counseling psychology. Cognitive psychology program prepares the graduates in various fields such as information technology, industries, and human factors. Two other programs prepare the graduates as consultant in various fields of works. It seems that this university prepares the graduates as specialists using very specific curriculum according to the offered program.

According to Ampuni (2003, 2005) psychological education in Australia follows scientist-practitioner model. Undergraduate prepares the graduates as scientists and at the fourth year is for honor program. The first three years students learn about fundamental of psychological theories and the fourth year focus more on research. To practice, undergraduates have to do internship with their fellow senior psychologists. They have to be registered to the Board of Registration.

From the comparisons among universities around us, it seems that our psychological education is not clear enough in its direction whether we prepare the graduates to become scientists or practitioners. University of Malaysia at Sarawak prepares its undergraduates to become practitioners in many different fields' related to cognitive psychology, human resources development, and counseling psychology. Graduates of Chulalongkorn University and National University of Singapore prepare their undergraduates to become scientists. Psychological education in Australia prepares undergraduates as scientists, but they may become practitioners after they have internship with their senior psychologists.

Concluding remarks

After provoking our audience by presenting the idea of using local wisdom and social capital to develop psychology in Indonesia, I will present some questions to be answered in this forum. First, shall we develop 'Psikologi Nusantara' based on our local wisdom and social capital? If it is so, are we ready to do various researches and conceptual writings to support our direction? From the research findings we could generate our curricula. Or maybe we would be better to prepare our undergraduate as scientists, so that we may develop

the curricula accordingly? We may combine fundamental theories of psychology, methodology, statistics, and psychometrics to base our undergraduates as researchers cum scientists. Psikologi Nusantara subject becomes main review and as a model to develop psychology in the future. It is also important that our undergraduate program is terminal instead that every student has to become professional psychologists. By doing so, our undergraduates will be able to work directly after graduation without having to go to the graduate program. As behavioral researchers, undergraduates will be able to work anywhere. Their research results may become our input and feedback, so that the development of behavioral science may be sustained from fields to the experimental testing in our laboratory.

Second question is whether we will educate our undergraduate students as designer for behavioral change? The curricula will focus on fundamental theories of psychology, research methods, statistics, fundamental measures of behavior and various models of behavioral change in the individual organism, family, groups, organization, community, society levels, and policy making. For that reason we prepare our undergraduates to be ready to work anywhere and they will also be ready to work in a multidisciplinary team.

Third, my question is whether we are ready to leave our old pattern that psychology is identical with psycho tests? Psychological assessment is not only psycho tests and psycho tests are not only what we know. There are so many psycho tests developed in America. So that when we teach our students specific tests only, for sure we will be left behind and we may not have state of the arts of psychology. Shall we give our undergraduate students fundamental concepts of psycho tests, therefore, undergraduate students will be able to construct such tests based on strong theoretical concepts.

My last note is that we need to change our goal in psychological education specifically in undergraduate study, because thus far we give so many courses but no clear and specific directions. For that reason, we need to do more research based on our local wisdom and social capital so that the results may become sources of teaching and the direction is clearer and more specific. Together it will also become our contribution to the development of behavioral science in the global world. Whether we will name it as 'Psikologi Nusantara' or other, I remain it to the decision of the participant of this forum.

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Basis, November-Desember 2005

Muhammadiyah Education and Its Contribution in Developing Religious Tolerance in Grass Roots

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Abstract: Cultural and religious diversity in Indonesian society often leads to social friction and conflict. Effort that allows different groups to interact with each other are a necessity in order to develop, mutual understanding that will ultimately foster tolerance, particularly in religious life. This article is part of author's dissertation entitled "Adolescents Constructions of Morality in Religion-Based High Schools Education (Case in Purwokerto)". It is aimed to discuss the contribution of Muhammadiyah schools in fostering tolerance, especially in the religious life of Muslims at the grassroots level. A case study design with qualitative approach was employed. Participants consisted of students, teachers, school management, parents, alumni, and board of trustees of SMA Muhammadiyah 1 Purwokerto. Data were collected using in-depth interview, observation and documentation. Data were analyzed using interactive analysis models. The results showed that the Muhammadiyah schools have contributed to the growing tolerance of religious practices of Islamic society. Interaction between students with different schools of thought and affiliations to religious organizations in educational process at Muhammadiyah school, developed Islamic society's understanding of Muhammadiyah school of thought and religious practices. This situation can reduce prejudice toward Muhammadiyah. The prejudice often become a source of conflict at grassroots level. Furthermore, Muhammadiyah education

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could contribute to the fostering of religious tolerance in the society.

Keywords: *tolerance, schools, Muhammadiyah, religious life*

Introduction

Indonesia is multicultural society. Various cultures that are characterized by a diversity of ethnic and language as well as various religious life in Indonesia no doubt will make the Indonesian people to be accustomed to seeing the differences that occur in the vicinity. The Population Census in 2000 showed that the number of ethnic and sub-ethnic in Indonesia amounted to 1072 with 11 ethnic groups having people over one percent (Sulastrin in Wirutomo 2012: 49). In a 2010 Population Census, this number did not change much. The Javanese are the largest tribe in the proportion of 40.05 percent of the total population of Indonesia. The second position is Sundanese amounted to 15.50 percent. Furthermore, other tribes have the proportion of under-five percent (<http://www.bps.go.id/KegiatanLain/view/id/127:/01/07/2016>). In the matters of religion, in this country live and thrive six official religions: Islam, Protestant, Catholic, Hindu, Buddha, and Confucians. There are indigenous religions scattered throughout the archipelago as well, that increase heterogeneity in Indonesian society.

Cultural and religious diversity can be an integrative factor. It can unite people through ethnicity, language, or religion. On the other hand, the habit of seeing diversity does not mean people to be sterile from small frictions that can even lead to conflict between groups or parties. These differences can be a disintegrating factor that is ready to tear apart the social harmony. Ethnic and religious conflicts that have happened in Indonesia showed how vulnerable the social relations were which built up into the very pluralistic society.

Similarly, what happened with the religious people in general. On the one hand, faced with economic issues, politics, law, and the impact of the national crisis in the field, on the other hand faced with the problems of inter-religion even within religion itself, which has not shown a close relationship, compact and harmony (Muhaimin, 2012: 88). In terms of the relationship within religious communities, especially in the Islamic community, small ripples contention can cause conflict at the grassroots level has ever happened. Some of these cases for example Sunni-Shi'i conflict in Sampang, Madura (<http://m.okezone.com>, December 31, 2011: [16/07/2016]), and the conflict between Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Ahmadiyah and FPI respectively happened in Pandeglang, Banten, Temanggung, Central Java, and Pasuruan, East

Java, all of them occurred in 2011 (<http://m.antaranews.com>, March 5, 2011: [10/07/2016]).

As the number of followers of the majority religion of 207.176.162 (87.18 percent of the total population of Indonesia) (<http://www.bps.go.id>: [30/06/2016]), Islam is not homogeneous in nature. There are many streams and diversity of thoughts among Muslims originating from differences in interpretation of the teachings of the Koran and Hadith as the main references. The results of the mapping is done by Nata (2001) regarding to the diversity of Islamic thought in Indonesia; there are at least 12 varieties of Islamic thoughts, ranging from Islamic fundamentalism to Muslim-inclusive pluralism. The diversity of Islamic thoughts are embodied in various Islamic organizations. There are at least 26 Islamic organizations registered under the Law No.17 Year 2013 on Civil Society Organizations (<https://id.m.wikipedia.org>: [03/07/2016]). This number does not include an autonomous organization under the auspices of its parent organizations. When it is coupled with the flow and understanding which are considered "heretical" (Jaiz: 2006), then the Islamic society's diversity is complete. This reality makes very reasonable that friction and even conflict between groups as mentioned in the example above occasionally arise. This is because as stated by Miall, Ramsbotham and Woodhouse (1999: 7-8), the conflict is intrinsic aspects that are unavoidable, apart from that conflict is an expression of the heterogeneity of interests, values, and beliefs.

Despite the diversity of the conflict, as a negative consequence is an inevitable fairness, does not mean it could go unpunished. Actions may spark the disintegration of society. Therefore, efforts are necessary to tackle and prevent it. Prevention efforts in the community are only conducted when something has happened, whereas preventive measures before the onset of an event. Efforts to combat and prevent conflicts can be done through various means and media. One effort of prevention which is executed through the educational process, taking place in schools including the Muhammadiyah school.

Schools, as said by Durkheim (1973: xv) play an important role in socializing the desired values of society. This means, the pros and cons of a society are also determined by the values taught in schools. When schools teach the values of tolerance, solidarity, and unity, it will be born a generation that appreciates diversity and love unity. In turn, this will encourage the creation of social integration. The question is, whether the school has taught the values in the educational process? How can the contribution of faith-based schools, especially Muhammadiyah schools, in fostering tolerance as a form of prevention against internal conflicts among religious communities? This question

will be discussed in this article.

Methods

This study used case study with a qualitative approach. The research was held at SMA Muhammadiyah 1 Purwokerto. The informants consisted of all the components involved in the educational process, namely students, teachers, school management, parents, alumni, and trustees. Data were collected by interview, observation and documentation. The data were analyzed by interactive model of analysis. The process of this analysis model consisted of data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion.

Discussion

1. Muhammadiyah school in frame of national education

Since the fall of the New Order regime in 1998, Indonesia entered the reform era. This condition affects many areas of life, including aspects of education. Raihani (2010: 53-54) states that the major changes that have occurred since the implementation of the socio-political democratic have significant impacts on education. Management and curriculum reform has been following the political change, values, and ways of thinking. Act 2003 concerning National Education System is considered to be very important associated with the transition phase of Indonesia from authoritarianism to a democratic political system. Under this law, the national education aims to develop students' potential to become believers and are obedient to God Almighty, moral, healthy, knowledgeable, intelligent, creative and independent, and to be citizens of a democratic and responsible country.

The Long-Term National Education Development Plan (RPPNJP) 2005-2025 stated that the development of an education is divided into four major themes, namely: (1) Increased capacity and modernization (2005-2009), (2) Strengthening educational services (from 2010 to 2015), (3) Strengthening regional competitiveness (2015-2020), and (4) strengthening international competitiveness (2020-2025). The design of clear objectives and orientation of co-education is "outside", i.e. with the flow of globalization (Darmaningtyas and Subkhan, 2012: 2-3).

As an educational institution, the school becomes the spearhead of the implementation of the development of this

educational field. The results of the process that takes place in formal educational institutions is what will be an indicator of the success or failure of development in the field. Therefore, it is politically very strategic position. Tomlinson (1997: 244-245) says that politically, school is constructed in three models: (1) the competitive, market model. This model considers the school as a business venture in which students compete. (2). the dual-empowerment model, which declares the school as a company in which there are stakeholders, both internal and external. (3). the quality control model, stating the school as a machine that output prints are requested by outsiders.

In the context of national education and long-term development plan, the three models run simultaneously. In general, school in Indonesia is a place for students to compete academically through ratings at the time of acceptance of learning outcomes. At the same time, school is also faced with various stakeholders from parents which is known as the School Committee. In addition, school is required to produce a "product" with specific qualities desired by users. Therefore, the curriculum, evaluation of learning, and so are directed to suit the wishes or external party.

There are major challenges to be faced by the school. These challenges are not easy to be given because there are paradoxical situations. On one hand, the law mandates that national education should create the generation of faith, moral, healthy, knowledgeable, intelligent, creative and independent. On the other hand the long-term educational development plan directed "outward", followed by globalization. According to Fakhri, globalization occurs when the enactment of new social formations, characterized by the rapid development of capitalism boosted by ideology and a new trade world order under the rules established by global free trade organization (Djaya, 2012: 83). The new world order that is supported by the advancement of information technology, allows foreign values and social norms to enter and interact with Indonesian society. It makes the school has to work hard in order to produce a generation of faith, morality, and the other characters are desired. Schools are required to give an understanding to students about this situation so that they can refine them not to be swept away.

Muhammadiyah schools are one component of the national education system with all the policies are in it. Since it was first established, Muhammadiyah is already synonymous with charity efforts in the field of education. Data in 1932 showed, the number of schools owned by Muhammadiyah are 688 schools that are

divided into several categories. Until 2005, Muhammadiyah has had 2,901 elementary schools, 1,718 lower secondary schools, 946 upper secondary schools, 67 Islamic boarding schools, and 165 Colleges/Polytechnics/ Universities (Suara Muhammadiyah 22 Year-97, 16- 30 November 2012: 7-8).

The rapid growth of the number of Muhammadiyah schools cannot be separated from the purpose of this organization establishment. Ahmad Dahlan, who established Muhammadiyah on 8 Dhu al-Hijjah 1330 AH made it the second largest Muslim mass organization in Indonesia. The aims of this organization is to enhance the modern Islamic education, reinforce beliefs about Islam, therefore the realization of an Islamic society becomes true. Therefore, Muhammadiyah established schools that spread almost throughout the archipelago. The purpose of Muhammadiyah education is the realization of a Muslim man, moral, capable, believe in yourself, good for society and the state (Engku and Zubaidah, 2014: 188).

There were two conditions as the background of Muhammadiyah schools establishment, namely the discriminative colonial government education and appalling Islamic education. Kumalasari research results (2012: 1) indicates that the Muhammadiyah education that is initiated by Ahmad Dahlan is common knowledge that combines education with religious instruction. As a form of character education based on religion, the founder of Muhammadiyah is promoting the concept of simplicity, discipline, spirit free, and noble character. Islamic teachings which became the foundation of education is not just as knowledge alone, but must come in to practice. Thohier (2007: 2) states, character occupies a very important position in Islam, so that every aspect of the teachings of Islam were always oriented to the establishment and development of a noble character, called *al-akhlaq al-karimah*. Until now Muhammadiyah schools are still preserving the education model pioneered by Dahlan through a curriculum that contains religious instruction more than in public schools.

In this context, Muhammadiyah's educational purposes are parallels with the goals of national education especially in terms of producing graduates who have faith, moral, and have the independent spirit. It means that there are synergies between the efforts in the field of education done by Muhammadiyah with government policy in the field of education. Muhammadiyah schools as a part of the national education system, thus contribute to the process of forming the character of the nation. Shortage is usually associated with RPPNJP whose orientation is designed

to follow the flow of globalization. In this case Muhammadiyah schools and Islamic school in general, are still reeling from a variety of causes and factors. Therefore, Sanaky (2015) said that the reform of Islamic education in Indonesia is required.

2. The diversity and religious life tolerance problems in Indonesian Islamic society

The diversity that characterizes the Indonesian people in general are also found in Islamic societies. Although only a part of the plural Indonesian society, Islam as the religion of the majority also has many faces and is so varied (Kusumadewi in Wirutomo, 2012: 137). For example, Nata (2001: 17) which charted Islam in Indonesia to 12 varieties of thoughts among others portray Islamic fundamentalism namely those who have the attitude and the views of radicalism, militant, narrow-minded, eager to excess, or would like to achieve their goal with violence. On the other hand, they also show another face of Islamic thoughts called inclusive-plural Islam, as the view that considers other religions that exist in the world as containing the truth and can provide benefits and safety for adherents. They also recognize and engage the reality of the existing plurality (Nata, 2001: 188).

