Back in Asia: the US’s TPP Initiative and its Implications for China

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Abstract

Trans-Pacific Partnership develops from the Pacific Three Closer Economic Partnership (P3-CEP) initiated by Chile, Singapore and New Zealand in 2002 and joined by Brunei in 2005. The four countries finally finished their talks and signed the Trans-Pacific Strategic Economic Partnership Agreement (P4) on June 3rd, 2005. American President George W. Bush announced that the US would join TPP in late 2008. It was suspended by new American President Barrack Obama for his trade policy review. However, the US government restarted its joining efforts in late 2009 and was quickly joined by several other countries. This paper aims to investigate the origin, nature and development of TPP, analyze America’s motivations, and study its possible impacts upon the East Asian Regionalism in general and upon China in particular. Finally, the author calls for China to take the active policy to join the TPP negotiating process.

Keywords: TPP, America’s Trade Policy, East Asian Regionalism, China

Introduction

On December 14 2009, the Office of the United States Trade Representative formally notified the Congress that Obama Administration is planning to engage with the “Trans-Pacific Partnership” (thereafter “TPP”). American government formally started the first round negotiation with Australia, Brunei Darussalam, Chile, New Zealand, Peru, Singapore, and Vietnam in March 15-18, 2010 in Melbourne. Up to now, seven rounds of negotiations have been held (Round 2 in San Francisco in June 11-18 2010, Round 3 in Brunei in October 7-8 2010, Round 4 in Auckland in December 6-8, 2010, Round 5 in Santiago in February 14-18 2011, Round 6 in Singapore in April 2011, and Round 7 in Ho Chi Minh City in June 19-24 2011). There will be two more rounds of negotiations will be scheduled in this year in the United States in September and in Peru in October. Actually, the TPP members have set a goal of reaching the outlines of an agreement by the APEC Leaders’ meeting in Honolulu in November this year. (Office of the United States Trade Representative, 2011) Among the TPP negotiating members, Australia, Malaysia (joined the process in October 2010), Vietnam, and the already members of TPP New Zealand, Singapore and Brunei Darussalam are all participants of the East Asian Summit (10+6, the US will join the EAS this year), thus the expanding TPP will have the direct impacts on the East Asian regionalism. The following parts of the paper will respectively investigate the origin and nature of TPP, America’s motivations to engage
with TPP and its possible impacts on the East Asian regionalism in general and on China in particular.

What is TPP?

During his first visit to Japan as American President, Obama declared his plan to engage TPP in his speech in Tokyo on November 14, 2009. He said: “The United States will also be engaging with the Trans-Pacific Partnership countries with the goal of shaping a regional agreement that will have broad-based membership and the high standards worthy of a 21st century trade agreement.” (Obama, 2009) After President Obama’s policy declaration, at the same day, in his keynote speech at the APEC CEO Summit, United States Trade Representative Ron Kirk send more detailed message, “I am pleased to report that just this morning in Tokyo, President Obama announced that the United States will engage with the Trans-Pacific Partnership. This will be done in close consultation with the United States Congress and with stakeholders at home. We will seek with current and future Trans-Pacific Partnership participants to shape a platform with the scope, coverage, and standards to successfully integrate the Asia-Pacific economies.” (Kirk, 2009)

The forerunner of TPP is the Pacific Three Closer Economic Partnership (P3-CEP). It was raised by the former Chilean President Ricardo Lagos, Singaporean PM Goh Chok Tong and the former New Zealand MP Helen Clark at the APECT Summit in Los Cabos, Mexico in 2002. This idea was quickly coming into being and these countries formally began to negotiate. Brunei joined the process at the fifth round of negotiation in April 2005. These four countries finally finished their talks and signed the Trans-Pacific Strategic Economic Partnership Agreement (P4) on June 3rd, 2005. A binding Environment Cooperation Agreement and a binding Labor Cooperation Memorandum of Understanding, which had been negotiated as part of the Trans-Pacific package, were signed concurrently. The Trans-Pacific Agreement entered into force on 1 May 2006 for New Zealand and Singapore, 8 November 2006 for Chile and July 2009 for Brunei. According to the agreement, duties were eliminated on 90% of New Zealand’s exports to Chile and on 92% of New Zealand’s exports to Brunei. All of Chile’s remaining tariffs on New Zealand’s exports will be phased out by 2017 and to Brunei by 2015. In return New Zealand will phase out all its tariffs by 2015. As for Singapore and New Zealand, they have an existing New Zealand-Singapore Closer Economic Partnership (NZSCEP) already and tariffs between them have been already zero. (New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2009)

All these four countries are small (no more than 16 million inhabitants) and are trade-orientated. Thus the TPP is a relatively comprehensive agreement on promoting free trade. A binding Environment Cooperation Agreement and a binding Labor Cooperation Memorandum of Understanding, which had been negotiated as part of the Trans-Pacific package, were signed concurrently. The formal treaty has 20 chapters including 196 articles. They are Initial provisions, General Definitions, Trade in Goods,

Although TPP is a small country imitative, it caused the attention from the United States of America. In February 2008, American government tried to start the preliminary negotiation on liberalizing financial service. In September 2008, it declared to start the formal talks to join TPP. (Oliver, 2008) According to the schedule, American government, along with Australia, Peru and Vietnam (as an observer) should formally start the first round of talks to join TPP in March in 2009. However, due to its national election, Obama’s new administration and the returning of the trade protectionism under the background the international financial crisis in 2009, Obama decided to postpone the talk. And his decision caused disappointments in New Zealand. (Kelsey 2009, Jacobi 2009).

Eight months later, Obama eventually decided to continue George W. Bush’s decision to join TPP. After the policy declaration, Office of the United States Trade Representative (ISTR) quickly began its domestic arrangements. Trade Representative Kirk, Deputy United States Trade Representative Demetrios Marantis and Assistant U.S. Trade Representative Barbara Weisel - the lead U.S. negotiator for the Trans-Pacific Partnership - and Assistant U.S. Trade Representative Luis Jimenez actively met with Senate Finance Committee staff, House Ways and Means Committee staff, and House and Senate Agriculture Committee Staff, as well as with the House APEC Caucus, to discuss the Trans-Pacific Partnership. In January, USTR expanded regular consultations with congressional committees to include other key panels and has also briefed the chairs of trade advisory committees and the advisers representing states. All these consultations aim to develop its comprehensive and realistic objectives for the coming TPP negotiations. (Office of the United States Trade Representative, 2010) According to related arrangement, United States International Trade Commission will hold first hearings on TPP and the first round of negotiations will be started from the middle of March, 2010.

**America’s Motivations**

The current TPP member states are all small nations and TPP’s influences are not big. Why the US decided to join such a group? Answers came from domestic, global and regional levels.

On the domestic level, the direct motivation is to expanding domestic exports, increase domestic employment and to prosper its economy. This was clearly indicated in US Trade Representative’s speech when he declared this decision: “As the Office of the United States Trade Representative approaches this effort, we recognize that American workers, farmers, ranchers, manufacturers, and service providers face different challenges
today than they have in the past. Therefore, further engagement in the Trans-Pacific Partnership gives us the opportunity to address gaps in our current agreements, and to set the standard for 21st-century trade agreements going forward. A high-standard regional trade agreement under the Trans-Pacific Partnership could help bring home to the American people the jobs and economic prosperity that are the promise of trade.” (Kirk, 2009) Understandably, with the general background of the raging international financial crisis, still depressed American domestic economy, Obama administration’s decreasing public image, this initiative will have some effects to recover and inspire domestic supports for the government.

Another reason from the domestic perspectives that the US government are pursuing a platinum standard Trade agreement as the Obama administration has championed a comprehensive agenda for the TPP which it has dubbed a ‘trade agreement for the 21st century.’ Comparing with other FTA, TPP implies further commitments in the issues that have long been a hallmark of U.S. FTAs (labor rights, environmental standards, intellectual protection, and investment); as well as the introduction of a host of new areas: regulatory coherence, small and medium sized enterprises, competitiveness, development, regional integration, and supply chains, plus a new focus on state-owned enterprises. (Solis 2011)

The global perspective is America’s turning from trade multilateralism to trade bilateralism and regionalism. Since the end of the World War Two, as the leading nation in world politics and economy and the founding father of the General Agreements on Trade and Tariff (GATT), America insisted the multilateral trade agreements and opposed any bilateral and regional trade arrangements. However, with the declining authority of superpowers after the end of the Cold War and the competition from European Economic Community, America joined Asia-Pacific Economic Community (APEC) as a founding members with Australia, Brunei Darussalam, Canada, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand in 1990. In 1994, it established the North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA) with its neighbors Canada and Mexico. These two organizations are America’s initial efforts for regional trade arrangements. But with the revitalization of WTO after GATT, America lost its interest on regionalism, returned to trade multilateralism and actively promoted the Doha round by WTO. Unfortunately, Doha round’s path was rough and challenging. With the trend of globalization, worldwide bilateral and regional trade agreements are booming. In Asia-Pacific, if drawing lines between countries with such agreements in Asia-Pacific, one can see the map looking like a “noodle bowl” (See Figure 1). Notably, most of these arrangements were made in the past two decade after the Cold War.
Under this general background, as the biggest economy in the world, the US has to, reluctantly; join the competitive trade bilateralism and regionalism, although trade multilateralism was the banner, foundation and main ideology as the economy hegemony in the world for the past 80 years. (Zhang, 2006) Except its bilateral trade agreements with Israel in 1985, the special political ally, and Canada and Mexico in 1994, as a part in NAFTA, all its bilateral trade agreements was conducted in first decade of the 21st century. Currently, in addition to Israel, Canada, and Mexico, the US has free trade agreements in force with 14 countries, including Australia (entered into force from January 2005), Bahrain (August 2006), Chile (January 2004), Costa Rica (August 2004), Dominican Republic (August 2004), El Salvador (August 2004), Guatemala (August 2004), Honduras (August 2004), Jordan (December 2001), Morocco (January 2006), Nicaragua (August 2004), Oman (January 2009), Peru (February 2009), Singapore (January 2004). It also has signed the bilateral free trade agreements with Colombia, Korea, and Panama, but they are in the process of legislation rectification.¹

¹ See the official website of the Office of the United States Trade Representative (ISTR): http://www.ustr.gov/trade-agreements/free-trade-agreements
Thus we can see that America is a later comer for bilateral and regional trade agreements. In the above list of its bilateral partners, Singapore is the only one country in East Asia (Korea’s agreement has not come into force yet). It is not difficult to predict the US’s efforts to expand its trade bilateralism to Asia-Pacific and TPP could be an ideal choice. As we know, George W. Bush’s administration has already decided to engage TPP in 2009. Being nominee of Democratic Party, which has a very different economic ideology with the Republican Party, Obama publicly opposed Bush’s policy and stopped all the bilateral trade efforts. However, less a year, Obama decided to follow Bush’s suit. Obama’s behavior shows that whatever partisan politics, whatever main ideology, what really matters is that the political pragmatism to serve the economic expansion domestically and international economic competition abroad.

The last but not least, America’s TPP strategy relates to the growing East Asian regionalism. East Asian regionalism here refers to the international cooperation between countries in East Asia after the end of the Cold War. After the World War Two, following the economic integration in Western Europe, there was a trend of worldwide regionalism movement in the world. However, partly due to US-China confrontation and the US’s military alliance system, East Asian countries did not follow suit. The first idea of East Asian regionalism came from the former Malaysian Primer Minister Mahathir bin Mohamad’s proposal to form the East Asian Economic Caucus (EAEC) in 1990 responding to the regionalism in Europe, North America and Asia-Pacific. In 1997, the year of the Southeast Asian Financial Crisis, ASEAN member countries and China, Japan and South Korea held their unprecedented first Leader’s Summit. East Asian regionalism aroused international interest. Till 2005, the first East Asian Summit (10+6) was held in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia which witnessed the new development of East Asian regionalism. (Bergsten 2007; Lincoln 2004; Nanto 2008; Stubbs 2002; Webber 2001; Beeson 2003, 2008; Cai 2008, 2010; Roberts 2010; Dent 2008; Harvie & Kimura & Lee 2005; Kumar & Kesavapany & Yao 2008; Tan 2008, 2009)

The development of East Asian regionalism did not aroused American sufficient attention. Its ignorance was further strengthened after September 11 in 2002, partly due to its strategic adjustment, partly due to its intentionally appeasement at the cost of anti-terrorism needs. Until the first East Asian Summit in 2005, the US government began to seriously deal with regionalisms in East Asia. Briefly speaking, America tries to develop Asia-Pacific initiatives to co-opt or replace the East Asian efforts.

Strategically, George W. Bush formally called for established a Free Trade Area of Asia Pacific (FTAAP) at the APEC Summit in 2006. FTAAP is not a new proposal, it was proposed by the APEC Business Advisory Council (ABAC) in 2004. (Scollay 2004) Bush’s renewal of this idea met different responses from APEC member nations. Economically, the idea of FTAAP could reorganize the noodle bowl of bilateral and regional trade arrangements in Asia-Pacific and was welcomed and supported by many economists. However, politically, it is too ambitious to be realized. However, because of America’s position and efforts, it eventually step into APEC’s agenda and became a long-

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2 It is often referred as ASEAN plus Three (APT) or “10+3”. But actually, ASEAN only has 9 formal members in 1997.
term goal in the following APEC summit. (Zhang 2009)

In this regard, APP is a more realistic way to join Asia-Pacific and to break the current East Asian grouping which the US is not a member. On one hand, it is predicted that America’s way to TPP is much easier since the current TPP member are all relatively small and has already important trade relations with the US. Among the current 4 members in TPP, Singapore and Chile has already signed the bilateral trade agreement with the US. Actually, some members are very happy and excited to include US, the greatest economy in the world, into their initiatives. After US showing its interest in TPP, Australia, Peru and Vietnam declared the same policy to join with the US. So, it will not be difficult for them to join.

On the other hand, American way to trade bilateralism and regionalism is not easy. Although it signed the bilateral trade agreements with 20 countries, most of them are small ones in Central America. In East Asia, Singapore is the only one. South Korea has signed the agreements but the outlook of coming into force looks dim. The US has been conducting the negotiations with Thailand and Malaysia, but it went difficult. So, if the US successfully to join the TPP with Australia, Peru and Vietnam, the TPP will expand to 8 members. Among these 8, 5 are all the current East Asian regionalism.

America’s intention to deal with East Asian regionalism with TPP is clearly showed in one of its advertising document. On the official website of the Office of the United States Trade Representative (ISTR), there is a fact sheet named “Increasing U.S. Exports, Creating American Jobs: Engagement with The Trans-Pacific Partnership”. In this document, there is a paragraph titled “American Competitiveness in the Asia-Pacific”. It says: “Engagement with the Trans-Pacific Partnership can help America ensure its share of the job-creating economic opportunities this region has to offer. While U.S. exports to the Asia-Pacific increased by 63 percent during the past five years, our share of trade in the region has declined by three percent in favor of U.S. competitors. Asia-Pacific countries have negotiated bilateral trade agreements and regional agreements, including ASEAN + 3 (Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, Philippines, Vietnam, Brunei, Cambodia, Laos, and Burma plus China, Japan, and Korea) and ASEAN + 6 (ASEAN plus China, Japan, Korea, India, Australia, New Zealand). A 2001 study by Robert Scollay forecasts that America could lose as much as $25 billion in exports annually solely from the static discriminatory effects of an East Asia Free Trade Area excluding the United States.” (Office of the United States Trade Representative 2009)

In the same speech as President Obama declared his intention to engage with TPP, he also mentioned: “the United States looks forward to engaging with the East Asia Summit more formally as it plays a role in addressing the challenges of our time.” (Obama 2009)

Impacts and Responses

What are the consequences and impacts of this scenario to East Asian regionalism and China?

First of all, a much larger free trade area in Asia-Pacific will come into being. For
its position as the biggest economic and political power in the world and its founding role, the US will be the center of this coming trade group. As Australia, Peru and Vietnam’s behaviors, more countries will possibly to join this group if it successfully expanded. Actually, Malaysia joined the third round in October 2010. It is notably that many members in this group have not only economic pacts but also military and security ties with the US. In this sense, it is possible to become a group beyond the economic cooperation. An observer in New Zealand commented: “the TPP has the potential to deliver new trade flows in the powerhouse Asia-Pacific region. Previous options to achieve this have been promoted, but TPP has the potential to deliver the big prize through its ‘ground-up’ approach of like-minded countries working together.” (Peterson 2010)

Second, the current East Asian regionalism will meet more challenges as TPP is expanding. In the current TPP, 3 of 4 are East Asian regionalist 10+6 members (Brunei, New Zealand, and Singapore). In the possible expanding TPP, 6 of 9 are 10+6 members (Australia, Malaysia, Vietnam and America). It is reasonably to foresee more and more East Asian countries will choose to join the TPP. The most likely country will be South Korea because of its active policy in trade bilateralism, already-signed FTA agreement and closed political ties with the US. Japan might be another one who has the interests to join. In Southeast Asia, after Singapore, Brunei, Vietnam and Malaysia, Thailand and Indonesia will possibly follow suit. There are two possible futures for East Asian Regionalism. One is the current regionalization process will be speeded up when they facing challenges from TPP. The other future will foresee the declining of East Asian regionalism and more and more East Asian countries will move forward to other options including TPP. The core challenge here is whether East Asian regionalism countries could whole-heartedly and successfully solve the current problems they are facing.

As for China, there exist several challenges. The direct political and diplomatic problem is the role of Taiwan. Just after Obama’s message, many Taiwan scholars immediately supported this idea and call for to join, “TPP should be the first priority to broaden Taiwan’s diplomatic space.” (China Review News 2009) Facing America’s initiative to TTP, there are three possible choices for China. First, China ignores it. Since the current TPP is small and does not have much direct relations with China. Second, wait the see. The future of America’s joining (with the other 4 countries) is possible but there still exist uncertainties. It might take a longer time since its domestic problems. (Solis 2011) China might wait and see the future of TPP and make the decision then. Third, China can actively join it. China can learn Brunei’s behavior and could apply to join while America’s negotiation is proceeding. If permitted, China could be one of the founding members of this promising group.

In my personal view, China should choose the third way. The first way is impossible since China’s economy has strongly linked with the current and future TPP members. China has already signed the bilateral trade agreements with Chile, Malaysia, New Zealand, Peru and Singapore. China-Australia FTA is under negotiation. Thus, the

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3 For more information of China’s FTA efforts, see the official website run by the Ministry of Commerce, PRC, [http://fta.mofcom.gov.cn/english/index.shtml](http://fta.mofcom.gov.cn/english/index.shtml)
current and future TPP will strongly influence China’s foreign trade. The second option is too passive. If TPP successfully expands, it might be too later to decide to join since the access conditions are set by all 9 members including the US, who set too many excessive difficulties for China during China’s access WTO.

There are obvious advantages for china to choose the third way. First, China’s tariff has been heavily cut down since 2000 when it became a member of WTO. Actually, China is one of the lowest tariff countries in the world (WTO 2009). So, it could bear the burden of low tariff for signing FTA with any country. Second, the current TPP is open to any country since it has a special access article. Brunei is a good example. Third, most of the current TPP members have signed bilateral trade agreements with China. Even the possible new TPP member, Peru, Vietnam and Brunei have important trade links with China. These facts will be greatly helpful for China’s joining. In sum, it is better for China to take preemptive policy than to wait and see.

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Re-engagement in American Foreign Policy toward Southeast Asia: Some Responses and Perspectives from Indonesians

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Abstract

The United States (US) government has taken some new initiatives in South East Asia during Barrack Obama administration. Notable among these are a close cooperation with Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines to counter terrorism, a rapprochement with Indonesia, a continuing military and economic support to Singapore and Malaysia and a renewing commitment to help the Philippines in South China Sea conflicts. In fact, the region has got new significance for the US government after the end of Communist threats with the continuing threats from terrorism and the emergence of China power in this region. Given the importance of these changes, this paper focuses on how these changes have been responded in Indonesia by both the government and civil society. The responses from Indonesian government have been usually positive to the US interests and even seen as in line with Indonesian national interests. However, there have been criticisms toward the close ties between the Indonesia and the US government in societal level. Although the civil society concerns on the relations have been marginally ignored, there are some points to discuss them since they relate to the battle of ideas of how the US should play role in the world. In the short run, it does not influence the government to government relations but in the long run it may continue inspire anti-US actions and policies both within the civil society and government officials.

Keywords: US foreign policy, terrorism, Southeast Asia, Indonesia, civil society.