The variety sometime bring its own problem, especially in terms of between-thought relationship. Little cases concerning spiritual factors for instances, may become triggering factors for the emergences of conflicts. In each religion, instead, there are several dimensions, each of which has the potential to trigger the conflicts. Glock and Stark (in Azizy, 2000: xi) say, there are at least five dimensions in each religion, i.e.: ritual, mystical, ideological, intellectual, and social. The ritual includes religious celebration activities, mystical dimension consists of religion experiences, ideological dimension represents a set of beliefs that explains the existence of human being to God and His creatures, intellectual dimension points to the degree of understanding of human beings to their religions doctrines, and social dimension is a consequential dimensions, namely the manifests of religion teachings in the life of a society.

As a result, there are increasingly complex pattern of relationships that internally develop in an Islamic society. Although the same things that absolutely recognized by all groups, they also have their own interpretation of the fifth religious dimensions above. Therefore, for example, it is normal that in the Muslim community encountered no groups celebrating holy days of Islam with a very festive atmosphere as one form of *syi'ar*, but instead

some are totally organized it because they thought it was not a principal teaching that should be implemented. Similarly with other things such as how to dress, how to worship, to the practice of everyday social life.

When it is not responded wisely by each group, diversity can be a way for the opening of friction and conflict. The absence of a tolerant attitude towards different groups of thought is the problem that must be addressed. But it is not easy to seek solutions, because there is a group or school of thought that is very strong to claim to the truth they believe. The truth claims itself is an important component in religion and a source of differences in the interpretation that it was derived (Kimball, 2008: 54). This is what can be seen from the phenomenon of terrorism background of Islam in Indonesia. The terrorists always claim that they are the most correct. But the result becomes very ironic because the perpetrators and victims of the terrors are Muslim. It's also what makes the religion is often mentioned as a friction factor than a unifying factor, as the findings of Akinfenma, et al., (2014: 8) study.

Although it is difficult, it does not mean that efforts to foster tolerance among different groups of thought is impossible. A study conducted by Irfani, Alimi, and Iswari (2013: 1) about tolerance among religious groups in particular between the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah, shows that in addition to inhibiting factors, there are also factors that encourage tolerance among them. Factors that inhibit the tolerance i.e. differences in the implementation of worship, marriage more confidence, and offensive attitude belief among adherents. While the driving force factors among others, is the culture of tolerance that has long existed, marriages between adherents of different socialization values of tolerance in the family, and the village leadership that emphasizes the importance of tolerance. Referring to the findings of this study, what is needed is encouraging, fertilizing, and preserving the driving factors of tolerance.

Meanwhile, social integration, which also takes a tolerant attitude can be grown in ways that are normative, functional, and coercive (Wirutomo, 2012: 289-331). Normatively, efforts to unite the community are done based on a variety of values, especially the values of nationalism. This can be done through various government policies in the fields of economics, politics, and culture. Functionally, the integration occurs because of the mutual need between a group or element in a society with other elements and their functions (benefit) for all elements of society are integrated

into the social system, while the community integrated coercive means people who are united by coercion and violence.

Media to sow the seeds of this integration, among others, can be done through educational institutions, which in this case is the school. In addition it can be a place to instill the values of integrative through legislation or national policy, the school can contribute to these efforts in ways that are functional. Functional integration through the institution can occur because of the cross-cutting affiliation relationship inter-group or different groups (Wirutomo, 2012: 307). Schools even by Durkheim (1973: xv) is referred to as an institution to be crucial and very special that is creating new creatures and shape it according to the needs of society. In the context of Islamic education in Indonesia, the desired new creature that is human "intelligent, creative, and civilized", is needed to face globalization. To that end, schools should be able to function as a civilizing center of various abilities and values, work ethic, discipline, honest and intelligent, and moral (Maarif, 2007: 123-125).

3. The contribution of Muhammadiyah school in growing religious life tolerance in grassroots; findings in the field

In Muhammadiyah schools, there is occur a functional cross-cutting affiliation relationship during the educational process. This is because these schools are very open to various groups, classes, and even religion. The openness cannot be separated from the initial formation of Muhammadiyah as an organization. Mulkhan (in Burhani, 2010: 162-163) notes that historically Muhammadiyah was founded in the spirit of tolerance, openness and adaptive attitude to the kindness experience of other nations. It's efforts in the fields of education, health, and compensation for the poor, many are inspired and enjoyed by not only Muslims but also non-Muslims. One of the examples is the assessment of Hoof Bestuur Muhammadiyah 1924 on education. In Article 7 concerning students, it is stated that Muhammadiyah school provided for the children of Islam and not Islam.

Such an attitude is still maintained until now. Muhammadiyah is not concerned with background or affiliation community organizations (CBOs), social backgrounds, cultural, economic, or religion embraced by students. Thus it is not surprising when there are many kiai and leader of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)'s children who was educated in the Muhammadiyah schools or madrasah. Similarly, the non-Muslim students can also be seen in East Nusa

Tenggara (NTT) (Jabrohim and Setiawan, 2009: 185-186).

Although not identical, the fact can also be found in SMA Muhammadiyah 1 Purwokerto, particularly in terms of students' social organization affiliation. Based on observations in the classroom during a lesson Jurisprudence of Worship (Fikih Ibadah) appears that some students are not accustomed to practicing prayer as it is taught by teachers at the school, but take more accustomed to the prayers that are often taught by teachers of the Koran in the village whose background are NU. This reality is confirmed by the data obtained from the interviews both with teachers, parents, and alumni. One of the parents, for example, stated about the activities of their children at home, "... most join in the neighborhood organization here. Here are the IPNU, IPPNU, (Putra Putri Nahdlatul Ulama) Association ". It showed that some students living in the neighborhood are not familiar with the Muhammadiyah, because at their residence this organization is not well developed.

Contiguity students with the learning process in schools, making them know and understand about the differences of thoughts in Islam, among others implicated in the different religious practices. Knowledge and understanding of these students among others are obtained through the religious subjects, in more detail this school is divided into several sub-subjects. Details of the sub-subjects is Worship, Tarikh (Islamic History), Morals (Akhlak), Al-Quran and Hadith, Arabic, and Kemuhammadiyah, which all refer to a guide book entitled "Al-Islam dan Kemuhammadiyah". Students know the differences of thoughts in Islam Worship of subjects in which there is a topic entitled "Differences in the schools of Islam" as seen from the results of observations in class X. This knowledge can at least open their insight on the differences of thoughts that develop in Islam.

In addition to sub-subjects Worship, Kemuhammadiyah also contributes in giving the knowledge and open the horizons of students about the reality of differing ideas and perspectives that develop in Islam in Indonesia. All students in both backgrounds Muhammadiyah or not, are obliged to follow these subjects so that the transfer of cognitive knowledge about the ins and outs of Muhammadiyah are internalized into the students. Teachers of these subjects stated, though only up to the level of cognition, is expected to return to the community when they become more mature and more tolerant. Tolerant attitude can also grow through the participation of students in Muhammadiyah Student Association (IPM), an organization that houses Muhammadiyah

school students. "Although they do not active in Muhammadiyah, at least they do not hate Muhammadiyah".

It is also felt by three alumni, BS, A and L that are interviewed. They feel and see some of their friends or even their own who do not come from a family of Muhammadiyah are better informed about the Muhammadiyah. The participation of religious subjects who received at school, among others, can be felt in everyday life. It was revealed from statements such as, "Muhammadiyah teaches how society can be accepted by society". There is also a feeling interactions with school friend whose background is NU, they remain familiar even though they are different, "In fact, I am familiar only, no problem. He himself was also less concerned ". In addition, there are actually interested in seeing his friend and did not hate Muhammadiyah, "They do not hate the Muhammadiyah.. Admit that Muhammadiyah was no more superior side than the other".

The facts in this field certainly cannot be generalized to apply in all situations. It is also important to realize that there are still a number of issues. Among these is the problem of overlooking the conception of Muhammadiyah education that makes the education direction becomes unclear (Ali, 2010: 6-7). However, it does not mean that these findings can be ignored. At least it shows that the educational process in the Muhammadiyah schools, has encouraged the growth of tolerance among those groups and different schools of thoughts. Interaction with teachers, with fellow students of different backgrounds and schools of thought organization, participation in Muhammadiyah student organizations and practices contribute to the educational curriculum that fosters tolerance in religious life at the grassroots level.

Conclusion

There are parallel national education goals and objectives of Muhammadiyah education, especially in terms of producing graduates who have faith, novel morality, and have the independent spirit. Tolerance, which is one of the requirements for the creation of social integration can be done through the schools, because their relationships are crossed (cross-cutting affiliation) inter-group or different groups.

Muhammadiyah schools contribute to the growth of tolerance through educational process taking place in it, such as: (1) interaction with teachers and fellow students of different backgrounds organizations or schools of thoughts, (2) participation in Muhammadiyah student

organization, (3) the practice of educational curriculum what teach diversity.

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Criterion (Predictive) Validity of Religious Scheme Scale (RSS)

Yohanes Budiarto

Abstract

The purpose of this study was to confirm the factors of Religious Scheme Scale (RSS) using Indonesian Christian student sample. Participants were 230 students (male n= 100, female = 130) with age ranged from 15 - 23 years old (M = 16.8, SD = 1.588). Factor Analysis using Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) was conducted using AMOS 21 did not confirm the 15 - item 3-factor as proposed by Streib et al. (2010) but 13 - item 3 factor model. The unsatisfactory 2 variables were found in xenosophia sub scale. This study was considered similar to Proios' study (2015) in Greece which dropped 2 items from xenosophia sub scale. The predictive validity of RSS showed a good predictor of Identity Fusion. In conclusion, RSS is satisfactory to be implemented in Indonesian Christian student samples.

Introduction

Religion has been believed to have the power to move, motivate, and guide the cognitive, affection, and behavioral aspect of human. In interpersonal relationship, religion can be the reference in perceiving others. Religion as an identity can function as "social adhesive" when the religious identity is perceived as similar. But then again, the opposite effect can be easily felt when an individual interacts with others who is different in terms of religion identity. This phenomenon is based on the social psychological "in-group out-group" condition of when someone apply their religion identity as the only reference in perceiving others.

Rejection towards the variety of social phenomenon interpretation or religion teachings is the result of religion fundamentalism which

more 'pro' to the so-called in-group and exclude the out-group (Emerson & Hartman, 2006). The strengthening of "we-ness" in religion identity cannot be separated from the interpretation of the religion which is believed. This interpretation cannot be detached from how someone believes in their religion, not on what someone believes. Streib, Hood, and Klein (2010) stated that one's religion schemata takes impact on how one can be a fundamentalist. Religion schemata according to Streib, Hood, and Klein consists of three forms, that is TTT (Truth, Text and Teaching), FTR (Fairness, Tolerance, and Rational Choice), and Xenos (Xenosophia, inter-religious Dialogue). Specifically speaking, TTT (Truth, Text and Teaching) schemata has a positive correlation with religion fundamentalism in German and United States (Streib, Hood, and Klein, 2010). This means that the more individuals in a certain religion group are "trapped" in absolutism scheme, exclusivity, and literal understanding of the holy book they believe, the more fundamental that individuals will be. TTT is also expected to be correlated positively towards the ethnocentrism concept from Allport.

The thought of religion fundamentalism is almost as it is born again since the bombardment even in World Trade Center (WTC), United States on 11th September 2001, the bombardment of entertainment spot in Legian, Bali in Indonesia, the abduction of hundreds of young Christian females by Boko Haram, and the recent is the emergence of ISIS (Islam State of Iraq Suriah) is a series of religion fundamentalism history continuance. Related to ISIS, fundamentalism in Iraq is felt to be very massive ("Police Surveilling ISIS' Movement in Indonesia", 22nd July 2014) so that it attracts the attention of local police force to keep an eye on ISIS organization (Islam State of Iraq Suriah) which is assumed to take place in Indonesia already.

Religion scheme is fathomed to be able to predict the rate of involvement or individual's membership identification towards religion as an organization/social group. Religion as social identity can convert one's religion identity as personal identity for those who believe in it. Literal religion schemes and those which are filled with strong faith are predicted to turn personal identity fusion into religiosity social identity. An individual will be more sensitive if their social identity is disturbed, compared to when their own personal identity is disturbed.

The social identity phenomenon above is also known as identity fusion (Swann, et al., 2009). When an individual believes in a religion, then they will have their own social identity based on the name of what belief they give credence to. An individual membership which is fused in their group does not only involve the process of deindividuation or

depersonalization, but they also hold on to their personal identity that makes extreme action in their group (Swann, et al., 2009).

Research relating to RSS validity scale has found that there is a negative correlation between RR and religion fundamentalism. In German participants, it is found that the TTT subscale is significantly positive correlated to religion fundamentalism while FTR and xenophobia subscale correlated negatively and also significantly towards religion fundamentalism. The same correlation of the RSS subscale can also be found in American participant, but the number of coefficient correlation is lower than the one found in German participant. In relation to Big Five Personality variable, it is reported that RSS only correlates significantly to the Openness to experience dimension. TTT subscale is correlated negatively to Openness to experience dimension while FTR and Xenosophia correlate positively with Openness to experience dimension I the two populations. As closing, when correlated to Well Being from Ryff, FTR correlates positively with personal growth and purpose in life in the population from United States (Streib, Hood, and Klein, 2010).

Incremental validity report on RSS scale which is conducted by Streib, Hood, and Klein (2010) shows that RSS, especially in TTT subscale fit to the religion fundamentalism scale from Altemeyer & Hunsberger's (1992, 2005) and the FTR and xenosophia subscale is inverted to religion fundamentalism scale from Altemeyer & Hunsberger's (1992, 2005). Moreover, FTR and xenosophia affect openness to experience dimension. FTR has more impact on openness to experience compared to xenosophia. In the research, the more fundamental a participant is, the lower their openness to experience.

Religious scheme scale (RSS)

Religious scheme scale is developed based on faith development framework from Fowler (1981). Fowler formulated the stage of interpretation towards the stages of faith development: intuitive-projective, mythic-literal, synthetic-conventional, individuative-reflective, conjunctive and universal faith. The 'faith' concept in Fowler's understanding is not attached to tradition and the belief system or a particular religion, but rather it is more about interpretation, life experiences interpretation, and faithfulness to religion values.

To keep the consistency within the universal concept and definition, Fowler involves concepts seen as aspects of faith: logic (Piaget), perspective taking (Selman), moral judgment (Kohlberg), social awareness, authority, world coherence, and hermeneutic

symbol. The seven dimensions are cohesive toward each other. Fowler (1981) used the term 'stages' or 'development' which are built upon Kohlberg's moral development theory. Furthermore, the development or stages concept which are proposed Fowler are also based on Lewine and Hewer's (1983) thought on stages model criteria. This model has the characteristic of a coherent stages, one directional, consecutive, and irreversible. The conclusion of thoughts review above is that faith development according to Fowler (1981) is one directional, consecutive, and irreversible.