A. Introduction

The United States has played a significant role in the life of Indonesians both in the past and at present. Under Barack Hussein Obama administration, the relations of both countries seem to be in a very good shape. President Obama visited Indonesia on 9-10 November 2010 and signed the U.S.-Indonesia Comprehensive Partnership covering many areas of cooperation including military cooperation that has been halted since 1999.

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However, Indonesia’s history and its principle of maintaining an independent and active foreign policy have complicated Indonesia’s relationship with the United States. All administrations in Indonesia have been cautious in developing a close relationship with the United States (the US). The end of the Cold War, the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, and the counterterrorism policies of the administration of President George W. Bush and later Barack Obama have all influenced the attitudes of Indonesians toward the United States.

This paper attempts to examine further responses from some Indonesians towards US re-engagement with Southeast Asia, particularly with Indonesia, since the end of the Cold War and particularly during Obama administration. There have been hopes among Indonesians that Obama would bring changes to US foreign policy in the sense that the US would use more peaceful approaches in solving problems related to US interests in the world. It is also generally expected that Obama will pay special attention to Indonesia given the fact that he has emotional attachment to Indonesia originating from his childhood time in Jakarta.

This expectations, however, for some Muslim groups seem to be disappearing after the US has not shown significant departure from the previous Bush’s foreign policy. This paper is divided into four sections. First, it traces history of relations between Indonesia and the US until Suharto’s time. Secondly, it discusses relations between the two states after Suharto which notify significant departure for Indonesia’s foreign policy because of the country’s transformation into a democratic state. Thirdly, it shows general perspectives of Indonesians to the US. Fourthly, it elaborates mixed responses of Indonesians to Obama’s foreign policy.

B. History of Relations with the United States

Indonesia-U.S. relations started formally in December 1949, when the United States recognized Indonesia’s independence following the transfer of authority from the Dutch colonial authorities to the Indonesian government. Early relations between the two countries can be traced back to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when traders from Massachusetts visited Southeast Asia in search of new products. The traders had contacts with the sultan of Aceh (a sultanate in northern Sumatra), who offered the traders access to the sea near Aceh. In the early twentieth century, during Dutch rule, the United States also had rubber and petroleum industries in Indonesia.

In more modern times, relations between the two countries developed during Indonesia’s struggle for independence (1945–1949). Initially Indonesia did not receive support from the United States, and when the United States first made overtures, Indonesians were suspicious of the United States’ objectives. The United States only became interested in supporting the Indonesian independence movement when it began to fear that, without U.S. support, Indonesia might lean toward the Soviet Union—a fear that arose following the rebellion by Communist-inspired insurgents at Madiun (East Java) in 1948. At this point the United States became more active in pressuring the Dutch
to engage in dialogue with the leaders of the Indonesian independence movement. U.S.
support of the Indonesian independence movement was quite significant at this time and
provided a positive experience for Indonesia's leaders and optimism regarding future
relations with the United States.⁴

*The Sukarno Years: Maintaining Independence and Neutrality*

The nature of Indonesia’s contact with the United States during its struggle for
independence did not automatically mean that it would become a U.S. ally in the Cold
War between the United States and the Soviet Union. On the contrary, Indonesians felt
that Indonesia should take its own position in international relations rather than falling in
line behind either superpower, an opinion that Mohammad Hatta, Indonesia’s prime
minister from 1948 to 1950, voiced in a speech in 1948.⁵

During the 1950–1957 period of liberal democratic experimentation in Indonesia,
the relations between the two countries were primarily influenced by the domestic
political situation in Indonesia. The principle of establishing and maintaining
independence was the base on which Indonesia’s parliamentary parties constructed their
foreign-policy manifestos.⁶ There was a pervasive feeling among sections of Indonesia’s
elite that there should be a balance in relations with the United States and the Soviet
Union. Indonesia sought to avoid becoming trapped in the orbit of either U.S. or Soviet
power and also to avoid conflict between the two powers and their political blocs.
Although the United States called the policy “naive neutralism,” Indonesia continued to
apply this policy and went on to organize the famous Asia-African conference in 1955,
which clearly emphasized the neutral and free position of Indonesia and other Asian and
African countries in the Cold War.

The period from 1957 to 1965 saw relations between the two countries come
under increasing pressure, especially in the light of U.S. attempts to influence politics in
Indonesia by supporting a regional rebellion against the central government in Jakarta
and by intervening in several local conflicts. The policies of the United States
strengthened the increasingly virulent anti-American rhetoric of Indonesia’s first
president, Sukarno. Sukarno strongly emphasized the Nasakom (*Nasionalisme, Agama
dan Komunis: Nationalism, Religion, and Communism*) ideology. In conjunction with
this domestic ideological approach, Sukarno promoted an anticolonialist, anti-imperialist
and, significantly, anti-neocolonialist campaign. For Sukarno, the United States
represented the capitalist and imperialist camp. In 1960 Sukarno characterized both the
United States and the Soviet Union as the Oldefos (Old Established Forces), whereas
Indonesia and other newly independent countries in Asia and Africa were the Nefos (New

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⁶ Ibid.
Emerging Forces). On one occasion, Sukarno rejected aid from the United States by saying to the U.S. ambassador, "Go to hell with your aid."

Sukarno was a skillful orator and used his rhetoric to manipulate the antagonisms and alliances of the Cold War period to attempt to achieve his own increasingly personal and grandiose objectives. Sukarno's growing confidence in his foreign-policy program led to an escalation of the campaign to “free” the territory of West Irian, which had not been included in the transfer of territory from the Dutch in 1949. In 1962 Sukarno manipulated the United States into forcing the Dutch to negotiate and settle the West Irian problem. He did so by deploying Indonesian military forces against the Dutch: Fearing that this conflict might develop into something that would threaten the stability of Southeast Asia and that Indonesia might seek support from the Soviet Union if the conflict proved protracted, the United States applied strong pressure on the Dutch to negotiate with Indonesia. 7

The Suharto Years: An Anti-Communist Stance

Sukarno was deposed by Suharto in 1965. During Suharto’s presidency (1967–1998), relations between Indonesia and the United States improved. Suharto was a vehement anti-Communist, and the improvement in U.S.-Indonesian relations started with the tacit support the United States provided to the Indonesian army to destroy the Indonesian Communist Party (Partai Komunis Indonesia, PKI) between 1966 and 1970. Indonesia badly needed aid at this point, and the United States assisted in Indonesia’s economic recovery. Indonesia’s pro-growth economic policy relied on the United States and its European and Japanese allies for main support.

It was during this period that many Indonesian academics began to study in the United States. The economists who were trained at the University of California (the so-called Berkeley Mafia) and later became ministers were instrumental in creating the economic policy known as the New Order. Thousands of Indonesians studied in the United States thanks to sponsorship provided by foundations such as the Rockefeller and Fulbright, as well as USAID. Among the prominent Muslim figures who studied in the United States were the scholar Nurcholish Madjid, the politician Amien Rais, and Syafi’i Ma’arif, the head of Muhammadiyah, the second-largest Muslim organization in Indonesia. During the 1970s, although Indonesia still formally remained unaligned, it joined the United States in countering Communist threats in Southeast Asia by using diplomatic ways. This is consistent with her non-alignment foreign policy where Indonesia only fought domestic Communist threats and did not send troop outside of Indonesia.

Indonesia also used its close relations with the United States in its 1975 takeover of East Timor, a territory that had been a Portuguese colony and that is contiguous with Indonesia. Threats concerning Communism in that region became a justification for its takeover. U.S. support for Indonesia’s rule ended with the end of the Cold War in 1991.

7 Ibid.
however. Without the support of the United States and with many countries expressing unhappiness over the occupation, B. J. Habibie, who replaced Suharto as Indonesia’s president in 1998, adopted a new attitude toward the region. Under United Nations auspices a referendum was conducted in East Timor, the result of which was overwhelming support for independence. Indonesia withdrew from the former Portuguese colony in 1999.

**C. Relations after Suharto**

After the fall of Suharto in 1998, the relations between the two countries enter new era. Actors in Indonesia foreign policy are not mainly the government but also groups including religious groups, political parties and media. Some policies made by Indonesian government often create controversy in the society level.

At the beginning of post-Suharto period, the relations between the two countries were tested by the East Timor case. Following the change of Indonesia into a democratic state, BJ Habibie government which replaced Suharto, responded to East Timor problems by calling for a democratic solution to the area by a referendum. During the referendum, the East Timorese decided in a clear majority to get independent instead of joining as part of Indonesia. In responding to this decision, Indonesia military was not happy and still supported some pro-integration to Indonesia groups that created some clashes in East Timor. The violence that surrounded East Timor’s struggle for independence, such as the Dili massacre of 11 November 1991, strained relations between the United States and Indonesia. The United States ceased its military aid to Indonesia. In Indonesia, U.S. pressure concerning human rights and democracy was viewed unfavorably as interference in Indonesia’s domestic problems.

The above case was followed with another issue that influenced Indonesia-the US relations. The U.S. response to the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. aroused controversy in Indonesia. The Indonesian government and the majority of the Indonesian people supported U.S. efforts to find the perpetrators. However, although the Indonesian government supported the U.S. actions in Afghanistan, it did not support the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003. Indonesia itself has also experienced three massive terrorist bomb blasts: at Denpasar, Bali, in 2002, at the H. J. W. Marriott Hotel, Jakarta, in August 2003, and the Australian embassy bombing in Jakarta in September 2004. Some of the perpetrators of these bomb attacks have been arrested and imprisoned.

Although Indonesia government supports the US policy to counter terrorism in Southeast Asia, people reactions are not similar. Megawati Sukarnoputri, Indonesia second President after reformation in her visit to US guarantee Indonesia support to US anti-terrorism policy but back home she was criticized for being too weak to the US pressure and her government was criticized for leaving the principle of free and active foreign policy. She needed to clarify her initial statement that her policy was not to support the US but to support international efforts to fight terrorism. Before this, in
giving response to the 9/11 attack, her Vice President Hamzah Haz made a controversial statement by saying that the attacks were a balance punishment for the US Middle East policy for long time.\(^8\)

During this so-called reformation era, Indonesian foreign policy to a certain degree was informed by domestic pressures. This was the case with the above public pressures to Megawati policy and to her predecessor Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono commonly called by nickname SBY. During SBY, Indonesian foreign policy in general and to the US in particular was under close scrutiny by both Members of Parliament and public in general. This is the case with Indonesia changing stand from supporting the US to embargo Iran to abstain in the next voting in the United Nations.

When Obama came to office replacing Bush, there have been wide expectations that he would bring changes in the US foreign policy in a sense that he would pay attention to Muslim interests in the world such as to solve Palestine issues. He is also expected to build a close relation with Indonesia because of his personal closeness to Indonesia during his childhood time. After being delayed twice because of his tight domestic schedule, he finally made a visit to Indonesia. He got warm welcome and gave a speech at famous Islamic State University, Jakarta. In that occasion he outline again his foreign policy and support a close relation with Indonesia.

In the visit, the Comprehensive Partnership between two countries showing the closeness of relations between the two states was signed. It includes military cooperation which has been cut off by the US for several years because of the involvement of several military personnel in human right violence in East Timor after it gained independence following 1999 referendum. The cooperation also includes economic, education and to tackle global environment and climate change.\(^9\) Most of the cooperation, however, only continues previous cooperation that has been established for a long time. Although some academics such as Ann Marie Murphy might say this shows a rapprochement of the US to Indonesia and recognition of Indonesia’s achievement in democracy and its potency to become a dominant power in global governance,\(^10\) Indonesia is not as significance as some states such as China for America. Indonesia does not have good economy and in whatever ways cannot help America to overcome its financial crisis, whereas China plays significant role in the recovery of the US economy.\(^11\)

### D. General Perspectives on the United States

Since Indonesia’s independence, government-to-government (G to G) relations between Jakarta and Washington have been the principal basis on which the relationship

between the two countries has developed. Personal contacts rarely took places. Notwithstanding business relationships and student exchange—the United States ranks first as a destination for overseas study for Indonesia students—overall, personal ties between Indonesians and Americans remain rather limited. During the Suharto’s period, the G to G relations were relatively easy to manage. However, after Suharto, there have been changes in the shape of relations. Personal contacts might not much but exchanges of views occur dramatically through media, which nowadays enjoys openness and freedom. Through media, many interest groups, political parties and religious groups voice their concerns on many foreign policy issues, including Indonesia-the US relations.

It often happens that for both governments, these concerns were seen as representing sentiments and emotions of certain groups and did not really represent national interests of their nations. As Indonesian President Yudhoyono said his government did not want to deal with these kinds of emotions and stereotypes because his main concerns are national interests of Indonesian. However, in contrast to this view, this paper argues that people and groups concerns on the US-Indonesia relations represent something fundamental with regard to justice, freedom and equality in world politics currently dominated by the US as the only superpower. Therefore, it is important to discuss people views in relations of both countries. In the long run, they may shape directions of Indonesia’s policy toward America.

Nevertheless, given the vast ethnic, religious, and economic diversity of Indonesia’s population, it is very difficult to outline definitively Indonesia’s perspectives on the United States. What we are able to identify are general attitudes and beliefs of some individuals and groups – including Islamic groups – as well as the attitude of the Indonesian government towards the United States.

**Historical Perspectives**

Many Indonesians view the United States as a superpower, a great democratic country, and the best example of democracy in the world. This view has been in existence since the prerevolutionary period. Indonesian nationalist movements indirectly learned about freedom and justice from the examples of the United States and other Western countries, and Indonesia’s 1945 constitution, particularly the preamble, resembled the style and aspects of the U.S. Constitution.

Both the United States and Indonesia had to draw together fractious states to form one united whole state. Indonesia’s struggle for unity, which was marked by a succession of regional rebellions and other forms of revolt, while different in a number of significant respects from the United States’ Civil War history, has nonetheless some basic

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similarities. Following negotiations with the Dutch in 1949, Indonesia became formally the Republic of the United States of Indonesia (RUSI), a name that echoed that of the United States of America. Indonesia adopted the presidential system, which, although considerably different in application, was the basis of both polities. Both countries were founded on strong religious principles (one Christian, one Muslim), and both retain strong religious minority sectional interests.

After independence, Indonesia faced the reality of a world divided between the U.S.-led Western bloc and the Soviet-led Eastern bloc. Influenced by a deeply felt spirit of nationalism and perceiving that the superpowers only promoted their own interests (ahead of those of others, even their allies), the leaders of Indonesia chose to maintain an independent foreign policy. Almost all leaders of the country were very sensitive to Indonesia’s position and were reluctant to be seen to be too close to either the United States or the Soviet Union. A relationship that was too close, or perceived as such, would be seen by many in Indonesia as yielding to the hegemony of the biggest world powers, showing weakness and submission. Instead, Indonesia managed to manipulate the competition between the East and the West to push its own agenda, as seen above.

After the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, Indonesia could no longer credibly threaten to turn to an alternative superpower to elicit U.S. support. Although Indonesians still baulked at U.S. interference in Indonesian affairs, U.S. influence was considered to be significant in the changing attitude toward human rights, as shown by the formation of the Human Right Commission in 1993. (The government still argued that it had intended for a long time to form the commission and had done so under the pressure of any foreign country.) Less well received was the United States’ perceived influence on the International Monetary Fund’s plan for the recovery of the Indonesian economy following the Asian economic crisis of 1997. It was that pressure that began to make many Indonesians perceive the United States no longer as a benign hegemony but as an arrogant superpower.

**Perspectives toward US during Bush Administration**

Attitudes toward U.S. popular culture, September 11, the Iraq war, and the United States’ antiterrorism policy have all influenced current Indonesian opinions about the United States during Bush administration.

The first important issue to be discussed with regards to the US relates to popular culture. U.S. popular culture has had a noticeable influence on Indonesia. U.S. fast food restaurants, such as McDonald’s, KFC, and Pizza Hut, are among the most popular restaurants for many people in Indonesia’s biggest cities. In the last five years, Starbucks cafés have become one of the most prestigious places for Indonesia’s elite to spend their

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time drinking coffee, whether it is during lunchtime or after work. It is now also easy to find discotheques, nightclubs, and other places of entertainment in big Indonesian cities.

Hollywood films also dominate movie cinemas in Indonesia, with the Indonesian print media devoting special sections to the reviewing of U.S. films. U.S. movie stars and singers are very well known in Indonesia and often appear in Indonesian newspapers and magazines, and many young Indonesians admire them. Valentine's Day has become very popular in Indonesia, especially during the last ten years, and many teenagers use the occasion to express their love to their friends.

U.S. television programs and movies dominate television viewing in Indonesia. Some Indonesian television programs imitate such U.S. hits as American Idol. Indonesian Idol has become one of the most popular television shows in the country. Most middle- and upper-class citizens of Indonesia nowadays prefer shopping in U.S.-style supermarket and malls instead of going to traditional markets. All of these factors have influenced the lifestyle of young Indonesians.

Not all Indonesians have accepted U.S. cultural influences however. Parents complain that their teenagers have forgotten their own culture and have adopted a Western lifestyle. They see that the younger generation has copied the fashion, entertainment, way of speaking, style, and hobbies of their peers in the West. Some religious leaders argue against this influence on moral grounds, stating that it violates religious principles. They allege that Valentine’s Day is a Christian product that should not be adopted by Muslim Indonesians. Similarly they argue that programs such as American Idol are part of a wave of cultural imperialism that is sweeping Indonesia from the West. In their view Western idols and myths are destroying people’s hearts and minds. These views to a lesser degree are also shared by secular leftists such as anti-neoliberal movement in Indonesia. They see that Indonesia has been sold to foreign interests and companies, and as consequences they demand government to lessen the dependence to foreign capitals particular the US capital. They also see the International Monetary, World Bank, World Trade Organization and other economic international bodies are part of parcel of American hegemonic bodies.

Early on during the Afghanistan war in 2002, some radical Islamic groups singled out McDonald’s as a symbol of U.S. domination of the Indonesian economy. These groups were highly critical of U.S. support for Israel and involvement in the Middle East conflict. In 2002, a McDonald’s outlet in Makassar, South Sulawesi, was bombed, and five people were killed. When the perpetrators were arrested in early October 2004, they expressed anti-U.S. sentiment.

Another perspective is towards September 11’s tragedy. Indonesians viewed the September 11 tragedy and what followed with mixed feelings. The government of President Megawati Sukarnoputri (served 2001–2004) issued a statement condemning the terrorist attacks. She was one of the first world leaders to meet President George W. Bush after the attacks, and she said that the Indonesian government would support the U.S. war against terrorism, including the plan to send troops to Afghanistan to track down Osama bin Laden and other al-Qaeda operatives behind the attack. However this policy produced a diverse range of feelings within Indonesian society. Even Megawati’s vice president,
Hamzah Haz, took a different position from Megawati, criticizing the United States’ antiterrorist policies and stating that the United States was the real terrorist because of the unjustness of its international policies. Megawati was criticized for bowing to U.S. pressure because of her statement of support for the U.S.-led war against terrorism in Afghanistan.

So-called radical Islamic groups such as Laskar Jihad, Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI), the Islamic Defenders Front (Front Pembela Islam), Hizb al-Tahrir, and Jamaah Al Ikhwan al-Muslimin Indonesia all protested the government’s position, demanding a stop to its support of the United States. The Muslim Prosperous Justice Party, whose support increased in the 5 April 2004 general election, is also critical of the United States' treatment of Muslims and Muslim countries. Prior to the U.S. offensive in Afghanistan, there had been many anti-U.S. protests and threats to assault U.S. citizens. The demonstrators believed that the United States’ target was not Osama bin Laden, but the religion of Islam in general.

A more moderate segment of the population also regretted the speedy reaction of the United States to the September 11 attacks and the tendency to characterize Osama bin Laden as representative of the entire Muslim community. Wimar Witoelar, spokesman for Indonesia’s former president Abdurrahman Wahid (who held office prior to Megawati Sukarnoputri, from 1999 to 2001), said that Osama might be a Muslim, but he did not have authority to perpetrate the attacks in the name of Islam. Witoelar said that the perpetrators of the attack were madmen. Abdurrahman Wahid agreed, saying that the attacks on the World Trade Center were attacks against humanity. However, he added that the attack on Afghanistan was a treachery to both humanity and international law. He further said that the attack was very bad and he disappointed to see that the U.S. reacted emotionally and did not look for an alternate solution.