The style concept, in religious styles is the beginning step of faith development's concept revision (Streib, 2001). In contrast from the stages or development concept, the style concept refers to pragmatism and openness to individual religious experiences. Moreover, this concept emphasizes more on the deliberate practices of a religion's ritual pattern. Hereafter, Streib et al. (2010) explains the scheme concept based on religion concept as a scheme from McIntosh (1995). The scheme concept connects experience schemata with interpretation. Streib et al. (2010) defines scheme as a cognitive pattern on how one searches and chooses specific interpretation about life's challenges and how one construct an interpretation about the antecedent of those challenges.

A schema is conceived as an absolute structural pattern about interpretation and practices, while style underlines on the repetition of schemata implementation. Therefore, religious style refers to lifestyle and religious schemata temporary habit refers to religious styles differentiator. Moving from this concept, Religious Schema Scale refers to the right measurement (schemata) and what a RSS subscale (styles) refers to. RSS is arranged as operational schemata measurement to measure religious styles.

Religious schemata is defines as religious styles differentiator by Streib et, al. (2010). Streib explained that eventhough schemata functionates as a differentiator, but the interpretation cannot be restricted as a rigi concept, but it is a series of stages. In this case, the religion scheme, other than differentiating, it is also continuous.

Religion scheme is formulated based on the concept spanned from tolerance to fundamentalism, or from pluralism to exclusivism. One distinctive concept of religion scheme related to the xenosophia is the attitude of wanting to have dialog. Xenosophia is the most tolerant span in religion scheme. Other religion scheme is FTR (faith, tolerance, and rational choice). Individual with this scheme has a rational choice towards their religion, is more tolerant and has a strong faith or belief towards their religion. Nevertheless, it does not seize the opportunity that an individual with that scheme uses their ratio to be aware of the

existence of other religions. The last religion scheme is TTT (truth of text and teachings). Individual with TTT religion scheme has an absolute faith in their religion teachings so that this individual tends to have tougher defense mechanisms (Streib et al., 2010).

Identity fusion

Identity fusion happens when someone has a deep attachment towards a certain group. The feeling of 'being one' with the group become so strong that the distance between them and the boundaries which usually separates personal self and the social is easily penetrated. The boundary between one's self and a group becomes very easy to be influenced with the result that one's self-concept can be seen from their membership in a group.

The psychological process which happens in identity fusion is when social identity is too dominant that the process of individual depersonalization happens. This means a group member sees other based on their group identity, not on personal identity. The tendency of an individual with high identity fusion will increase a stronger bond with other group members. This solid emotional bond will create an "obligatory" feeling to defend and help group members in a group.

Identity fusion is something similar to attitude rather than characteristics. As an example, identity fusion in a religion group does not correlate to identity fusion to one's country. In this matter, the more attached an individual to their group, then the weaker the attachment to other groups. (Gomez, Brooks, et al., 2011).

Research hypothesis

This research has the following hypotheses:

1. "Religious Schema Scale (RSS) confirms three factors suitable with the empiric data."
2. "Religious Schema Scale (RSS) has good predictive validity"

Result

Participants Description Based on Education Levels

The age range of participants in this research starts from 15-23 years old (M = 16.80, SD = 1.568). Overall, the number of participants in this research is 230 participants.

Among the 230 participants, the quantity of participants from Jakarta is at 45 participants (19.6%) which all are college students. While the number of participants from Purwokerto is 185 participants (80.4%) and all of them are high school students.

Participants Description Based on Sex

Based on sex, the number of male participants is at 100 participants (43.5%), while female participants are at 130 people (56.5%).

Participants Description Based on Ethnicity

Based on ethnicity, the majority of participants from Chinese ethnicity adds up to 149 participants (64.8%). The participants from Javanese ethnicity is at 66 participants (28.7%).

Measurement

230 participants filled the Religious Schemata Scale (RSS) (Streib, Hood, & Klein, 2010). All the participants involved are either Christian or Catholic. Religious Schemata Scale (RSS) has three subscale, which are truth of texts & teachings (ttr), fairness, tolerance & rational choice (ftr) and xenosophia/inter-religious dialog (xenos).

The truth of texts & teachings (ttr) subscale has a good reliability with the Alpha Cronbach coefficient of 0.7. The fairness, tolerance & rational choice (ftr) scale has the reliability coefficient of 0.65 and the xenosophia/inter-religious dialog subscale (xenos) has the Alpha Cronbach coefficient of 0.574. The conclusion is that RSS instrument has the coefficient correlation rangin from 0.574 -0.7.

Construct Validity

Construct validity test on Religious Scheme Scale (RSS) instrument was carried out using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) with the software AMOS 21.0. CFA is a very reliable statistical tool to test the nature and correlation between latent constructs. Confirmatory analysis is done to test whether manifest indicators are valid indicators of the latent constructs (Jackson, Stephenson, and Gillapsy, 2009).

According to Ghozali (2008), there are several things to pay attention to to test whether an indicator is a valid instrument, that is (1) check if the indicator is statically significant; (2) check from the convergent validity values or factor loading values of each indicator. In

terms of standardized factor loading, there are several opinions. Field (2005) stated that the minimum number of factor loading needed for a factor is 0.6. This view does not see the size of research sample. According to Hair et al. (1998), the factor loading value depends on the number of samples used in a research. If the research's sample size is at 200-250 samples, then the minimum threshold for factor loading to be considered as significant is at 0.4. Therefore, this research uses the 0.4 factor loading threshold.

CFA analysis on RSS, TTT sub dimension, resulted in estimates value as shown in the table below (factor loading).

Based on Hair et al. (1998) criteria, then all of the variables are significant at the level .05. No item is deleted because the factor loading value is >0.4. in this case, all the indicators significantly form the latent variable of truth of texts & teachings. To determine truth of texts & teachings subscale goodness of fit, chi-square / df, probability, AGFI, GFI and RMSEA in the output needs to be seen. The following is the result of the output.

Table 1.
Standardized Regression Weights
(Sub skala truth of texts & teachings)

			Estimate
A5	<---	TTT	.444
A4	<---	TTT	.689
A3	<---	TTT	.519
A2	<---	TTT	.673
A1	<---	TTT	.521

Table 2.
Goodness of fit in truth of texts & teachings subscale

Goodness of fit Index	Cut off Values	Research Result Model	Interpretation
chi-square/df	< 3	1.532	Good
Probability	> .05	.176	Good
RMSEA	<.05	.048	Good
GFI	>.95	.986	Good
AGFI	>.80	.958	Good

According to the table above, it is concluded that the uni model dimension of truth of texts & teachings (TTT) subscale is an acceptable model. CFA analysis in RSS, FTR sub dimension resulted in estimate value as displayed in the table below (factor loading).

Table 3
Standardized Regression Weights
(fairness, tolerance & rational choice [ftr] subscale)

			Estimate
B5	<---	FTR	.452
B4	<---	FTR	.457
B3	<---	FTR	.516
B2	<---	FTR	.630
B1	<---	FTR	.560

Referring to the Hair et al. (1998) criteria, then all the variables are significant at .05 level. No items are deleted because the factor loading value is >0.4 . this means that all indicators are significant in creating latent variable of fairness, tolerance & rational choice. To determine whether fairness, tolerance & rational choice has good fitness, then chi-square / df, probability, AGFI, GFI and RMSEA values needs to be seen in the output. The following is the output.

Table 4
Goodness of fit fairness, tolerance & rational choice subscale.

Goodness of fit Index	Cut off Values	Research Result Model	Interpretation
chi-square/df	< 3	1.091	Good
Probability	> .05	.363	Good
RMSEA	<.05	.020	Good
GFI	>.95	.990	Good
AGFI	>.80	.971	Good

Based on the analysis above CFA analysis on RSS, Xenosophia sub dimension, resulted in the estimate value shown in the table below (factor loading).

Table 5
Standardized Regression Weights: Xenosophia subscale

			Estimate
C5	<---	XENOSOPHIA	.467
C4	<---	XENOSOPHIA	.684
C3	<---	XENOSOPHIA	.249
C2	<---	XENOSOPHIA	.190
C1	<---	XENOSOPHIA	.561

Referring to Hair et al. (1998) criteria, there are two items deleted because it has the loading factor value < 0.4 . This means items number 2 and number 3 has to be deleted and an analysis has to be done once again so that all indicators significantly creates the latent variable xenosophia.

CFA analysis on xenosophia subscale after two variables are deleted from the analysis shows that there is no information on fitness model in the xenosophia subscale. In this matter, the xenosophia subscale unidimensional testing is saturated.

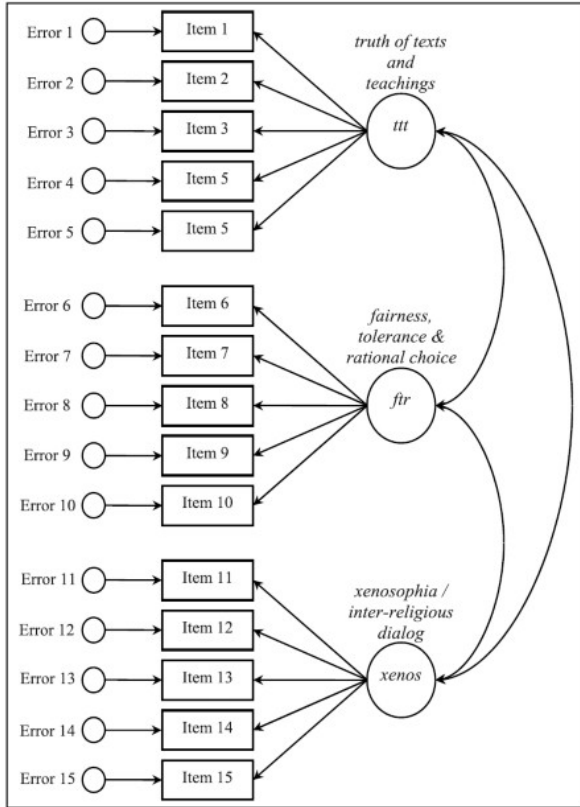
From the analysis of three subscales, it can be concluded that unidimensional analysis in each RSS subscales is not suitable regarding there is one subscale, which is xenosophia, which have the quality of saturated so that it cannot result in information fitness model. Therefore, researcher follows the RSS theoretical structure model that consists of 15 items from 3 factors. The theoretical structure of the three factors can be seen in the figure below (Figure 1).

CFA analysis on RSS theoretical model shows that xenosophia subscale results in estimate value (factor loading) shown below.

Table 6.
Standardized Regression Weights: Xenosophia

			Estimate
C5	<---	XENOSOPHIA	.493
C4	<---	XENOSOPHIA	.601
C3	<---	XENOSOPHIA	.280
C2	<---	XENOSOPHIA	.198
C1	<---	XENOSOPHIA	.600

Figure 1.
CFA RSS theoretical model



From the estimate value, it is found that variable 1 and 2 has the factor loading < 0.4 . Therefore, both of the variables has to be deleted for the next model re-analysis. Here is the figure that states the CFA RSS result in first step (Figure 2).

Therefore, two variables from xenosophia subscale have to be dropped from the analysis so that respecification of CFA RSS model is in the following figure (Figure 3).

From the model above, there are two variables, which are variable number 2 and 3 from xenosophia subscale which are not included in the analysis. The CFA analysis result can be seen in the figure below (Figure 4).

Figure 2.
Test result of the first CFA RSS theoretical model

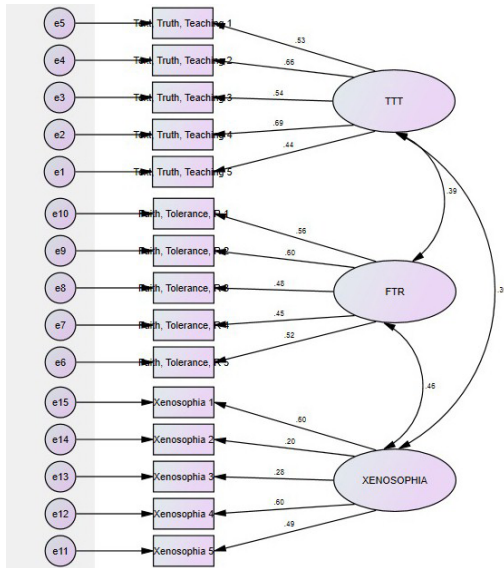


Figure 3.
Theoretical respecification model of CFA RSS

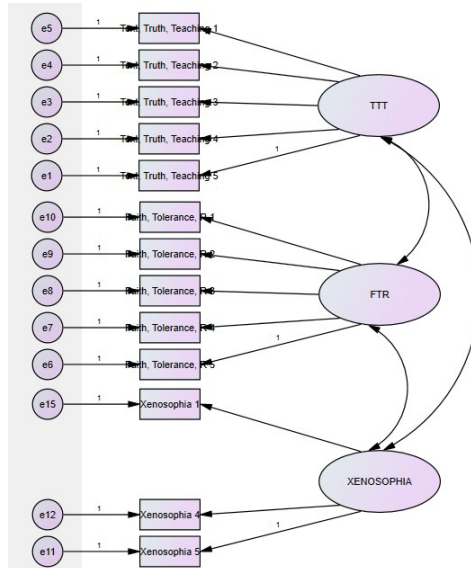
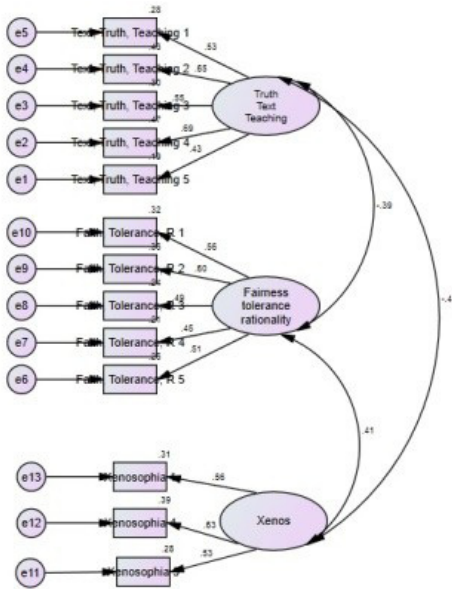


Figure 4.
Respecification of CFA RSS model estimation
Based on the model analysis respecification above, it is obtained



that factor loading has the range from 0.433 – 0.686. referring to Hair et al. (1998) criteria, then all the variables are significant at .05 level. No variable is discarded because the loading factor value is > 0.4. in this case, it means that all indicators significantly form religious schema latent variable. Here below is the table that recaps the loading factor's estimate value in each subscale (Table 7).

Goodness of fit test on the model using CFA method shows acceptable result. RMSEA value in the respecification model is at 0.072, which is categorized fair fit model. This RMSEA value displays that research model is fit to the population covariance matrix (Byrne, 1998). The next model of goodness of fit test is the Goodness-of-fit statistic (GFI), created by Joreskog and Sorbom as an alternative of chi-square. Traditionally, the suggested GFI value is > 0.9. Another goodness of fit test parameter is the AGFI, which is an improvement from GFI. AGFI adjusts the value of GFI based on degrees of freedom values (Tabachnick and Fidell, 2007). AGFI score which is higher than 0.9 is considered as a fit model reflection. The following is a recap table of RSS model fitness (Table 8).

Table 7.
Standardized Regression Weights

			Estimate
A5	<---	TTT	.433
A4	<---	TTT	.686
A3	<---	TTT	.546
A2	<---	TTT	.654
A1	<---	TTT	.530
B5	<---	FTR	.512
B4	<---	FTR	.455
B3	<---	FTR	.489
B2	<---	FTR	.599
B1	<---	FTR	.564
C5	<---	Xenosophia	.532
C1	<---	Xenosophia	.560
C4	<---	Xenosophia	.625

Table 8.
Goodness of fit Religious Schema Scale

Goodness of fit Index	Cut off Values	Research Model Result	Interpretation
chi-square/df	< 3	2.181	Good
Probability	> .05	.000	Bad
RMSEA	<.05	.072	Quite Good
GFI	>.95	.921	Good
AGFI	>.80	.884	Good

Predictive validity of RSS subscales

The intercorrelation of RSS TTT, FTR and Xenosophia subscales are significant at .01 and .05 level. The coefficient correlation between those subscales ranges from .271 hingga .301. As stated in the hypothesis before that TTT subscale correlates negatively to FTR or xenosophia

subscales. TTT subscales correlates negatively with FTR scales, $r = -.341$. the correlation between RSS subscales indicates a dependent, or even oblique, subscales pattern. Here below is the intercorrelation matrix of the RSS subscales.

Table 9.
The Matrix Correlation

Spearman's rho		FTR	XENOSO- PHIA	TTT	FUSION IDENTITY
FTR	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	271**	-.341**	-.160*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	-	.000	.000	.015
	N	230	230	230	230
XENOSOPHIA	Correlation Coefficient	271**	1.000	-.301**	-.309**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	-	.000	.000
	N	230	230	230	230
TTT	Correlation Coefficient	-.341**	-.301**	1.000	.374**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	-	.000
	N	230	230	230	230
FUSION IDENTITY	Correlation Coefficient	-.160*	-.309**	.374**	1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.015	.000	.000	-
	N	230	230	230	230

Negative correlation that occurs between TTT and FTR subscales shows that the more an individual is reserved about their religion's truth, the lower their tolerance, the independence of them to decide their belief and rationality will be. Similarly with xenosophia schemata, the more reserved an individual about their religion teachings' interpretation, the more they will be reserved and reluctant to accept new values.

The correlation result between FTR subscales and identity fusion show negative correlation. This thing can means the more an individual is tolerant towards different religious social groups, the more they will not blend into the individual's social identity. In this research's context, social identity refers to individual's religion identity. Based on the analysis above, it is inferred that RSS subscales have good predictive validity.

Conclusion

RSS scales have good construct validity. All three subscales have fitness with the construct proposed by Streib (2010). There are two variables that need to be discarded from xenosophia subscales through CFA analysis. This finding is similar to EFA test on RSS scales research in Greece (Proios et al., 2014) that found two variables on xenosophia subscales which are deleted as well because of their low factor loading.

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Institutional and Economic Factors in the Sustainability of Credit Union in Indonesia

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Abstract: This study focuses on exploring the role of institutional and economic factors that affect the achievement of self-reliance and sustainability of Credit Union in Indonesia. This study employs a mixed-analysis method, quantitative and qualitative analysis method, and implements the strategy of case study with embedded design. The results show that Credit Unions in Indonesia are financial institutions that work in a sustainable manner because they are built in accordance with the needs of communities they serve, supported by conducive institutional environment, and financially self-reliant. The finding is supported by the results of research stated that Credit Union's performance is supported by social and cultural factors, especially local custom which serves as important consideration in designing the saving and loan products, the service mechanism, and the rules of Credit Union governance. Credit Union in Indonesia can also be categorized as a sustainable financial institution that is sound and profitable, able to achieve effective financial structure, and able to manage liquidity well.

Keywords: *Credit Union, sustainability, self-reliance, institutional factor, cultural factor.*

Introduction

Credit Union is a financial institution that follows the form of cooperative organization and provides financial services such as savings, loans, insurance, and transfer payment services (WOCCU 2003; Emmon 1997). The term of Credit Union derived from the Latin words “credere” that means “trust”, and “union” which means “collection”. Thus the term of Credit Union means “a collection of people who trust each other in a unifying bond, which has agreed to deposit a sum of money as a joint capital to be used among fellow members as loans to finance productive activities for the common good” (CU Lestari nd : 2).

Some reports say that Credit Union movement in Indonesia has the potential to develop into self-reliant financial institution, and grow in a sustainable manner (Holloh, 2001; ProFI, 2006), although Credit Union still faces problem related to formal institutional system (INKOPDIT 2008; ProFI 2006). This study focuses on exploring the role of economic and institutional factors that affect the achievement of self-reliance and sustainability of Credit Union in Indonesia.

Research on Credit Union in Indonesia is important to obtain knowledge and better understanding about: (1) what institutional factors influence the work, performance, and ultimately form sustainable Credit Union in Indonesia?; (2) what is the performance of Credit Union in Indonesia, and how do the institutional factors contribute in the achievement of such performance? More specifically, this research aim to: (1) evaluate aspects of formal and informal institutions that affect sustainability of Credit Union in Indonesia; (2) analyze level of sustainability of Credit Union in Indonesia by evaluating financial and outreach performance indicators, and how do these factors contribute to formal and informal institutions in the achievement of such performance.

By answering the problem and research objectives formulated, this study provides contributions as follows: (1) developing theory of institutional microfinance institutions by adding new variables of local customs, geography and education as factors that affect sustainability of a microfinance institution; (2) applying triangulation of data and analysis methods in a case study to assess the achievement of performance and sustainability of Credit Union in Indonesia, (3) researching and analyzing performance and sustainability of the Credit Union in Indonesia using national data, both primary data and secondary data.

Literature review

1. Institutional and Institutional Finance Theory

According to Williamson (2000:596-600), the institution of economic can be categorized into four levels: (1) social embeddedness, (2) institutional environment, (3) institutions of governance, and (4) resource allocation and employment. Further, Williamson said that institutional level 1 is the focus of analysis of economic historians and other social scientists, institutional level 2 and 3 are the focus of analysis of NIE, and institutional level 4 is the area where neoclassical analysis works properly.

Credit Union grows up in its members' daily life, so that its growth is also influenced by institutional environment. According to North (2003:20-21) the dynamics of development of society will lead to changes in the institutional structure of the society. Organizations that able to adapt to the institutional development of community will be able to survive and make a profit.

To get optimal benefit from institutional changes, such changes should be coordinated. According to Yustika (2006), the coordination can be done using model of institutional organization that will guide the process of institutional change based on common objectives agreed by all members of the organization and the willingness of members to continue learning and searching for new knowledge (Yustika 2006 :245-250). Meanwhile, according to Acemoglu et al, an organization that is able to adjust to institutional development of the society will be able to survive and achieve better economic performance. Acemoglu said that, in a macro perspective, differences in economic performance were the result of three fundamental factors: (1) institutional economics, (2) geography, and (3) culture (Acemoglu, Johnson and Robinson 2005:396-401).

In the financial world, individual behavior, as explained by North, will affect the works of financial system. According to Hubbard (2005:4-6) the financial system is a financial institutional framework that matches savers and borrowers, and provides services of risk-sharing, liquidity and information through two channels: financial markets and financial institutions. According to Ledgerwood (1999:64-65) there are four major categories of types of services provided by microfinance institution for its clients, namely: (1) financial intermediation, (2) social intermediation, (3) business development services; and (4) social services. As one type of micro-finance institutions, in its operational practice, Credit Union provides financial and non-financial services.

2. Imperfect Information in the Credit Markets

In an ideal credit markets, credit traded competitively and interest rate determined by the interaction between demand and supply. According to Besley, credit markets that work freely and without any external intervention will be able to reach final equilibrium conditions, condition in which a person is no longer possible to add more benefits for himself without reducing benefits received by others (Besley 1994:2). In the real world, the ideal credit market can hardly be found.

Credit market differs from its ideal because of imperfect information (Besley 1994:2). According to Arsyad (2005:34), the imperfectness occurs because there is information gaps between creditors and debtors, and because of the uniqueness of commodities traded in credit markets (Arsyad 2005:34). Imperfect information includes the concepts of asymmetric information, adverse selection, moral hazard, and credit rationing.

Asymmetric information is a situation where one party of a transaction has better information than the other. In the context of credit markets, the debtor is considered as party that has better information than lenders. Adverse selection is a condition associated with distinguishing the risk of getting good or bad borrowers. Moral hazard is a condition associated with verification efforts undertaken by lender to ensure that borrowers use credit funds in accordance with planning stated in the credit application.

Asymmetric information in form of adverse selection and moral hazard will lead to credit rationing in credit markets. Jaffee and Russell (1976) developed a model of how imperfect information and uncertainty can lead to credit rationing. The model assumed that there are two types of debtors: the honest and the dishonest. Honest debtors would only agree on a debt contract which could be paid, and conversely, the dishonest debtor would neglect the debt if the cost of neglecting the debt is quite low (Jaffee & Russell 1976:651-652). However, lenders can not distinguish the two types of borrowers, so that would be more appropriate if credit rationing is then performed so that dishonest debtors do not neglect to pay his debts, even if it means it will reduce the credit provided to the honest debtors.

3. Measurement of Credit Union Sustainability

One among indicators of the sustainability of microfinance institutions is the performance of microfinance institutions, which includes financial performance and outreach (Arsyad 2005:45-

46; Robinson 2001, 2002; Ledgerwood 1999). According to the Consultative Group to Assist the poorest-CGAP (2001) there are several methods of measuring performance of microfinance institutions provided by various agencies, and the five methods recommended are: CAMEL of ACCION, PEARLS of WOCCU, Girafe of PlaNet Rating, MicroRate and M-CRIL. This dissertation applies PEARLS of WOCCU approach to measuring financial performance and outreach of Credit Union. The PEARLS approach is chosen considering that PEARLS is provided: (1) as an evaluation system to monitor the performance of Credit Union, (2) as a standardization of evaluation criteria for the operational activities of Credit Union, (3) as a basis of comparison of performance between Credit Union, and (4) as a framework for supervision. As a system of evaluation of financial performance, PEARLS could assess components of financial performance individually as well as a system. Further, we can apply PEARLS in a developed Credit Union as well as in a developing Credit Union.

Research methods

1. Model and Hypotheses

Path diagram in Figure 1 below illustrates the theoretical model of the performance of Credit Union in Indonesia. The model is structurally composed by factor of Credit Union governance and factor of socio-cultural. The factor of Credit Union governance is determined by factor of ownership in Credit Union and three indicators of formal institutional factors, namely "internal rules", "service mechanism" and "planning". Meanwhile, the socio-cultural factor is explained by indicators of informal institutional factors, namely "local custom", "education" and "geographic location". Based on measurement model, the performance of Credit Unions in Indonesia is explained by the indicators of external rules, financial viability, outreach, networking, and the positive impact of Credit Union for its members.

Hypothesis 1: the performance of Credit Union in Indonesia has a relationship with formal and informal institutional factors.

Hypothesis 2: based on the indicators of financial performance and outreach, Credit Union in Indonesia is categorized as a sustainable microfinance institution, and

differences in socio-economic conditions as indicated by differences in location of primary Credit Union have an impact on financial and outreach performance of Credit Union.

1. Analysis Method and Data

This study uses a mixed analysis method, methods of quantitative analysis and qualitative analysis. Quantitative analysis is used to evaluate formal and informal institutional factors that influence and determine the achievement of sustainability of Credit Union in Indonesia, and to measure level of sustainability of Credit Union by focusing on financial performance and outreach.

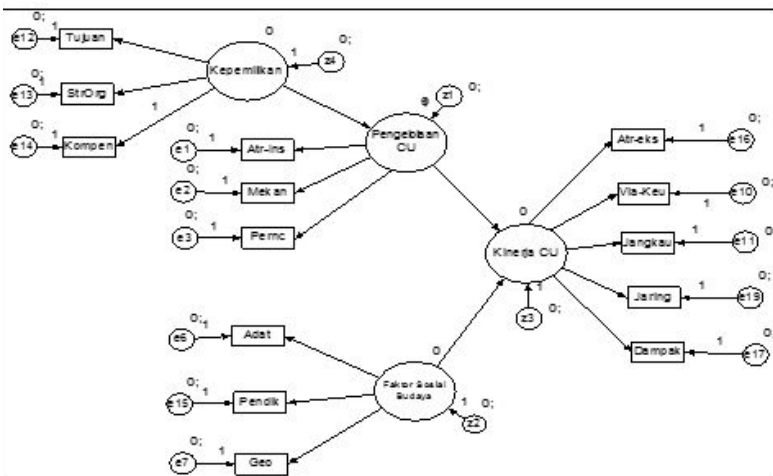


Figure 1. Path Diagram of Formal and Informal Institutional Factors in Credit Union in Indonesia

Evaluation of formal and informal institutions will employ structural equation modeling analysis using AMOS-SPSS version 16.0. Assessment of the sustainability of Credit Union through the measurement of financial performance and outreach will apply WOCCU-PEARLS evaluation system, and to compare level of sustainability, financial performance and outreach, the Mann-Withney-Wilcoxon statistic test will be employed.

Qualitative analysis is used to build understanding and to systematize formal and informal institutional factors that affect the achievement of sustainability and operational practices of Credit Union in Indonesia, to complete assessment of level of sustainability and

development of Credit Union, and as an evaluation of the utilization of operational experience in the governance of Credit Union in Indonesia and institutional considerations encapsulating them in planning the development of Credit Union in Indonesia. Qualitative analysis is performed using SWOT analysis and software of Expert Choice Commercial Version 9.47v79.

Research results

1. Analysis of Institutional Factors in the Sustainability of Credit Union in Indonesia

The test results using AMOS 16 show that the model used in this study is valid. The test results also show that all variables in the model have significant factor loading. The research model is shown in Table 1 and the path diagram in Figure 2 below. The test results show that the model demonstrates a compatibility between theoretical model and empirical model, and thus feasible for use in further analysis of institutional factors in the Credit Union in Indonesia.