The third perspective warranting for discussion relates to the war in Iraq and U.S. Antiterrorism Policies. War in Iraq invited much protest from Indonesian society, not only from radical Muslims, but also from the more moderate Muslims, such as those in the Islamic Liberal Network. The U.S. attack on Iraq was considered a unilateral action taken without the support of the United Nations. The majority of Muslims argue that the United States continues to implement a double-standard policy by continuing to support Israel in spite of Israel’s occupation of Palestinian land and what are perceived as Israel’s human rights abuses in the occupied territories.

Five Indonesian religious leaders who met with Bush in Bali in October 2003 voiced criticisms of the U.S. antiterrorist policy that expressed the above view. Syafi’i Ma’arif, the head of Muhammadiyah, stated that the Bush government had wasted the opportunity to become a benign leader and to foster a culture of global wisdom.

Moderate Muslim leaders have attempted to maintain and promote their moderate Islamic views, which are supported by the majority of younger-generation Muslims. The


17 Ibid.
government and certain elements of civil society, such as the two biggest moderate Muslim organizations, Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah, have taken major steps to combat terrorism. Both organizations regularly state their standpoint to discredit terrorism and explain this is not part of jihad in Islam. They are, however, also very critical of United States’ unilateral action in Iraq and threats to Muslim countries. They believe that violence cannot be stopped by using violence; rather, that course will inevitably lead to more violence. According to these groups, the roots of terrorism lie in injustice, alienation, ignorance, and prejudices that are present in the world.

After witnessing U.S. involvement in Iraq and the casualties of this war, many Muslim groups and pesantren (Islamic boarding schools) communities have developed a stronger, more negative perception of the United States. They suggest that the United States is trying systematically to destroy the Muslim world. They believe that there have been Western military, political, and economic conspiracies to weaken Islamic countries. Hidayat Nur Wahid, the leader of the emerging Prosperous Justice Party, who was elected in 2004 as the speaker of the People’s Consultative Assembly, stated that the United States has a new colonialist policy and intends to create a world empire by using military force and world economic bodies such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the World Trade Organization.

The above attitudes are reflected in the policies of the groups that hold them. When Bush showed his commitment to support education in Islamic schools in 2003 in an attempt to reduce the growing militant Islamic influence in Indonesia, some Islamic groups saw it as interfering in Indonesian education. About one thousand pesantren leaders cautioned people to be careful about accepting the funds for fear that if a pesantren accepted the funds, it might end up producing Islamic leaders supportive of or likely to become puppets of the United States. The negative image and perception of the United States was also reflected in some pesantren’s rejection of books distributed by the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta during the August–September 2004 period.

E. Responses toward Obama Administrations

Attitudes toward Obama himself, his foreign policy and the implementation of the policy have influenced current Indonesian opinions about the United States during Obama administration.

Obama is an interesting figure for many Indonesians. This is particularly because of his childhood time in Indonesia which creates a kind of emotional ties between many Indonesians and Obama. During his presidential campaigns, history of Obama during his childhood as an elementary school student in Jakarta was recalled and told in many books and media including translated books about him. Even a movie about his time in Indonesia was produced and popular among Indonesians. All these have increased emotional attachment of some Indonesians to Obama. Obama statue was also made and put nearby his former elementary school. No wonder that many people expected him to win the US 1999 Presidential elections at that time.
Obama was also seen to bring new foreign policy which can support peaceful solution to many world problems. Apart from expecting that Obama would pay more attention to Indonesia’s interests, many Indonesian also expected that he would solve Israeli-Palestine conflicts in a more balance approach than that during Bush administration. Obama plans to close the American military prison at Guantanamo Bay and to withdraw troops from Iraq were also seen as good foreign policy.

Obama popularity clearly influences the ways many Indonesians see America. In 2009 survey conducted by the Pew Research Center's Global Attitudes Project, the percentage of Indonesians who had a favorable attitude to America jumped from 37 per cent in 2008 to 63 per cent in 2009. The survey conducted in May-June of 2009 found the percentage with an unfavorable view dropped from 53% to 30%. In its report, 69% of young Indonesians ages 18-29 show their positive views on the US.

The survey conducted in May-June of 2009 found the percentage with an unfavorable view dropped from 53% to 30%. In its report, 69% of young Indonesians ages 18-29 show their positive views on the US.

The above positive views on the US, however, do not reflect the whole perceptions of Indonesians to America. Anti-American groups mentioned in the previous parts such as Laskar Jihad, Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI), the Islamic Defenders Front (Front Pembela Islam), Hizb al-Tahrir, and Jamaah Al Ikhwan al-Muslimin maintain their critical stands on America. These groups do not taken for granted all promises that Obama made during his campaigns. They are even doubt that Obama will materialize all his promises to make good relations with Muslim world.

Their critical stands were proven right after Obama won the election. In his first foreign policy statement, Obama stated in front of a main Jews group, American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), that Israel security is sacred and deniable. He said that he would do any action against Iran to stop that country from having nuclear weapons. Criticisms to Obama foreign policy came also from the same persons who also criticized Bush policies, such as Hidayat Nurwahid, one leader of Indonesia’s largest Islamic party, PKS. In an interview with Jakarta Metro TV on Obama’s Middle East policy, Nurwahid showed his disappointment because Obama did not respect Palestine’s rights. In particular he said that the US did not react strongly to human rights violations during Israel’s raid on the humanitarian ship, Mavi Marmara. The US also did not support the formation of panel to investigate the incident. Another critical anti-America figure, Habib Rizieq commenting on Obama’s visit to Jakarta, said that Obama just wanted to get sympathies from Indonesian Muslims to close the US criminal wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.

http://pewresearch.org/pubs/1529/indonesian-views-america-image-president-obama-trip

Before this there have been fluctuations of attitude among Indonesians toward the US. According to the 2003 Global Attitudes Survey conducted by the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, only 15 percent of the Indonesian population has a favorable attitude toward the United States; this has decreased sharply from more than 60 percent in the 1980s. The result of the survey reflected concerns of many Indone sian on the ways Bush overcome terrorisms in particular concerns were addressed to the bad treatment to terrorist suspects in Guantanamo and to the attacks toward Afghanistan. However, this has been improved to 37 per cent in 2008. This was particularly because of significant helps given by America to help Indonesia during Tsunami than hit Aceh province at the end of 2004. When Obama won the US Presidential elections in 2009, there had been a lot of expectation that he would bring changes in the US foreign policy.

Disillusionment to Obama policy was also shown by a leader of Islamic Ummah Forum (Forum Umat Islam - FUI) Muhammad Al Khaththath. He said that Obama have lied to Muslim World by sending more troops to Afghanistan in 2010, in contrast to his speech in Egypt, when he said that he wanted to build good relations with Muslim worlds. That speech according to Khaththath was only a lip service to get sympathies from Muslims. This statement was supported by Tony Syarqi in his book “Presiden AS Pertama yang 100% Yahudi” (The First-American-100%-Jews President). In the conclusion of his book, he said that Obama foreign policy since the beginning serve only two interests that are the US and Israeli interests.21

The FUI was the main organization where these anti-American groups and persons unite. In responding to the visit of Obama to Indonesia, this organization consisting of more than 30 small Islamic groups rejected his visit to Jakarta. It demanded the government and Indonesians to reject the visit and asked people to pray for the safety and freedom of Palestinians. In its statement, FUI blamed America’s aggression in Iraq and Afghanistan and its continuing supports to Israel’s occupation of Palestine lands. It also stated that America was aggressor that killed many Muslims.22

F. Conclusion: the Future

Indonesians’ perspectives on the United States are based on Indonesia’s historical experience as a newly independent country dealing with a superpower. The United States would like to see Indonesia rapidly become a more liberal, modern, and democratic society, which, it is assumed, will be more conducive to U.S. interests. It also wants to see quick action taken to thwart corruption and the progress of terrorism. Some Indonesians, however, see U.S. pressure as a form of intervention in their internal affairs. Negative perceptions of the United States arise from the view that the United States conducts a double-standard policy in the Middle East that works to the disadvantage of Muslim interests. Some Muslim groups also believe that the use of force in Iraq, resulting in the deaths of many civilians, will intensify terrorist activities rather than end them.

Aside from these concerns, however, governments in many periods of both countries do share similar democratic values and common interests in Southeast Asia.23 The United States has played an important role in the history of Indonesia and has always cooperated in building a stable and peaceful region. These similarities can be used as the basis on which to build a better relationship in the future.

Indonesian perspectives on America represented by many concerned groups discussed above may not jeopardize Indonesia-Malaysia relations. Indeed, the negative perspectives to some America policies such as toward Afghanistan, Iran and Palestine in some occasions pushed the Indonesia government to take firm policies by criticizing

21 Tony Syarqi, *Presiden AS Pertama yang 100% Yahudi* (Jakarta: Jazera, 2010).
America, but this does not influence the normal bilateral relations between the two countries. Indonesia government is also eager to show that it keeps implementing free and active foreign policy as the traditional guideline of foreign policy, although in many areas Indonesia depends and needs helps and economic aids from America. In the long run, however, people reactions and protests to America can increase anti-America sentiments which can inspire policies taken by Indonesia government toward America.

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National Character Building in the Third Millenium Era: A Challenge

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Abstract

Every nation, including Indonesia, has its own specific national character that distinguishes it from other nations. Indonesia, is a large, multiethnic, religiously pluralistic as well as multi language archipelagic nation, which since the declaration of the Oath of the Youth on October 28, 1928, has become a multicultural unitary nation. The country adopted Pancasila along with Bhineka Tunggal Ika or unity in diversity as the national philosophy and emblem. However, the rising tide of globalization which poses the danger of homogenizing virtually all aspects of human life implies that national character is under serious threat. This is the more so, given the rapid development in ICT as the lynchpin of globalization, has blurred geographical boundaries and transcended space and time, creating a cyber society. Smartphone has become a favorite gadget for the young generation, on who future leadership of this nation belongs. Immersed in the “gadget society”, the cyber social community pays little attention to its social environment in the real World. Consequently, the behavior of the young has become apathetic, indifferent, and even antisocial at times, a social syndrome which some pundits have called social autism. There is little doubt that if Indonesian young generation continue along the social autistic path national character, which the founding fathers of the nation strove strenuously to build and preserve will be in jeopardy. In light of that, there is need to support efforts toward preserving national character to ensure that this country receives respect and dignity it deserves among other nations in the World. The contemporary world and civilization mean that we live in a cyber world. To that end, providing guidance to the young generation in forming national character does not call for society to develop technology paranoia. On the contrary, technology should facilitate the forging of national unity as well as help in revitalizing nationalism, which is one of the defining characteristics of this nation.