Table 1.
Criterion of the Assessment of the Modified Research Model

Criterion	Reference Value	Calculation Result	Remark
Chi Square	As least as possible	85.655	Accepted
p-value	$\geq 0,05$	0,073	Accepted
CMIN/df	$\leq 2,00$	1,260	Accepted
RMSEA	$\leq 0,08$	0,039	Accepted
TLI	Close to 1	0,930	Accepted
CFI	Close to 1	0,948	Accepted

1.1 The Measurement Model

1.1.1. Ownership In Credit Union

Results of testing of the construct of "Ownership" indicates that the variable is significantly and positively related to variable "Goal", "Organizational Structure" and "Compensation" as indicated by successive values of factor loading 0.588, 0.450 and 0.361. Credit Union is a form of cooperative financial institutions – owned, managed and controlled by its members. Being a member means being the owner of CU, and each member has an equal voting right in

making decisions on matters relating to Credit Union.

In terms of organizational structure, generally, Credit Union in Indonesia implements a hierarchical structure that shows distribution of duties and responsibilities of the Annual Members Meeting (RAT), the Executive Board, the Supervisory Board, and the Management of Credit Union.

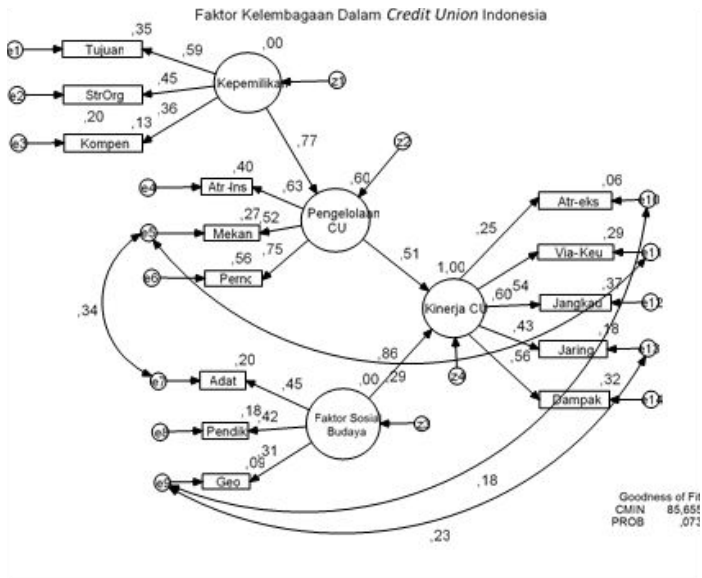


Figure 2. Output of Modified Model of Institutional Factors in the Credit Union in Indonesia

Concerning compensation aspect, there are two types of compensation, namely compensation for involvement of members in the management of credit union, and compensation for the utilization of financial intermediation services provided by Credit Union. Other type of compensation is compensation in form of distribution of net income (SHU) and compensation for participation of members in social charitable products.

1.1.2. Social and Cultural Factors

Results of testing of the construct of “Socio-Cultural Factors” indicates that the variable is significantly and positively related to variable “Local Custom”, “Education” and “Geographical Location” as shown in a row by the value of factor loading 0.447, 0.419 and 0.308.

Credit Union is very much concerned with the existence of social and cultural factors. Management of Credit Union is closely connected with existing local custom and human resource capacity in areas where it is located. The design of savings and loans products, and the design of service mechanism and rules of Credit Union governance have always put local custom and human resource capacity as important considerations.

Education is one of pillars of Credit Union, and implemented so that all members can better understand the role, rights and obligations, to be more prudent in managing household finances and business, as well as to know and understand financial statements and the development of the Credit Union. Overall, the educational program organized by Credit Union is an effort of developing capacity of members and organization.

1.1.3. Governance of Credit Union

Results of testing of the construct of "CU Governance" indicates that the variable is significantly and positively related to variable "Internal Rules", "Mechanism", and "Planning" as shown in a row by the value of factor loading 0.630, 0.517 and 0.745. Each member of the CU has one vote in the Annual Members Meeting (RAT) as the highest authority to determine the Executive and Supervisory Board of Credit Union, and also to establish policy guide of Credit Union. Principles of democracy and voluntary, as the basis of Credit Union governance, serve as important consideration in formulating internal rules, mechanisms, and planning of Credit Union. Credit Union's internal rules can be in form of Statutes, Bylaws, and Policy guide of Credit Union. Credit Union working mechanism embodied in form of standard operating procedures, and the workplan of Credit Union.

1.1.4. Performance of Credit Union

Results of testing of the construct of "CU Performance" indicates that the variable is significantly and positively related to variable "External Rules," "Financial Viability", "Outreach", "Networking", and "Positive Impact" as indicated by the value of successive factor loading 0.252, 0.541, 0.604, 0.426, and 0.563. Cooperatives Act No.25 of 1992 is an important external rule that underlie the existence Credit Union in Indonesia. Under the Act, Credit Union can obtain

legal status as a legitimate financial institution. The variable of Financial Viability explains the ability of Credit Union to pay all costs and risks, and making a profit as shown by PEARLS indicators in the financial statements. Meanwhile, the variable of outreach explains the ability of Credit Union to provide financial services based on the number of members served, types of products provided, and the average amount of loan accessible by members. Both variables directly demonstrate the performance of Credit Union. The stronger and healthier financial condition of a Credit Union and the increasingly wider outreach of a Credit Union, then the performance will be better.

The variable of Network shows Credit Union cooperation with other agencies to run and develop their business. Joining with network of Credit Union Movement in Indonesia enables Credit Union to enjoy advantages in terms of liquidity management, deposit and loans insurance, and capacity building of members and organization through educational programs. The Variable of Positive Impact explains benefit that directly or indirectly received by members of Credit Union from the existence of Credit Union and its operational activities.

1.1.5. The Structural Model

Results of testing of the structural model in this study indicate that variable "Ownership", "Governance of CU" and "Socio-Cultural Factors" are significantly and positively related to variable "CU Performance". Variable "Ownership" is significantly and positively related to variable "Governance of CU" as indicated by the value of factor loading 0.771. Variable "Governance of CU" is significantly associated with variable "CU Performance" as indicated by the value of factor loading 0.511, while variable "Socio-Cultural Factors" is also significantly and positively related to variable "CU Performance" as indicated by the value of factor loading 0.859.

The results of research model testing shows that factor of ownership in Credit Union significantly determines the pattern of Credit Union governance. Governance scheme derived from the policy of Credit Union set by members which are also the owner of Credit Union is a representation of formal institutional factors, namely the rules and regulations issued by the Government and or by the Credit Union and is used as the basis for Credit Union governance. On the other hand,

social and cultural factors represent informal institutional factors, namely the cultural, social arrangements, social norms, and codes of ethics of organization which directly or indirectly influence the behavior of the Credit Union's stakeholder in their interaction with each other in the context of credit union operations.

2. Analysis of Performance and Sustainability of Credit Union in Indonesia

2.1 Financial Performance and Outreach

The results of performance analysis using WOCCU PEARLS show that, overall, CUs -the object of discussion in this section- are able to achieve effective financial structure and also able to manage liquidity on a relatively safe position for liquidity and operational needs of CU.

In addition, CUs -the object of discussion- tend to be able to operate profitably through a relatively low operating costs while still able to generate interest rate that could maintain the real value of members' savings. The results of performance analysis also indicate the ability of CU in providing products and services as requested by members who later became the driving factor in increasing the outreach of its business, either through credit union membership or products access. The achievement is a major capital for CU to achieve financial self-reliance and sustainability in the long term operation of CU.

Table 2.
PEARLS Ratio of Credit Union Samples in 2007, 2008 and 2009

PEARLS RATIOS		2007	2008	2009	WOCCU STAN- DARD
Net Allowance for Loan Losses / Allowances Required for Loans Delinquent less than 12 months	P2	27.1%	60.8%	46.0%	100.0%
Net Loans/Total Assets	E1	74.9%	78.6%	78.7%	70-80%
Liquid Investments/Total Assets	E2	13.5%	13.7%	14.7%	Max 20%
Financial Investments/Total Assets	E3	6.1%	6.0%	4.7%	Max 0%
Savings Deposits/Total Assets	E5	78.3%	78.9%	78.8%	70-80%

Member Share Capital/Total Assets	E7	11.0%	11.4%	11.7%	10-20%
Institutional Capital/Total Assets	E8	4.9%	4.9%	5.8%	Min 10%
Total Loan Delinquency / Gross Loan Portfolio	A1	9.3%	12.5%	17.9%	Max 3%
Net Loan Income/Average Net Loan Portfolio	R1	22.6%	22.1%	21.3%	Min 100%
Total Interest Cost on Savings Deposits / Average Savings Deposits	R5	6.3%	8.1%	8.1%	> inflation
Total Interest (Dividend) Cost on Shares / Average Member Shares	R7	67.4%	35.4%	32.2%	>=R5
Total Operating Expenses / Avg. Total Assets	R9	5.6%	5.3%	5.4%	5%
Net Income / Average Total Assets	R12	3.6%	2.4%	2.0%	Min 10%
Liquidity Reserves / Savings Deposits	L2	17.2%	17.2%	20.9%	10%
Growth in Loans to Members	S1	112.5%	86.4%	43.6%	Depend on E1
Growth in Savings Deposits	S5	147.5%	77.6%	38.3%	Depend on E5
Growth in Share Capital	S7	170.6%	120.1%	45.2%	Depend on E7
Growth in Institutional Capital	S8	434.3%	100.4%	69.3%	Depend on E8
Growth in Membership	S10	109.6%	56.4%	31.5%	>12%
Growth in Total Assets	S11	125.5%	75.8%	42.7%	>Inflation

Sources: monthly financial reports of CU members of BKCU Kalimantan, 2007-2009, processed by researcher.

Conclusions and recommendations

1. Conclusions

Based on the analysis of structure and contribution of formal and informal institutions, and analysis of financial performance and outreach undertaken previously, the researcher concludes that Credit Union in Indonesia is a sustainable microfinance institution because it is built according to the needs of the communities it serves, supported by a conducive institutional environment, and financially independent.

The sustainability of Credit Union in Indonesia is shown by the results of this study which states that:

- The performance of Credit Union in Indonesia is supported by social and cultural factors, especially local custom that serves as an important consideration in the

design of savings and loans products, and the design of services mechanism and rules of Credit Union governance. The performance of Credit Union in Indonesia is also supported by the governance factors, especially aspects of planning and internal rules that play as basis for Credit Union operation. Planning and Credit Union's internal rules are formulated in accordance with the objectives set by members who also the owners of Credit Union.

The results of this study indicate that Credit Union is able to answer the needs of communities it serves and is supported by institutional environment that enable Credit Union to grow and develop in a sustainable manner.

- Credit Union in Indonesia is categorized as a sustainable financial institution that is sound and profitable. The results show that Credit Union is able to achieve effective financial structure, able to manage liquidity so that it is relatively safe to maintain liquidity and operational needs of CU, and able to operate profitably by determining interest rate that can maintain the real value of members' savings. The results also demonstrate the ability of Credit Union in providing products and services as requested by members.

2. Recommendations

- The results show that Credit Union is able to produce profits. However, Credit Union has yet to demonstrate an adequate ability to anticipate the risk of loss that may arise from its business through the provision of a reserve fund in a sufficient amount, and also has not demonstrated an adequate ability to achieve optimum availability of institutional capital as a resource for CU main business development. Based on this, it is important for Credit Union to pursue the availability of institutional capital and reserve funds in a sufficient amount through the policy of net income (SHU) allocation.
- The results also show that along with the high growth in loan disbursements, the ability of Credit Union to manage the loan tends to decrease as indicated by the increasing ratio of bad debt, and then followed by a declining trend in profitability levels of CU. In connection with this, Credit Union needs to specifically evaluate the cause of increase in the ratio of bad debt, whether it is because of less valid selection process of prospective borrowers, because the weakening business

condition of debtor, or due to other causes. From such evaluations, Credit Union could find alternative solutions.

- The observation results indicate that operations of Credit Union demonstrates its function as a financial intermediary, and these activities are closely related to financial data, including financial data of members. As a membership-based financial institution, in the long term, development of Credit Union will be determined by the development of economic and social conditions of its members so that Credit Union needs to closely observe these developments. This could be done by developing a members' economic and social database. The database needs to be updated, analyzed and managed properly so that true and accurate information could be regularly obtained by the management and the executive board as consideration for decision making in matters relating to the core business and other services provided by Credit Union.
- The observation also indicates that Credit Union does not have the standards of minimum scale that guarantee the achievement of financial sufficiency. As a financial institution based on socio-economic conditions of members, besides considering the institutional environment, the establishment and development of Credit Union also need to consider the economic feasibility of their business based on economic potential of members and areas where Credit Union is located, so that Credit Union can provide a plan about the scale of business relevant to conditions it faces.
- Minimum standard on the business scale that guarantee the achievement of financial sufficiency of Credit Union can be a guide for planning the establishment and development of Credit Union based on the aspects of economic feasibility. In this regard, it is necessary to do research on economies of scale of a Credit Union.

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Creating Shared Sustainable Success Through Focused Group Symbiosis: A Case Study of Credit Union Tyas Manunggal

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Abstract: This paper proposes concept of focused group symbiosis (FGS) as a tool to support local communities transformation in achieving shared-sustainable prosperity, especially transformation of clients of local microfinance institution into a group of individuals with prominent business capacities and strong social capital. Credit Union Tyas Manunggal (CUTM), one of the most dynamic and innovative credit union operates in Yogyakarta Special Province, is the object of FGS implementation discussed in this paper. This paper offers not only a theoretical concept but also empirical evidence that will be useful in promoting the effectiveness of microfinance practices as agent of local community development.

Keywords: *FGS, microfinance institution, CUTM, transformation, local development*

Introduction

Although, multiple poverty reduction strategies have been implemented by government, poverty and economic vulnerability are still the main issues of Indonesia development. Central Bureau of Statistics (2016) stated that the number of poor people in Indonesia was 11.13% of total population. Worse, in 2014, around 67.5 million (26.76%) of Indonesia population were vulnerable to economic shocks as their position were only slightly above poverty line (The World Bank, 2016). Further, study of PRAKARSA that applied multidimensional poverty index, uncovered that 79.6 million (31.55%) of Indonesian

were indicated as 'poor' (Budiantoro et al., 2014).

The main poverty reduction strategy implemented by government is through Micro, Small, Medium Enterprise (MSMEs) financing, especially through subsidized credit and provision of credit guarantee (Suryahadi et al., 2010). Recalling the long unpleasant records of government credit programs in Indonesia, the effectiveness of the strategy to reduce poverty is still being questioned. Moreover, amid the fact that many local financial institutions grow as the engine of local growth and intensively increase their outreach to small scale and non-bankable clients, the existence of government credit program will stimulate non-competitive environment and will be counterproductive to the spirit of fairness to local development. Further, the problem of MSMEs is very complex, not just related to financing. According to Green (2005), the obstacles of MSMEs operation are related to the limited production capacity, capacity to build business network, utilization of information and technology, capacity to do research and innovation, and also the minimal knowledge about regulation and product standardization. Therefore, the existence of poverty reduction strategy that is able to solve the complex problems of MSMEs and is appropriate for local development becomes an urgent need. As an effort to fill the gap, this paper offers the concept of FGS as a model of local MSMEs community empowerment that works with local financial institutions as well as utilizes local potency in the spirit of achieving shared-prosperity.