Key Words: Nationalism, Globalization, Cyber world, Character building.

1. Introduction

Indonesia is a country that comprises many islands, various ethnicities, languages, and religious affiliations making it a large multicultural nation. Indonesia’s diversity in its various forms is attributable to nature, which is why it is a reality that is taken for
granted. Despite differences in complexions that characterize the nation, Indonesia is unified under one ideology with in a unitary nation, which was proclaimed under the Oath of the Youth on October 28, 1928. Henceforth, the spirit of Unity, which has become the main inspiring force behind the struggle for independence that culminated in the relinquishing control over Indonesia by the Dutch colonialists at the time.

This country is a mysterious entity which though consists of many ethnicities, fuses into a civic nation. Indonesia, as a multicultural country, is not disputable. Unity in diversity (Bhinneka Tunggal Ika) embodies the idealism of multiculturalism as well as a polytechnic society. The formation of nationalism in Indonesia is rooted in the sense of pride Indonesians had in mobilizing the struggle against colonialism. The struggle against colonialism aroused the spirit of togetherness, which eventually crystallized into the formation of a collective identity. Nationalism constitutes the key that made unity and sense of togetherness possible.

As a vitally important nation, Indonesia’s formation was based on a constitution, The 1945 basic law and its preamble, with Pancasila as the symbol of unity meant to accommodate a highly pluralistic society. The five principles contained in Pancasila, have abstract but universal meaning, with the underlying idea being that Pancasila is embedded in the thinking and feelings of Indonesians. Pancasila as the philosophical foundation of the nation, is the bedrock of togetherness, living as a nation, and behaving as Indonesians at heart. The Universality and abstract in the Pancasila meaning is aimed at opening the opportunity as wide as possible for all to give different meanings, while at the same time living under one unity, which is pre requisite for preserving the spirit of nationalism among Indonesians. To that end, Pancasila can serve as the reference or guidance in taking action or behavior both with the national and international context.

Nationalism in Indonesia from the perspective of Pancasila as the source of unity, is expected to erode symbols of tribalism, ethnicity and racial complexion. The sense of nationalism is encased in a knot of strong brotherhood and camaraderie spirit that helped to fight and defeat colonialism during its heydays in Indonesia. It is such feeling of sympathy for one another and sense of facing the same fate that is responsible for spontaneously arousing nationalism. Nonetheless, the sense of nationalism which was advocated for by the founding fathers of this nation, is not the kind that espouses chauvinism. On the contrary, unity and unitarism are the key words of nationalism. Unity is a dynamic process to understand the reality one faces. Meanwhile, unitarism has much to do with the spirit of overcoming differences which if not dealt with, are prone to fermenting conflict. The two words are two sides of a single coin, hence are interdependent and interrelated. Unity and unitarism constitute construction of a nation which successfully strives to protect itself from schism and division thereby preserving its existence.

Based on that construction Notonegoro (1987) articulates that the feeling of togetherness underpins the achievement of the Unity of Indonesia as a nation and spatially. The spirit of unity is embodied and actualized in the national emblem Unity in diversity (Bhinneka Tungga Ika), which symbolizes equanimity and harmony.
Experience shows that frailties in the feeling of togetherness and unity among Indonesians, made the protracted subjugation of Indonesia under colonialism for several centuries possible. In light of that, Daoed Yoesoef (1987) conducted an analysis of the sense of feeling of nationalism through the categorization of three components of nationalism. First, real motherland, which is the land that is trodden on, where we are born, grow up, and live. Secondly, formal motherland, which is the nation-state that is defined by the confines of the basic law, which delineates our position as citizens, and Third, ‘Mental’ motherland, which does not have territorial parameters nor is it confined by space and time, rather lies within the imagination which is formed and constructed through ideology or principal ideas which are embodied in Pancasila. The staring point was in the Oath of the Youth on October 28, 1928, when the youth made a pledge to form unity (One nation, one language and one Motherland, Indonesia), which in some way set in motion counter forces against negative elements likely to emerge from diversity in various forms, and at the same time laying the foundation for the realization of formal and ‘mental or idealistic’ motherland. To that end, to cement the spirit of nationalism, Indonesia ideally constitutes unification of the three types of motherland.

In light of that, cementing nationalism requires adhering to a number of principles which according to Sartono Kartodirdjo (1994) encompass: First, the existence of Unity. Preserving Unity is only possible if solidarity, which has the ability to transcend various dimensions of pluralism exists. Secondly, liberty, which refers to a condition whereby society or members of society have the freedom to express their opinions, which fosters the creation of climate that is conducive to democracy. Third equality within the context of rights and duties/responsibilities in education, employment and so on. Equality for every citizen to achieve personal capability development. Fourth, personality which is rooted in the notion that every nation should develop its unique characteristics that culminate in the emergence of national character. National character refers to a system of characteristics that are associated with a certain nation that have the ability to distinguish it other nations. Fifth, Performance, denoting values or qualities that are attached to carrying out certain act, which arouse laudable remarks from other nations.

Creating national character, Nationalism is the sense of sharing destiny and history by a certain large community living in a certain area or region. Referring to nationalism, Saurip Kadi explains that the nationalistic spirit constitutes the commitment of a certain nation to preserve its statehood with all the attendant affinities and consequences that relate to its existence. The feeling must be preserved, maintained, and nourished in order to avert the possibility of moral deficit which has adverse implications for the future existence of a nation. The revitalization endeavor can be achieved through various ways, which among others include: the government in its capacity as the vanguard should implement policy or issue an instruction to educational institutions, including Islamic institutes to reinstate Pancasila and collegial work studies into the curriculum. This is because it is only through education and learning that can change individual behavior. (2) There is need to reinvigorate the nationalistic spirit through symbolic approaches. This can be done by encouraging those involved in delivering public services, especially educational institutions and mass media to intensify publicity.
of nationalistic songs which should arouse public conscience about the vital importance of nationality and nationalism within the framework of the Unitary republic of Indonesia. 

(3) Society needs pioneers or initiatives in enforcing discipline as well as champions of good behavior to serve as examples to emulate. 

(4) Using cultural approach which entails efforts to encourage the society to stand up to their rights to oppose or reject in unequivocal terms, television broadcasts that are racy and do not adhere to accepted norms and values. There is need to educate the society on the importance of mass media brands. 

(5) Based on the structural approach, it is long overdue for the provincial, district/city governments to empower traditional mass media, and 

(6) The local government should use its policies to harness more clear-cut commitment between the executive and legislative arms of government to support policies and budget allocation for endeavors that relate to revitalizing/rejuvenating the spirit of defending motherland and nationalism. Love for the nation is part and parcel of having faith in the Almighty, can start from simple and basic issues but eventually crystallize into strengthening nationalism which is now invaluable amid various challenges in this global World.

2. Nationalism within the Unity in Diversity Framework

As Hardono Hadi (1994) notes, understanding unity lies in Unity in Diversity (“Bhinneka Tunggal Ika”). It is a statement that underlies the spirit and enthusiasm of the Indonesian nation in upholding its unity and oneness, despite the religiously complex diversity that characterizes its constituents. The above statement is a reflection of the first principle in Pancasila, which is God Almighty. The principle puts all religions including the traditional beliefs that have many adherents in Indonesia into one entity, which God the Almighty. The same applies to other principles in Pancasila.

In line with the above argument, Eka Dharmaputera (2002) makes an analogy that considers Indonesia as a flower garden. The flower garden looks beautiful because it consists of various colors: some flowers are white, others are red, yellow, violet, and so on. If flowers in the garden are accorded good nursery and preservation, it will become a source of attraction for onlookers. The above analogy attests to the undeniable reality that diversity is unavoidable because life is fraught with change dynamics that lead to the existence of variety. Change dynamics are not only limited to the behavior of individuals, but also affect the behavior of communities, nations and nation states. There is no nation today that claims to have homogeneity in all aspects, and Indonesia is no exception. In fact, Ariobimo Nusantara (2003) from another perspective, considers plurality to be a source of wealth, to which gratitude must be made, rather indulge in efforts that accentuate existing differences for the sake of manipulation for selfish personal and group reasons and interests.

The research by Charris Achmad Zubair, which highlights the reality that Indonesia is a highly heterogeneous nation, lends strong support to the above argument. Religious pluralism in Indonesia is very apparent due to the other sources of the nation’s diversity. The issue of religious differences has never been the root cause of religious
conflicts in Indonesia as all religions share universal perceptions. In fact, the cause of religious conflicts lies in conflict of interests that have nothing to do with religion rather than religious differences. To that end, democratic pluralism is very pivotal as it serves as one of the ways of raising awareness and maturity of humankind to understand diversity as inseparable from human existence. That way, religious conflicts will be avoided.

It is our hope that in this multicultural and plural nation, there is no room for ethnocentrism, let alone fanaticism against other ethnicities or groups. Ethnocentrism that should be encouraged is the pre-eminence of very individual’s culture and ethnicity rather that showering derogatory remarks that induce inferiority of one’s ethnicity and group. However, comparison with other ethnicities and groups should not be made along such lines in a nation that upholds unity in diversity. The pre-eminence of one’s culture and ethnicity should be preserved and enhanced within the context of promoting unity and togetherness in a unitary republic of Indonesia committed and maintains unity in diversity. It is this ideology of togetherness, which underpins the character of Indonesia as a multicultural nation that accords it the identity that distinguishes it from other nations. The nation with Garuda emblem, a large bird which has the ability to fly high with Pancasila ideology attached to its thorax.

The existence of diversity or heterogeneity/multiculturalism is one hand a distinguishing feature of Indonesia as a nation, which elicits pride, but also faces formidable external challenges from globalization and the rapid development and use of highly sophisticated communication and information technology. The technology has made the sharing of communication across continents increasingly easier ever without any formidable time and spatial constraints. Now comes the question: How role has globalization played in efforts to form national character? Will Kimlicka (2002) contends that during the highly paced globalization era, most nations in the World consist of diverse cultures, creating a pluralistic society living side by side. Furnivall (cited in Kimlicka, 2002) notes that the multicultural society generates or nurtures political multiculturalism, a manifestation of political differentiation, which is an aggregation of existing differences, but living in harmony. Within the context of national development, Indonesia is blessed to be multicultural which is a strong, fundamental, resilient capital: national culture. However, the increasingly pervasive globalization has not left the social fabric intact, generating a situation whereby one ponders whether amid the rampant forces of globalization, the spirit of togetherness, which was the root of nationalism still exists.