We consider focused group symbiosis (FGS) as the form of business development and social intermediation services provided by MFI. Essentially, it is a place where MFI clients in specific economic sector gather, and share their knowledge, skills and common specific resources, and are linked one another to optimize their business performance. An effective FGS will be a media to build a wider and stronger networks, pool of common specific resources, solve the problems, and create sustainable success among its participants. Later, the best-performing FGS will positively induce socioeconomic development of the society works with and lives around FGS, e.g. business partners related with FGS and people live around the operational area of FGS. Further, the more developed society will be a strategic element of the FGS future development. In summary, in the near term, application of FGS is expected to increase the capacity to manage business and social capital of FGS participants, increase their income and welfare, and spur MFI growth. In the longer term, the best-performing FGS will bring multiplier effects to local economy and promote local socioeconomic development as well as contribute to local poverty reduction.

The purpose of the paper is to describe the conceptualization and development of FGS, while present a brief review about the early implementation of FGS concept in Credit Union Tyas Manunggal, a local based MFIs located in Ganjuran Village, District of Bantul, Yogyakarta Special Province, Indonesia. This paper consists of 5 main sections. First section explains the background of this paper. The following part describes theory and previous study, relevance to the topic discussed. The third part of this paper explains the conceptualization of FGS and its role to local transformation and development while giving a brief review about the implementation of FGS concept in CUTM. In the final section, the discussion is concluded.

Literature review

Microfinance institution as business development and social intermediary services provider

Microfinance institution (MFI) is the provider of financial services to the low-income people (Ledgerwood, 1999). Many studies have been conducted to reveal the role of MFI in empowering the poor and alleviating poverty, especially through its capacity to increase the income of the poor, create employment, and increase public savings (Arsyad, 2006; Robinson, 2001, Ledgerwood, 1999). According to Ledgerwood, types of services provided by MFI can be classified into: 1) financial intermediation (provision of financial products such as loan, savings, insurance, credit cards, and payment systems), 2) social intermediation (process of building human and social capital), 3) enterprise development (provision of basic business training to assist micro-entrepreneurs such as bookkeeping, production, marketing, technological training) and 4) social services (provision of basic needs facilitation such as health care, education, literacy training). Minimalist approach MFIs, generally, only provide financial intermediary services, while integrated approach MFIs provides the financial intermediary services in combination with the other three services.

Two services that are most frequently chosen to support financial intermediation services are social intermediation services and enterprise development services. Social intermediation is the process of building the human and social capital required for sustainable financial intermediation with the poor (Ledgerwood, 1999). Social intermediation services respond the growing awareness that human and social capacity building assistance is the crucial element to prepare the poor, especially 'beyond the frontier' poor (e.g. the marginalized

poor or the one live in remote area), to access sustainable financial intermediation (Ledgerwood, 1999). The capacity building generally increases the poor's level of self-confidence when dealing with MFIs, while is expected to provide a basis for trust between the borrowers (the poor clients) and the lender (the MFIs). Social intermediation services are often served through groups, but some individually. Focus of group-based social intermediation services provided by MFIs are building the group cohesiveness and networking while empowering the group members (Ledgerwood, 1999). Regarding enterprise development services, Ledgerwood (1999) divides it into two: enterprise formation programs, which offering specific skills training for start up business, and enterprise transformation programs, which offering technical assistance, training, and technology to support business expansion and its products quality. Enterprise development services can be provided by the MFIs or the other party (e.g. NGOs, training institutions, business networks, university, producer association, and government institutions) that works within the MFI's system.

Local development cluster and value chain analysis

Focused Group Symbiosis (FGS) adopt the concept of industrial cluster and value-chain approach. Industrial cluster is defined as network of producers, parties or institutions that create knowledge and technology, linking institutions, marketers and buyers, which is interlinked each other within certain value chain process (Nugroho, 2011). The actors within the cluster is interconnected each other because of their similar characteristics and mutual complementary relationship (e.g. the similar utilization of technology, knowledge, and raw materials) (Riedel et al., 2009).

The output of MSMEs cluster development is determined by its cluster dynamic. In best-performing cluster, the cluster members (the MSMEs) are benefited through the larger access of raw materials, enterprise development services that are appropriate to the specific needs of the MSMEs, potential clients that interested on the specific culture (uniqueness) of the cluster, qualified human resources, spirit of competition that stimulate innovation and efficiency, knowledge related to business and production scale, technological development, productivity and capacity improvement, and also partnership with supporting institutions (Green, 2005). In this case, cluster is very potential to solve the multidimensional problems faced by MSMEs. In the other side, the benefit of MSMEs cluster is often not significant in the case of under-performing cluster. The under-performing cluster

reflects the condition of the cluster with low trust between cluster members, hidden conflict, and unwise competition. This condition leads to the vicious circle of stagnation and poverty among the cluster members (Green, 2005). In this case, the training focused on organizing local actors and building awareness of the members to seek the opportunity of common success is crucially needed.

Regarding the value chain analysis, broadly, value chain is defined as the complex range of activities involving various actors (e.g. producers, processors, traders, and service providers) to move raw materials through the chain (the linked stages of value addition named assembling, processing, trading, etc) to the sales of final products (M4P, 2008). Value chain analysis is important to address the issues related to organization and coordination, the strategies, and the power relationship of different actors to achieve the specific goal. Firstly, through the mapping process of the range of activities in the value chain, the analysis informs the share of earning (value addition) contributed by certain participant in the chain. Secondly, the analysis informs how producers, regions, or countries are linked to the global economy. This will inform how large the external (global) system impact the participants of the chain and how should the participants (producers) of the chain upgrade the capacities to achieve sustainable income growth.

Riedel, et al. (2009) proposes a conceptual framework that combines cluster approach and value chain approach. Cluster approach emphasis on the optimization of intraregional interactions and the relationship between the actors collaborate in the cluster and its institutional environment, while value chain approach focuses on how to optimize the role of cluster on its business value chain both in local (intraregional) system or external (extra-regional) system.

The role of social capital in community development

Social capital can be defined as any kind of shared values held on together, rule of the game, and network that are reflected on personal relationship, beliefs, and common senses that forms social interaction in society (between individuals, households, and communities) and contributes to economic growth and society welfare (Grootaert, 1999). According to the World Bank, in the operational level, social capital concept is divided into 5 dimensions. They are: 1) Group and network – pool of individuals that stimulate and maintain personal relationship that be able to improve society welfare; 2) Belief and solidarity – elements of interpersonal behaviors that flourish social cohesion and

collective action; 3) Cooperation and collective action – capacity of society members to cooperate in solving communal issues; 4) Social cohesion and inclusion – ability to minimize the risk of conflict and increase the equal access to development through marginal group participation; 5) Information and communication – ability to hinder negative social capital and develop positive social capital through information access and communication.

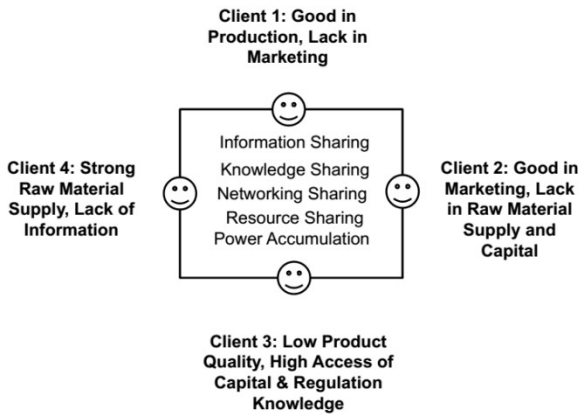
The role of social capital in the achievement of household welfare and community development gets more concern nowadays (Grootaert, 2011). According to the World Bank, a proper social capital development will increase the effectiveness and sustainability of developmental programs through the improvement of community capacity to cooperate in fulfilling common needs, increasing social participation and cohesion, and enhance transparency and accountability. Recent studies focused on the observation and formation of social capital reveal the importance of social capital in community development process. McDougall and Banjade (2015) that analyzes the practice of social capital role in Nepal forest community. The study reveals that the bad management of social capital leads to access fragmentation of social capital development, in which the dominant group tends to be successful in developing their social capital, while the social capital of the minority (marginal) group is diminishing time to time. Study of Widiyanto (2012, 2014) and Widiyanto & Sugiman (2015) that describes the formation and the utilization of social capital in farmers community of Daleman reveal the success of engaged ethnography with participatory framework in building social capital of Daleman farmers community, specifically in building their awareness of the meaning of their existence in formulate planning, consolidate collective action, manage group dynamics, and solve the problems that support farming revitalization movement in their community. This support the development of the farmers group.

The development of FGS CUTM

Most of microfinance institutions (MFIs) tend to focus on financial services provision only, ignoring 3 other services: business development, social intermediation, and social services provision. FGS becomes media to move MFIs beyond financial matters and realize the more integrated services. Our FGS concept that is tailored for CUTM is synthesized from the combination of cluster approach and value chain approach. FGS offers the combination of enterprise development services and social intermediation services that accompanies

productive MFI clients to be the strong actors in local, regional, and global value chain.

Figure 1.
The Simplification Model of FGS



As illustrated on figure 1, FGS can be interpreted as a communication, information exchange, network, resources (knowledge, technology, input etc.), and power sharing forum consists of a number MFI clients with similar business or profession that is intended to strengthen their business skills capacity and social capital. Through FGS, it is expected that MFI clients can share their experience, advantages and disadvantages, learn from it, solve their problems while increase their bargaining power and social relation. Taking the advantages of group format, FGS is easier to build relation and cooperation with external supporting community (e.g. government, associations, universities, research institutions, etc.). Through these activities, FGS becomes a prospective tool to solve the multidimensional problems of MFI clients that can enhance their economic activities performance and their household prosperity. In addition, group activities through the best-performing FGS will stimulate cohesion and social capital between FGS group members.

Moreover, in the MFIs side, FGS is a channel to increase the scale of MFI business and a way to maintain MFIs client loyalty. Both of them are the precondition for MFIs sustainability. Positive contribution of FGS on MFI clients and MFIs will bring positive multiplier effects on local economies. The explanation above describes how FGS can support the transformation of social and economic condition of the local communities (see figure 2). In the development process of FGS, it is very important to build the capacity of its members. However,

another important thing is the synchronization between FGS and also between FGS and its backward–forward linkages. Thus, it needs value chain analysis to identify prospective economic sectors and linkages to determine the sectors and activities should be developed through FGS model, the one that give a direction to the most optimum value of production.

Figure 2.
Role of FGS in community transformation

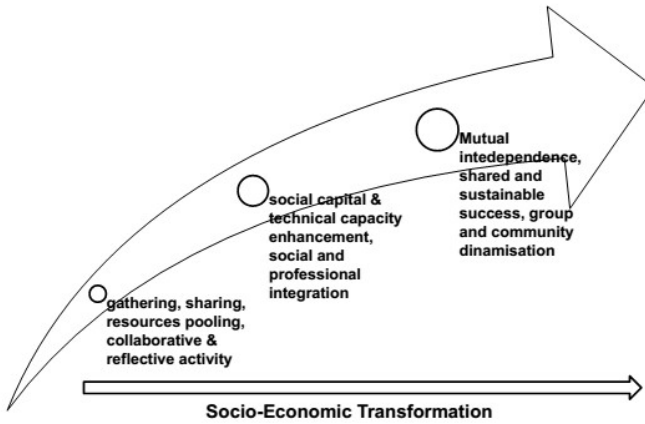
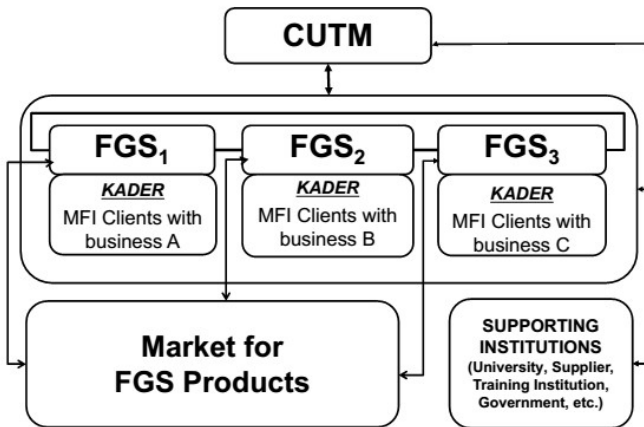


Figure 3.
Structure of FGS CUTM

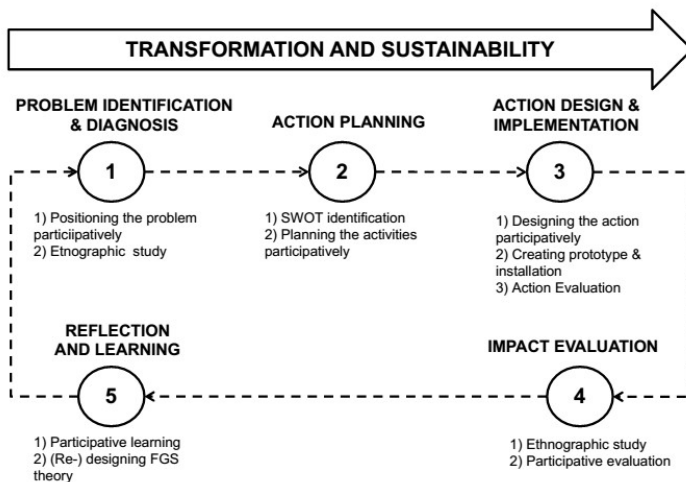


Technically, the operational structure of FGS CUTM is explained in the figure 3. CUTM, as MFI, is the initiator of FGS development. The basis

of FGS CUTM is CUTM clients. Utilizing CUTM information database, CUTM identifies clients with the same or similar economic activities and classifies them into a group, named FGS (e.g. FGS of farming, FGS of coconut processed oil, FGS of fishing, etc). Additionally, in choosing the business sector where the planned FGS works, CUTM consider several things: 1) prospect of the business sector in the economy and its forward-backward business linkage access, 2) appropriateness of the business sector with local resources and local characteristics, 3) linkage between the business sector with other local business sectors. These considerations are important to build an effective value chain of FGS CUTM.

A local facilitator called 'kader' with qualified leadership and managerial capacities (that has been chosen and prepared by CUTM) is obliged to assist FGS development, especially in establishing spirit of cooperation while facilitating routines basic leadership and managerial advisory among FGS members. If people with the same or similar economic activities work together in group, they will have a bigger power and opportunity to build network, whether network to market their products, to access prospective supplier, to coordinate with government, and to collaborate with other supporting institutions (e.g. universities, training center, etc.).