3. **Globalization and Change in Human Being Behavior as a Threat for National Character Formation**

Globalization is a term which refers to increasing interrelationship and interdependency among nations and humankind in the World, through trade, investment, culture, and other forms of interaction all of which lead to the ever narrowing and
decreasing confines or borders of a nation. Yodotomo (2000) states that globalization is a process which transforms something (physical object or behavior) as a characteristic of each and every individual in the World without being constrained by time limitations. Scholte (2001) contends that globalization has several meaning, which among others include: First, internationalization, which considers globalization as an increase in international relations. In this light, every nation preserves their identities, but increasingly become interdependent; Secondly, liberalization, contends that globalization refers to the ever decreasing barriers and roles of nations, for instance in relation to export-import obstacles, foreign currencies and migration; Third, universalization. This perspective considers globalization as the spread of both material and immaterial things throughout the World. The experience that occurs in one location can become a World wide experience. Fourth, westernization, one of the forms of universalization, which is characterized by increasing permeation of western thought and culture throughout the World; Fifth, trans-planetarial and supra-territorial relations. The last mentioned perspective somewhat differs from the other four discussed above. While each of first four perspectives, every nation continues to preserve its ontology status, the fifth meaning, considers globalization as a process that creates its own ontology, hence does not espouse the notion of a collection of existing nations.

With respect to the meaning of globalization, three theoretical stances have been postulated, and include namely, (1) global perspective (2) traditional perspective, and (3) transformational perspective. According to Held (1999) the three theoreticians above espouse differing perspectives on globalization. Global theoreticians contend that globalization is a reality which has its real consequences for the way people and institutions in the World operate. They also have the view that nations and local cultures will eventually disappear as result of hegemonic forces unleashed by cultural and economic globalization. However, global theoreticians differ in their views on the consequences of the above process. While some optimistic global theoreticians welcome such developments and consider such a process will create a more tolerant and responsible society, pessimists on the contrary consider globalization to be a negative process as it is another form of subjugation (especially by the United States of America) which imposes its forms of hegemonic cultural and consumption habits as something that is a right. In light of that, some of them have ended up forming anti globalization groups.

It is said that traditional global theoreticians tend to be different in their perspective on globalization. They contend that there is nothing like globalization happening, considering the notion that globalization is underway as a mere myth, and even it is happening, it is highly exaggerated. The traditional theoreticians use capitalism, which has been an international phenomenon for many centuries. What is happening today is just another phase or evolution of production and trade of capital. The perspectives of transformational globalists lie in between the stance taken by globalists and traditionalists. They agree to the notion that the influence of globalization has been over exaggerated by globalists. Nonetheless, it is also foolhardy to deny the existence of the concept of globalization. The theoretical position they take is that
globalization should be understood as an instrument of interrelated relations working through a certain force, most of which occurs through direct ways. Proponents of transformation theory goes further to add that the globalization process can be reversed, especially in the event of negative consequences, which implies there ways of controlling it.

Relating to the realm of life discipline, Meyer et, al (1997) considers globalization as a diffusion model of the nation state throughout the world as well as the emergence of isomorphic forms of governance the world over, and the homogenization of the governance model the world over. The homogenization of governance is characterized by the existence of development institutions and transnational organizations that lead to the disappearance of the power entrusted in nation states and other local social structures. Barber (in Ritzer and Goodman, 2007), argues that the formation of supranational organizations leads to the emergence of homogenous political orientation, under large umbrellas such as the United Nations, making political homogenization more apparent. How has Indonesia dealt with such challenges and threats? There are no easy answers to this question because of different vantage points one can stake. However, this paper uses a sociologist perspective. To that end, it is the hope that the contents of this article help to cement the identity of the nation in such a way that it is not submerged in this increasingly pervasive wave of political, social, economic and cultural globalization.

Globalization which is currently underway in the field of culture based on Hannerz’s predictions (cited in Sztompka, 2010) will lead to four possibilities. First, global homogenization, which will be manifested in the domination of the world’s culture by the West. Global society will try to emulate western lifestyles, consumption pattern, values, and even norms and ideas and beliefs. The uniqueness which is embodied in local culture in Indonesia will disappear among the periphery societies. Second, the possibility of cultural satiety. It is a matter of time such a condition to occur. Gradually, peripheral societies will absorb cultural patterns of the western world and at a certain point in time will reach satiety. In the long term, as changes in generations take shape, the meaning and internalization of local culture will fade, even wane. In connection with Nationalistic spirit, if it is not protected and preserved as it should, will eventually get destroyed and it will be the young generation that will be bear the brunt of such experiences, leading to the ‘evaporation’ of nationalism.

Third, the dereliction of local and western culture. With respect to this, two mechanisms will be at play. First, local culture will choose or sieve western culture, ending up picking out the trivial and bad aspects leaving out the sophisticated forms. Local culture as an example, the young, prefer adopting and taking up pornography to literature works. Children prefer detective stories to works that obtain Nobel prizes. In the field of music, rap and rock music is preferred to Beethoven classic music. Relating to nationalism, pride in works of art produced by their nation will be ignored even left in abeyance, preferring to shower accolades on works of people hailing from other nationalities. Fourth, the period of maturity, which means the time when western culture will be received through a more balanced dialogue and exchange way. Local or indigenous population accepts western culture selectively based on requirement need for
local value and norms requirements. In accepting western cultural ideas, local culture attains meaning and interpretation, which creates a positive exchange. Eventually, the world will experience synthesis as cultures will merge leading to loss of originality and identity.

Under such a condition, will nations in the world, including Indonesia be able to preserve their national characters and identities? The issue become more interesting to examine given the values and norms of all cultures that face the potential danger of facing strong globalization forces coming from all angles. The meaning attached to values and norms, which constitute important elements in the culture of society has experienced major changes, especially among the young generation. Advancements in information and communications technology, which is easily accessible by the young generation has endangered values embedded in local cultures within nations. This puts national cultural values at risk. The meaning attached to various values and norms, right from families, community to nationalistic values and norms has undergone change.

The rapid pace of globalization which is backed and bankrolled by capitalism which is characterized by the emergency of supermarkets has contributed significantly to the fading of nationalism and feeling of nationalism. Malls, supermarkets and Hypermarkets have become a place where young generation and other members of society spend most of their valuable time. The young generation prefer paying visits to malls to museums which are the repository of the history of the struggle for the country’s independence. The role of Malls has changed from not only being a well furnished, stocked, and prestigious place to shop but also part and parcel of the lifestyle for most people. In fact malls have become second home for largest section of society that lives in urban and suburban areas. They are now considered a place for recreation for some tourists from other cities, because malls in every city and town have their unique modifications that make them centers of attraction for visitors.

4. **The young generation as the vanguard in the formation of national character**

The young generation constitutes the vital capital to replace older generations. Thus, it is this generation which will steer the leadership of this nation in future, putting them in an important position to control the direction of national character and performance to such a level that other nations will not but revere Indonesia at every turn. The young generation as the future leaders of this nation, have a strategically important role to play in national character building. To that end, in order for the nation to become advanced and highly civilized, requires the development of young generation as good as possible.

In relation to that, globalization is noted to influence the interaction among nations through space and time. The space and time for interaction and making communications at the global level is increasingly becoming narrower and shorter, respectively. Information and communications technology (ICT) has become the major factor that supports and sustains such globalization wave. Rapid advancement in
communications and information technology in various forms has made possible instantaneous dissemination of information and interests to all corners of the World. This is through various mass media taking forms of press, electronic, and internet. Internet has blurred the existence of an individual as a social being that must live with other members of society. The young generation, as individual have developed the proclivity of using the internet or other cyber media in carrying out their activities and social relations. Interpersonal communications and social relations is to some being perceived as weird. Engaging in social relations, has for some become an un-wanted compulsion, and even then is limited to certain extremely personal issues. Today an individual is uprooted from his or her culture, as social culture and other new high speed, sophisticated cultural forms take root. In any given community, there is no guarantee that individuals warn each others for errors done because talking to one another has become that much of rarity. In an airplane, train or bus, people no longer tell or exchange stories with people sitting nearby as most of the time goes to the Smartphone. It is as if an individual has his/her own world where living in solitude without the need for others presence and existence.

What will Indonesia as a nation become amidst such a rampant onslaught of information and communications technology (ICT)? How can this nation protect and preserve its national values and identity? Today all regions in Indonesia are awash with the frequent use of communications and information technology gadgets ranging from simple ones such as mobile phones to sophisticated Smartphones, which the young consider personal gems. This is the case because the young generation demands for more liberty and freedom than the older generation before them. Technology has its positive effects, but there is little doubt that it has its downside as well, especially in the impact it has had on the youth. Why is it so? This is because the young generation has not yet developed a good understanding of what is good and bad for them.

Today, the young generation has got entrapped and has become part and parcel of a gadget society, which is dominated and affected by sophisticated information technology. Conventional medium of communications such as face to face encounters, have given way to the use of the telephone, which is in turn gradually being replaced by internet and various social networks such as friendster, face book, twitter, my space, and so on. Despite the relatively higher costs of securing internet access in Indonesia that in other nations, which among other factors is attributable to inadequate infrastructure, regulations, and telecommunications system in Indonesia, Internet use has increased drastically. The emergency of a portable computer is also another development that has contributed substantially to the rapid increase in internet use in Indonesia. The newspaper is losing out on its turf for the agile, portable internet, thanks much to the laptop. Additionally, Wi-Fi technology which has made it possible for one to have access to seamless internet making it available in all places that have free hotspots areas. Free internet access available in different places has made internet, not only interesting but also increasingly cheap to many people especially the young generation, making it a unifier of people living and working in different parts of the globe.

Equally important to the globalization process, is rapid advancement in mobile
technology. According to Didik Supriyanto (2008), AMPS which is the first G-1 generation, emerged during early 1990s. G-1 cellular telephone technology was limited to providing audio signals. The second generation, G2, which is often known as GSM, with enhanced capacity that was no longer limited to audio messages but also data in the form of texts and images SMS and MMS emerged during middle 1990s. Meanwhile technological advancement continued and since 2006, members of society have been able to enjoy even more sophisticated audio visual messages in the third generation mobile telephone technology known as G 3. Relating to mobile telephone developments, Didik Supriyanto (2008) explains that since early 2000s, the mobile telephone has become a live gadget which is common in society, including the young generation. The large number of users and freedom that is associated with virtually boundless internet and cellular telephone has generated various negative impact on the young generation, which has become serious cause for concern.