Figure 4.
Participatory Approach in FGS Development



Development of FGS CUTM adopts the participatory approach. Firstly, members of the FGS are invited to know more about each other

and share their social common problems. They are also motivated to share their difficulties, information, experience, and knowledge related to running their business. In this phase, they identify their problems and alternative solutions. Later, they work together to make action planning and design. It is followed by implementation of the planning and design. Subsequently, they do impact evaluation of the action than reflect the result. Thereafter, the reflection will give insight to the group to identify the problem exist in their action and becoming the input to revise and improve the design of the FGS activities in order to make organizational improvement. This processes run continuously. It tends to facilitate FGS sustainable improvement that guarantees FGS sustainability and its members' transformation.

Conclusion

Based on the discussion above, FGS concept as it is implemented in CUTM can be considered as an alternative of poverty alleviation vehicle that combined social and business approach. Focus of FGS to build social capital, managerial, and technical skills all together in a bundle, done in participative way and supported by CUTM as canopy institution can be a prospective model in the empowerment and transformation of small local economic actors by other MFIs. In addition, the concept of FGS CUTM can be a promising tool to realize a more integrated function of MFIs, especially as provider of financial services, as well as business development and social intermediation services.

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A Self-Regulation Process Of Ex-Narcotic Addicts Who Work As Addiction Counselors

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Abstract: The purpose of this study was to explore the process of self-regulation towards ex-narcotic addicts who worked as addiction counselors. This research's purpose was also to find out the factors that influenced the process of self-regulation. Data were collected through semi-structured interviews. The subjects of this research were two people who worked as addiction counselors in a rehabilitation clinic. Type of research was qualitative with Interpretative Phenomenology Analysis (IPA) method. Data analysis was done by using thematic analysis to find specific themes and the relations among domains. Data validation was done through credibility and triangulation. The result showed there was a mechanism of self-regulation failure that made each individual got addicted to narcotics. The condition of addiction also caused boredom and the willingness to be free from addiction. Rehabilitation process was done to intervene the addiction behavior that experienced by each individual. There was negative impact that was felt and there was a need to motivate each subject to make a purpose which was an element of self-regulation. After rehabilitation, each individual was still struggling to maintain their recovery. Relapse or downfall and urge back to narcotics showed that self-regulation was needed for a lifetime period of each ex-addict. Their jobs as addiction counselors were used as monitoring process to support their self-regulation. The result showed that ex-addicts already had the elements of self-regulation which were having purpose, self-monitoring, and operating. The factors that affected the process of self-regulation to both subjects were microsystem ecology factor and self-efficacy.

Keywords: *self-regulation, ex-narcotic addicts, addiction counselors*

Introduction

One problem that often occurs in everyday life of this time is the abuse of drugs and narcotic. Narcotic is a substance or drug produced from either plant or not and it can be synthetic or semisynthetic (Sulistami, Yulia, & Tegawati, 2013) that can alter the consciousness, reduce or lessen the feeling of pain, and cause addiction. The number of narcotic abusers in Indonesia have been increasing. According to the National Board of Narcotic Control (BNN), the prevalence number of drug abusers is predicted to be 5.1 millions in 2015.

Baumeister and Heatherton (1996) explain that the problem of addiction occurs because the individual does not have self-discipline and self-control. High self-control is related to good adaptability, less psychopathology, healthy relations, increasing sociability, and having little problem of addiction like being addicted to smoking and drugs. (Baumgardner & Crothers, 2009) The failure of self-regulation is regarded as the basic source of problem that has widespread in the society (Baumeister & Heatherton, 1996). Self-regulation is one's ability to control the urge and it is important to maintain self-regulation to identify, inspect, and change one's unhealthy behaviors. Besides, self-regulation also functions as a tool for an individual to effectively response to the bad things that happen to him or her. (Baumeister, Tice, & Heatherton, 1994; Lopez, 2008)

Previous reseraches have shown that self-regulation is useful to reduce emotional problems, control impulsive behaviors, and encourage to behave the way society accepts. Besides, the ability to maintain self-regulation can also avoid an individual from risky behaviors such as drug abuse. (Abolghasemi & Rajabi, 2013; Bakhshani & Hosseinbor, 2013) Many researchers have found out that certain behaviors are related to weak self-regulation like smoking, getting drunk, and abusing narcotic. (Bukhtawer, Muhammad, & Iqbal, 2014) Weak self-control of an addict shall be intervened with rehabilitation.

The struggle of ex-narcotic addicts do not stop at the point when they have finished rehabilitation process. Relapse is seen as a challenge in every treatment of any deviated behavior (Ibrahim & Kumar, 2009) and the biggest problem for ex-addicts to keep healthy and sane. BNN reported that the percentage of relapsing ex-addicts was considerably high, around 40%. (<http://lampost.co/berita/tingkat-kekambuhan-pecandu-narkoba-tinggi> accessed on 19 February 2016)

According to previous researches, most relapses happen because of the lack of emotional control. (Ibrahim & Kumar, 2009) Besides, most individuals also try to cope with negative emotions using ineffective ways. Pressures in life, too, cause relapse because they weaken self-

control and create negative ways to cope. (Matoos, Chakrabarti, & Anjaiah, 2009; Sinha, 2001; Syuhada, 2015) From above explanations, it can be concluded that relapse happens because an individual is still weak to regulate himself or herself because of still existing emotional problems. (Bukhtawer dkk., 2014; Hammerbacher & Lyvers, 2005; Hurriyati, 2010; Rosyidah & Nurdibyanandaru, 2010).

External factors in self-regulation (examples of environmental factors) affect self-regulation by giving ways to strengthen an individual. (Feist & Feist, 2010) Inconsistent supports herald ex-addicts to relapse. (Bhandari dkk., 2015; Aztri & Milla, 2013; Hammerbacher & Lyvers, 2005; Hurriyati, 2010; Ismail, 2015) Family supports, as well as the supports from significant others have high effect on self-regulation.

Other influential factors are related to self-efficacy. Self-efficacy is significant for strengthening the willingness of an ex-addict to stay healthy. (Aztri & Milla, 2013; Dennis & Scott, 2007; Mattoo dkk., 2009; Syuhada, 2015) Therefore, it is important to explore the process of self-regulation for an ex-addict in order to see how other factors influence the self-regulation process.

Theoretical review

a. Self-regulation

Self-regulation has two features/traits which are: 1) a motivational system to set the goals, increase and create strategies to achieve something, measure the progress and review the purpose and strategies that have been made and 2) a control of emotional urges which can be seen as an important element in the system of motivation and a complex element related to cognition system. (Ridder & Wit, 2006)

The elements of self-regulation are: 1) having a standard, which contains purposes or other concepts that are attainable for an individual (Baumeister dkk., 1994), 2) being able to monitor, which is the response of a feedback that compares reality experienced by an individual with the accepted standard or measurement (Baumeister & Heatherton, 1996), 3) being able to operate, which is one's ability to alter the current condition to achieve the goals.

The general pattern of self-regulation failure is caused by the inability of an individual to put aside, stop, or cope with the urge. Usual patterns of self-regulation include: conflicting standards, monitoring reduction, inadequate efficacy, weak psychological response, cause and effect pattern of a failure, rebel attention, snowball effect, and omission. (Baumeister dkk., 1994).

b. Ecological Model of Human Development

According to Bronfenbrenner (1994), ecology is a structured group divided into microsystem (composition of activities, social roles, and interpersonal relations) that are experienced face-to-face by individuals; mesosystem (consists of relations and processes that involve two or more settings but with more inactive individuals) and macrosystem (a set of cultural forms or subcultural forms) and chronosystem (sociohistorical condition of the individual).

c. Self-efficacy

Self-efficacy is a form of individual confidence to do whatever his or her will commands. The presence of self-efficacy makes an individual able to alter his or her behaviors to make an individual closer to the designated purpose. (Endler & Kocovski, 2000) Self-efficacy is an important factor in self-regulation, especially in relation with the recuperation from addiction or abuse. Self-efficacy provides help for an individual to remain in abstinence to addictive substance. (Bandura, 1999).

d. Relapse Cycle

Relapse means the return of an individual to his or her old pattern of addiction or deviated behaviors. kekambuhan berarti individu secara utuh kembali pada pola adiksinya atau kembali pada penyimpangan perilakunya. (Jiloha, 2012) Relapse happens in stages. It can occur within weeks or months before an ex-addict begins to touch narcotic again. Relapse can happen in these stages: emotional relapse, mental relapse, and physical relapse. (Melemis, 2015).

Research method

1. Type of Research

This is a qualitative research that employs the Interpretative Phenomenology Analysis (IPA). The purpose of IPA is to meticulously disclose how the participants interpret their personal and social sphere. IPA involves detailed examinations on the participants' lives. IPA is particularly useful to examine complexity, process, or something new. (Smith, 2009)

2. Focus of Research

This research focuses on the exploration of ex-addicts' self regulation processes. These ex-addicts work as addiction counselors. Their self-regulations were examined by seeing how they could fulfill the elements of self-regulation as well as their overcoming

the mechanism of self-regulation failure. Besides, this research also discloses the influences of other factors towards the subjects' self-regulation processes.

3. Research Subject

There are two subjects of this research, selected using purposive sampling method which is the method of selecting subjects that meet the criteria of research purpose. (Herdiansyah, 2015) The subjects are ex-narcotic addicts that work as addiction counselors and have been abstinent for more or less a year after rehabilitation.

4. Research Tool

This research collected data through semi-structured interviews. The purpose of holding semi-structured interviews are to understand certain phenomena or specific problems. (Herdiansyah, 2015)

5. Data Analysis Method

Data analysis of qualitative research uses thematic or cultural analysis. (Gunawan, 2013) Data analysis were done step by step by reading and re-reading gathered data, making preliminary notes, finding themes, and proceeding to the analysis of other cases and finding the intercase patterns. (Smith, 2009)

Discussion

1. Subjects' Self-Regulation Failure

General patterns or mechanisms of self-regulation failures of the two subjects were the lapse activated causal pattern. The factor that caused someone to fail to self-regulate was the microsystem ecological factor. Microsystem factor occurred because the subjects had hard times to interact with their families and they were experienced peer pressures, as previous researches suggested. They triggered the subjects to resort to drug abuse. (Rahmadona & Agustin, 2014; Tambunan dkk., 2008)

Rolling the Snowball' was also the mechanism of failure that occurred in the self-regulation effort of two subjects. Subject 1 had smoked and Subject 2 had consumed alcohol before they finally inclined to their choices of drug This snowball effect explained how cigarette and liquor could become the gates that led to addiction unless the habit of consuming such was stopped since the very start.

Both subjects had also experienced the self-regulation failure

mechanism related to letting happen. Letting something happen was also related to the effort to forget the problems because of tiredness. (Baumeister dkk., 1994) Both subjects had similar experiences of this failure mechanism, which was resorting to drugs to help them escape their problems.

Something else that was absent from the element of self-regulation of both subjects was the design or purpose of life. This caused both subjects to indulge more deeply to their addiction. Lack of purpose meant two subjects did not have capacity to self-regulate themselves and could easily be tripped off by pressures or temptations.

Self-regulation failure could be identified through general patterns and mechanism. The absence of self-regulation elements from both subjects also showed the lack of capacity or strength to self-regulate. According to Baumeister, Heatherton, and Tice (1994), the problems of abusing and getting addicted to drugs and other addictive substances were the result of self-regulation failure.

2. Subjects' condition when they became addicts

Both subjects had tolerance or dosage rise. According to Nevid, Rathus, and Grenee (2005), tolerance could be seen through the need of increasing dosage to get the desired effect. Besides, two subjects also experienced certain symptoms that happened to addicts who were spared from drugs. (Nevid dkk., 2005) Tolerance and said symptoms made the subjects use drugs routinely to get rid of unpleasant feelings.

Both subjects' addiction drowned self-regulation to the point of unable to resurface. The chronic failure of self-regulation could be seen from attention rebel. Attention rebel was the condition of a subject that had lost attention. (Baumeister dkk., 1994) Attention rebel also happened because of gratification that made subjects more focus to immediate reward than future reward. They stated that they felt the joyful effect of drugs and it confirmed the attention rebel.

Monitoring activity that failed also ruined self-regulation process. Reduction of self-monitoring happened when the subjects experienced de-individualization, which was when they lost self-awareness and self-evaluation. (Baumeister dkk., 1994) De-individualization made both subjects hard to measure their behaviors and tend to let things just happen. Self-regulation failed more when subjects could only let things happen, or in other words the subjects let them fail and feel that the problems had to be avoided because they had reached the point of boredom. (Baumeister dkk., 1994)

3. The beginning of self-regulation process

According to Melemis, recovery was a process of individual growth, whose every stage had the risk of relapse. Recovery process began with the willingness to recover and both subjects underwent rehabilitation process. Before they really recovered, both subjects had felt tired of their addiction. When they reached that point, they thought of quitting. It was the start of real intention and both subjects were more submissive to the process of rehabilitation.

Before the subjects worked on their self-regulation, there were other factors (beside boredom and addiction condition) that affected the subjects' designs of their futures. Their purposes in life were essential for self-regulation. The first factor that influenced was the negative side of addiction to the lives of both subjects. It motivated them to move on and stay away from the narcotic traps. They designated their purposes as the routes to achieve other things. The second factor was the needs that had to be fulfilled. When both subjects were in the state of addiction, they could not fulfill their needs, even they could not do their responsibilities. The subjects's needs were in line with their desire to maintain their state of recovery.

4. The form and effort of self-regulation after rehabilitation

Both subjects had the ability to regulate themselves as the elements of self-regulation were present. According to Baumeister et al., (1994) elements of self regulation were purpose-making, monitoring, and operating. When these all present, subjects could more easily reach their goals as well as recover. When the subjects had already had each a purpose of life to keep them abstinent and motivated, they continued with the second element of self-regulation which was monitoring their behaviors. Both subjects were aware of PAWS symptoms that could drag them to relapse. Besides, they worked as addiction counselors to monitor their self-regulation. Doing so, they had to be role models for the residents. Becoming addiction counselors reminded the subjects to remain true to their purposes. The third element was operating. At this stage, subjects tried to adapt themselves to the environment or alter their surroundings to achieve their goals. They did so by moving to other places.

Besides self-regulation elements, subjects also did preventive acts to avoid self-regulation failure and maintain their state of recovery. They prevented psychological torpor and attention rebel. Ecological factor also took part in the effort of maintaining their recovery. Environmental factors provided ways to strengthen one's self. (Feist

& Feist, 2010) This research's result confirmed the result of previous researches that showed family support as well as encouragements from significant others helped the recovery process. (Aztri & Milla, 2013; Hurriyati, 2010; Tariqi & Tamini, 2014)

Self-efficacy also boosted the morale of both subjects to self-regulate themselves. Based on this research, as well as the findings of previous researches, self-efficacy supported recovery process. (Dennis & Scott, 2007; Mattoo dkk., 2009) As for both subjects, they could hold on to their state of abstinence because they realized they had to be role models. It confirmed the theory of Bandura (1997) that self-efficacy could increase because of social modeling. However, Subject 1 still felt that it was impossible to be 100% abstinent and so he did lapse for the first time. The lapse of Subject 1 happened because of emotional pressures and the feeling that he only had limited power. It troubled the self-regulation process. Subject 1 also felt that the environment was not supportive enough.

Conclusion

Self-regulation process of both subjects began with their feeling tired of being addicted to drugs and they wanted to quit. The next step of self-regulation was initiated by the external factors that were influential which were the negative effects of doing drugs and essential needs that had to be fulfilled. These factors helped the subjects to set their purposes. When they had already had purposes, self-regulation could proceed. Both subjects maintained their recovery by self-regulating themselves and prevented themselves from the mechanism of self-regulation failure.

On the other hand, ecological factors (especially microsystem) and self-efficacy also gave support and influence to both subjects to maintain their abstinence and recovery. Microsystem ecological factor could be seen in the family support and friends who could help evade the urge to relapse. Self-efficacy motivated both subjects to retain their state of abstinence. Those motivations occurred because the subjects set themselves as role models, hence their increasing confidence.

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Role Conflict of Pharmacist

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Abstract: Pharmacist is a specific profession as pharmacy experts that could not be replaced by other professions. Based on the Indonesian Government Regulation No. 51 of 2009 on the work of pharmacy in first and second chapter established experts who ensuring the main process to perform well in the pharmaceutical industry, is the qualified pharmacist. Pharmaceutical environment that includes various criteria of quality assurance and pharmaceutical product's safety, are the requirements and qualifications that highly required to be owned by a pharmacist. Regarded to the complexity of the importance of pharmacists' role, this study aims to reveal the factors of role conflict that inflict job stress on pharmacists in pharmaceutical manufacturing industry in Indonesia. This study is a survey research using open questionnaire method for collecting data. Subjects in this study were 30 pharmacists from 12 pharmaceutical manufacturing industries in Indonesia. The results showed three highest percentage facts: 1) Work Overload, 83% found the very high work targets that must prioritize the highly standard regulation pharmaceutical aspect whereas resources availability and time are limited. 2) Managerial Behavior, 47% stated there is a communication gap between leader and subordinates, especially when major findings turn up. 3) Intragroup Conflict, 33% stated that there is a conflict interest in each departments based on priorities and targets. This conflict also happened because of office politic between departments.

Keywords: *role conflict, job stress, industry pharmacist*

Preliminary

In accordance with focus and the role of pharmaceutical industry which is grown as the part of strategy including social, economy and technology aspect (source: Indonesian Pharmaceutical Association (GP Farmasi), 2014), pharmaceutical industry has continued to grow and developing rapidly in Indonesia. Based on the data of Indonesian Pharmaceutical Association (GP Farmasi). 2014 related to the distribution of pharmaceutical products in Indonesia, shown in pharmaceutical business scheme with total of 206 pharmaceutical industry (manufacturer) listed under Indonesian Pharmaceutical Association (GP Farmasi). The data from Indonesian Pharmaceutical Association (GP Farmasi) shows that pharmaceutical industry categorized into two big parts, which local industry with total of 173 and multi-national companies with the total of 33 industries. Based on the IMS source in Indonesian Pharmaceutical Association of 2013, shows the power of domestic pharmaceutical business in Indonesia is very influential by having the competitiveness that kept being built and increased as the local pharmaceutical industry in Indonesia. This matter will become the focus for the researcher, that is 173 local manufacture of pharmaceutical industry in Indonesia, which become the domination of pharmaceutical manufacture industry and the central key in Indonesian economic growth in health aspect.

Based on the data from Indonesia National Agency of Drug and Food Control and Indonesian Pharmaceutical Association (GP Farmasi). shows that pharmaceutical industry is spreading in Indonesia within 9 province / special region, which is categorized in island region, 95% of pharmaceutical industry is located on Java Island and partially on Sumatera Island. The rapid growth of business chain cause the pharmaceutical industry keep moving with increasing market share in order to achieve the organization's effectivity which is based of the achievement of Indonesian pharma market (in billions of Indonesia Rupiah). This matter has became one of the success benchmark in pharmaceutical industry. Some of the data from Indonesian Pharmaceutical Association (GP Farmasi) of 2014 shows that business of pharmaceutical industry in Indonesia keep growing well, where pharmaceutical industry in Indonesia could reach its success progressively from year to year based on OTC segmentation including ethical products. The success above is the important role of manufacturer pharma industry as the central key in providing products and high quality services in production process and grading good quality. This matter is certainly cannot be separated from the significant role from the pharmacist as the key in success or any

achievement above.

Pharmacist is a specific profession as the pharmacy experts that cannot be replaced by other profession, especially in circuit core pharmaceutical manufacturing processes in the production department. According to the regulations of Indonesian Manpower and Transmigration number 19, year 2012 about requisite condition of transferring partially work implementation to other company, and based on research's result that formed by the central manager of Indonesian Pharmaceutical Association (GP Farmasi) which is officially designated with the flow of process activity in implementation of work, shows in business of manufacturer pharma industry in Indonesia, divided core process and non-core process shows that Pre-Process, process and primary packaging have to be coordinated by the pharmacists that fulfill the requirements. Based on Government Regulation of The Republic of Indonesia about pharmaceutical jobs in Chapter 1 and 2, assigned that the most important key in coordinator position or the as well as experts within guarantee the main process is done well is a qualified pharmacist.

Pharmaceutical strict environment with all the requirements and process including the aspect of Highly Regulated Industry for instance: "current Good Manufacturing Practices (cGMP)", "Pharmaceutical Inspection Convention and Pharmaceutical Inspection Co-operation Scheme" or also known as PIC/S International for Pharmaceutical Standardization, Pre Market Requirements, Registration, Pharmacovigilance, and any criteria of quality assurance grade as well as pharmaceutical product's safety in organization, is the requirement and compulsory qualification which is have to be owned by the coordinator pharmacist in manufacturer pharma industry. Based on the data from regulations of Indonesian Manpower and Transmigration and Indonesian Pharmaceutical Association (GP Farmasi), we can see that production which become the core process in the business process of manufacturer pharma industry in Indonesia, is held by qualified pharmacist to run the duty of pharmacy. It shows the importance of pharmacists to guarantee or operate the business production process go well is match with the national and international pharmacy's regulations, as the form of product's grade guarantee for customers as well as the professionalism of an industry nor pharmacist in the eyes of customers. Related to the complexity of the importance of the pharmacist role, then this research is aim to reveal the factors of role conflict which cause work stress among pharmacists in manufacturer pharma industry in Indonesia with various challenges basic requirements that have to be fulfill and in accordance with government regulations.

Method

The objectives of this research is to know what is the factors of role conflict which cause work stress under pharmacist and whether these conflicts will influence the individual commitment to remain his/her profession as pharmacist in manufacturer pharma industry in Indonesia.

This research uses the survey method by using open questionnaire as the technic of data assemble. The subject of this research is the total of 30 pharmacists from 12 manufacturing pharmaceutical industries in Indonesia. The withdrawal period of data is in the first quarter of 2015.

Result and Discussion

From the introduction study which is done by the researcher on pharmacist profession (n=30) with correspondence sources from 12 Manufacturing Pharmaceutical Industries in Indonesia, shows an initial fact that 87% stated there is a gap between the expectation from the first entry with the current situation in manufacturer pharma industry in Indonesia, whereas 77% recorded that respondents feel depressed physically and emotionally in work. The physiological stress experienced was immune system in physiological factors respondents, and the highest psychology stress is work overload. Below is picture 1 which shows the highest source of stress at work for pharmacist in manufacturing pharmaceutical industry in Indonesia.

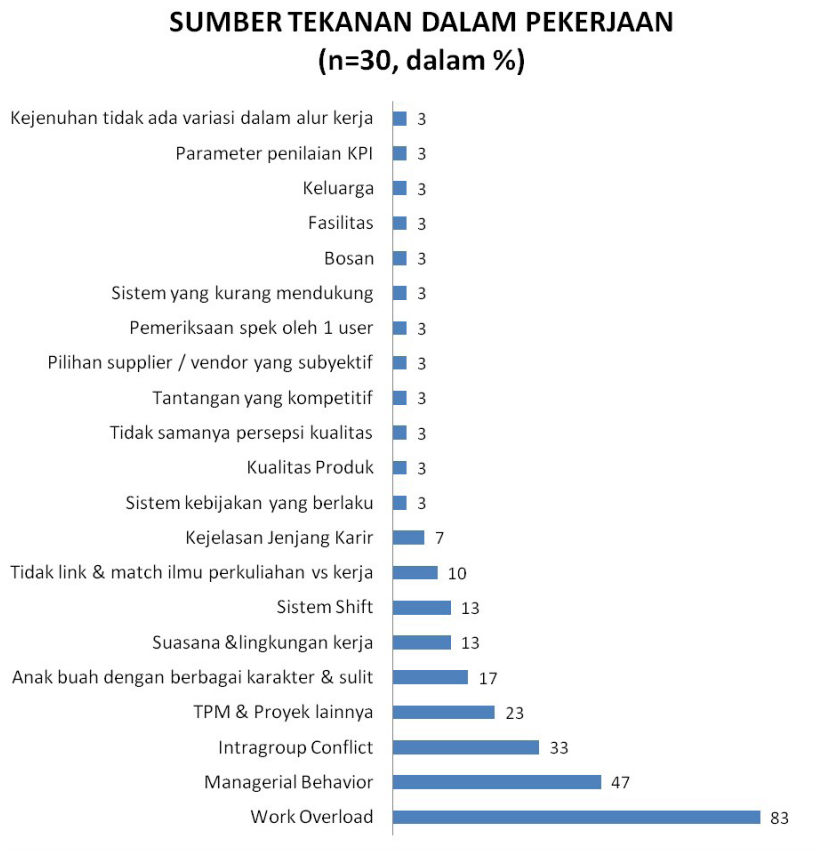
It can be observed from the picture 1, the sources of stress at work with 3 highest percentages from the pharmacists in manufacturer pharma industry in Indonesia are work overload, managerial behavior and intragroup conflict.

In the realm of pharmaceutical industry, respondents wrote in general, the source of stress at work related to 3 highest percentages from the pharmacist in manufacturer pharma industry, as follows:

- 1) Work overload, 87% respondent found that employment target (daily target based on market demand) which is very high and the obligatory of prioritize the Highly Standard Regulation Pharmaceutical, Standard Performance, quality assurance and pharmacy products' safety for customer, compared by the resource availability and limited time with deadline to finish the daily target itself, which often caused respondents to go home late at night to catch up the target or to support the work of team partner but the result is disappointing and caused exhaustion. This matter is excluded from overload which is caused by

best practice project target outside from daily target as well as Total Productive Maintenance and Lean Manufacturing, which is done by the same employee.

Picture 1
The source of stress at work as Pharmacist of Manufacture
Pharmaceutical Industry



2) Managerial behavior, 47% respondents described, being in the realm of pharmaceutical industry there is a communication gap between superiors and subordinates, as when major findings happened, it should be communicate well to motivate and solve the problem, but on the contrary, the superiors give inadequate and often confusing way and sometimes even get “scolded” which at the end create the psychology stress for respondent. Respondent also describe managerial behavior happen because of the not-transparent leadership manner, when the

respondent try to communicate, they expect to be welcomed without pressure so they could recount the needs and problems in work and accomplish the target, but it happened otherwise, whereas respondent try to solve the problem independently, where the problems have the impact of risk on regulatory and quality and safety of pharmaceutical products.

3) Intragroup conflict, 33% respondent state this aspect becomes the source of stress at work. Respondents wrote there are interest of each unit or section based on target and priority of work activities which attached to each department. Frequently, this matter happens in one team inside the internal work unit. Some of the respondents describe the activity of conflict, for an instance, production department has to produce drugs due to daily target based on scheduled market demand but it has to be postponed because the quality department has not been giving the release product sign (RPS) which caused by many factors like quality or products safety and many of batch record product queuing to be analyzed and released. On the other side, marketing department has to redesigned which required big effort in the calculation of raw pharmacy materials along with the availability of products on the market if there is changing in milestone business process (MBP). The other matter describe by respondent is there is personal conflict for an instance, the lack of a sense of belonging and office politics that happen within.

Operationally described by Ivancevich and Matteson (2011), stress is an adaptive response, which is mediated by individual differences or psychological processes, as the result of actions, situation or external case which delivers excessive stress physically or psychologically towards oneself. According to Ivancevich and Matteson (2011) explained that the stressor factors consist of 4 category, which is Individual level, Group Level, Organizational Level and Non work. These factors in stressor become antecedents of stress along with the impact of risks.

Stressor which is the source of stress for pharmacist with 3 highest percentages that is Work Overload, Managerial Behavior and Intragroup Conflict, this matter, without ignoring the other source of stress with lower percentages, describing the symptoms or the potentials from the source of stress itself affecting pharmacists become stress. In the stressor factor, Ivancevich and Matteson, source of stress which become stressor, the pharmacist is included in Stressor Individual Level, Group Level, Organizational Level and Nonwork category, although not overall stressor factors in the level appear if being seen from the introduction study.

Stressor factors inside the level which appear accordingly to the

introduction study based on source of stress data, as follows:

1. Individual Level which are Role Conflict, Role Overload, Responsibility for People, Pace of Change. Role Ambiguity and Harassment did not appear in this level.
2. Group Level which are Managerial Behavior, Lack of Cohesiveness, Intragroup Conflict, Status Incongruence. On this level, all the stressor factors appear in the introduction study.
3. Organizational Level which are Management Styles, Organizational Design dan Politics, Culture and Technology did not appear on this level.
4. Non-work Level which are Elder and Child Care, Lack of Mobility dan Quality of Life, Economy and Volunteer Work did not appear on this level.

The continuity from preliminary study, show that 94% pharmacists have desires to move to other workplace because the source of stress which is the factor of job stress above. 60% respondents still remain in profession as pharmacist and 57% respondents stated to stick with pharmacist profession wherever the opportunity as pharmacist available. The strongest reason why respondent still choose pharmacist professions is by the requirement and qualification that has been lived and owned, respondents state that pharmacist professions is a specific science expertise and the right choice in a career. In the middle of pressure against pharmacists and the desire to move to other company, can be drawn an early conclusion, that pharmacist will determined to be a pharmacist, wherever the organization the pharmacists follow. In physiological industry and organization, the formed commitment of pharmacy professions is included in the category of occupational commitment where occupational commitment become a very important and fundamental thing in an organization in this era of globalization. According to Meyer and Allen (1997), dynamic of affection and commitment which is formed in this profession is also known as occupational commitment.

Conclusion

Based on the research shows there are 3 highest percentage facts of factors of role conflict and create the work stress among pharmacist in manufacturer pharma industry in Indonesia, which is:

1. Work Overload, 83% say that employment targets are very high and must prioritize the standard quality aspect in

- pharmaceutical industry compare to available resource and limited time.
2. Managerial Behavior, 47% describe the communication gap between superiors and subordinates which happened especially when there are important findings.
 3. Intragroup Conflict, 33% stated that there are interests of a unit or section based on the target and priorities of employment activity in each department. This conflict also emerges by the existence of office politics between departments.

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