Social network sites, which sometime back drew the attention of the young generation in Indonesia. This is because of the communication architecture model on which such social networks are based, which is boundless in both space and time. In Friendster, everyone could form a network of network friends with the possibility of growing without any limitation. Besides, running the social network friend list is not difficult, which made it easier for the young generation to use it spread its tentacles to other youth like a viral attack. According to a research carried out by Yusuf (2008), at its heyday in late 2003, Friendster became a status symbol of being social, and whoever did not have a Friendster account was castigated as outlandish. Since then new social networks have come to the fore, carrying even more attractive features than Friendster. This includes MySpace which offers strong music file features as its power of attraction to members, Multiply, with its interactive blog facilities or YouTube which offers amateur video file uploading and showing capacity as its core competence.

We are now living in a virtual society with ever decreasing boundaries separating nations. We also find ourselves living in global communication era, with all people using internet networks to communicate. Yet it no longer disputable that some communication networks have adverse effects on the young generation, hence posing the potential danger of damaging Indonesia’s national identity, which is renowned for its good manners and etiquette (berbudi luhur). Such is the case because sociologists contend that internet has the capacity to change human behavior. In that respect, it is not surprising that internet and the very popular cellular phone have fundamentally altered the configuration of communication between people. If in the past interaction was through face to face media, ICT advancement has led to the emergency of the cable telephone. The cable telephone, is in turn gradually losing ground to the cellular telephone.

Nonetheless, there is need to note that rapid advancement in information technology is a double-edged sword. On one hand, technological advancement have a lot of advantages for humankind in all aspects of life. This is attested by the reality that many people use the internet not only as a medium to search for information but also other requirements such as spouses, jobs, scholarships, dating, and having extra marital
affairs, and disposing of illegal merchandise as well. In big cities shopping over the internet has become a lifestyle for people who consider themselves modern, especially the extremely busy women. Using sophisticated technology, which is easily controlled from one’s home, doubtless, has reduced the need for physical and geographical mobility making it one of the most praiseworthy possessions. In addition, information technology has also become a status symbol for its users. This is evidenced by the contention of Michael Foucault (2005) that knowledge is the source of power, which is why power is no longer concentrated rather diffused and spread everywhere. Whoever has the means to control technology has the knowledge, and with it the power to rule.

Additionally, CIT is today increasingly being used in attracting product and service customers. For instance, in various public places (schools, libraries, government offices and coffee and food cafes) or even in public space Wi-fi hotspots are in place. The emergence of the Smartphone has altered the lifestyle of humankind. It is through this small smart gadget, thanks to its flexibility and portability enables whoever possesses it to have access to state of the art computation, in effect becoming an inseparable friend for many. Its absence leads to anxiety, leading to loss of confidence as the small heartfelt friend is no longer in company. In other words, amid all the hustle and bustle that surrounds us, the absence of a Smartphone creates ironically unimaginable loneliness as one feels loss of style.

Advancement in ICT has ironically become a boomerang for those who use it, especially if there is no capacity to exert control over the influx of information associated with it. This has immeasurable consequences on the identity of humankind, especially the young generation. They are addicted to using Smartphones to such a degree that to them friends are no longer considered invaluable to crack jokes. Such young generation will enmesh itself in the pursuit of its virtual community, minute by minute, day by day, and always inseparable from communications and information technology, virtually becoming autistic as they care little about the community around them. They have increasingly become indifferent to developments that occur in their surroundings, let alone paying attention to such big issues as nationalism and the benefits of living as a nation. Most of the young generation considers issues that relate to nationalism, matters of living as a nation and citizenry as befitting the old generation and leaders who are elected to manage such tasks and responsibilities.

However, On the other hand, national character for the young generation will only be built or take shape through emulating human behavior they observe around them. This is the case because from the sociologist perspective, human kind is a social animal, who is easily influenced by the social environment around him. Exemplary behavior has been one of the lessons that Ki Hadjar Dewantoro advocated for long time ago. Nonetheless, changes in eras have also inevitably created changes in human civilization. Today, exemplary behavior is no longer the onus of large institutions such as state, government, and schools-since the strong globalization waves and developments in communications and information technology have eroded the role and importance of such institutions. Today, the only remaining source of exemplary behavior is the smallest institution of all-the family, especially the two parents. The most primal of exemplary
behavior a family should give to its siblings is living as social being among other community members and religion. If the two media are successful in instilling family values, social values, as well as benefits of living as a nation slowly but surely, the formation of national character will be achieved.

5. Building National Character during the Era of Millenium III: A Challenge

Building national character during the new millennium era calls for a strategy that is starkly different from those applied in past eras. Why is that so? This is because significant changes in civilization have occurred leading to the transformation of cultural value systems that will be bequeathed to the young generation. Parents can no longer educate their children using ways and methods that worked in the past including such important issues as nationalism. If the past teaching nationalism only called for retelling heroic stories of heroes of independence, today the spirit of nationalism can be instilled through issues that draw the interest of the young generation such as films, sports, and other cultural arts.

Football is the most popular sport for people drawn from all walks of life, which is why it has become a medium that brings together members of the society regardless of social economic status, generations, and gender. Moreover, many artists often are in the company of not only bureaucrats and politicians, but also mingle with members of the public. Evidence of that was demonstrated during Asian football association (AFF) competition hosted by Indonesia recently. People from all walks of life and ethnicities, men and women, were in jubilant mood as the matches went on, lending all their support to the Indonesian national team players, who were in the field to defend the dignity and respect of Indonesia as a nation. As an example, people drawn from various groups of society, buy T-shirts of teams they support ranging from pirated to original ones. In mid-December 2010 members of the public in a show of support to the national team, bought T-shirts bearing such national team players as Christian Gonzales, Irfan Bachdim and Bambang Pamungkas, right from children, juveniles to adults. Such a phenomenon contains special meaning for the supporters, which is the togetherness and pride in defending and their national team. In all sports events held in Asia, and elsewhere in the World, every player who turns up a winner shed tears as a show of fascination to the extent to hysteria, as they stand witness to their hoisting of their national flags. It is such a situation when social solidarity emerges, nationalistic spirit is sky high, that unity and sense of togetherness as a nation can be cultivated to build a formidable national character.

The same seems to apply to the realm of arts, in the form of music, films, and other forms, which blur existing differences among members of the public. For the young generation, music can become an important instrument which can be used to forge unity among humankind, especially if the lyrics and singers are good. If musicians are willing to collaborate in the creation and publicity of good songs that carry nationalistic themes of unity and togetherness, there is no doubt nationalism among the young
generation will be cultivated and instilled which in turn will make the task of building national character far much easier to accomplish.

The sense of nationalism can be cultivated through works of arts in each ethnic group, as each develops pride in its culture, hence sees the value and important of protecting and preserving it. If such culture receives national recognition, all ethnic groups will develop pride not only in their culture, but also arouse pride and feeling of belong to the nation, especially the young generation. Eventually, the rising sense of nationalism will lead to the formation of national character. As an illustration, recently, one cigarette producer “Djarum Super” worked in collaboration with Megapro Communications organized a concert code named *Indonesia Satu* one Indonesia. The main theme of the concert was the emphasis on Unity and togetherness which is embodied in Pancasila. The main objective of the concert was to forge unity across all sections of society drawn from various tribes, religion, and ethnicity. Such high diversity can be fused and united into one by Pancasila ideology. Thus, Music as universal language has the ability to unite people who speak different languages. Besides using concerts, cultural shows or exhibitions can be used to forge unity among people of diverse backgrounds. Such exhibitions have become common in some ethnicities which among others include the conduct of arts Nusantara cultural exhibition in Solo, Yogyakarta cultural exhibition and other cultural exhibitions in other regions in Indonesia. Debtless, nationalism will be instilled if such exhibitions are made on a regular basis. Nonetheless, cultural exhibitions need modification to ensure that they are not shunned by the young generation as obsolete and out of taste, which if well done can serve as medium for them to know their culture and national character. What underpins the conduct of cultural exhibitions are the philosophical values or spirit of the culture of the forefathers of this nation. In light of that, the staging of cultural exhibitions should go along way to arouse the love for, and pride in, their nation. With such love, enthusiasm to defend their nation against external threats will take shape, paving the way for the spirit of nationalism, albeit under increasingly strong waves of globalization (Kompas, 6 June, 2011).

However, there need to note that the popularity of sports and arts exhibitions also lies very much with the media used in staging them. The young generation, which has the greatest access to media in Indonesia, do use media in search of issues that they like and consider of good taste to them. This applies also to sports and arts exhibition. It is not surprising therefore that the two domains are subject to exploitation by mass media because of the mutually beneficial relationships between them. Mass media exploits sports and arts, thereby making it popular, and the more popular the broadcasts, the larger the number of viewers, which implies more revenues from advertisements. 

In addition, *merchandise* goes hand in hand with the two domains above such as T shirts, key holders, and other souvenirs, contribute substantially to the advantages that derived from mutually beneficial relationship among arts, sports and mass media. Moreover, the song “Garuda di Dadaku” literary ‘Garuda Emblem on My Chest’ is a work of music art which is used in firing up nationalistic spirit in football for the Indonesia national team whenever it plays with other nations. The song which has
become popular among Indonesians, due to the vital role played by the mass media, forges unity among supporters of football to fire up the determination of the their national team to victory. What lies behind the victory is the sense of pride associated with the defeat of one nation by another.

In light of the above, it becomes evident that mass media has had positive influence on the young generation who through involvement in arts and sports have the capacity to enhance nationalistic fervor. Nonetheless, mass media has its downside too. The internet offers immense opportunities for the young generations, including the ability to make friends, which has ended up creating a cyber World with its attendant values that more often than not, are not in consonance with those that apply in the real world. The cyber world, based on an individual’s perception, can foster identity self-reconstruction, a process that creates a new personality. Moreover, not a few individuals have acquired double identities and seem to prefer living in cyber world to the real world. Advances in technology have imperceptibly made human increased the dependency of human kind on gadgets. Today, a new phenomenon has emerged whereby some people become indifferent to the world around them as they are immersed in world of their gadgets most of the time. Such tendency has led to change in human behavior (read: young generation) in society becoming apathehtical, indifferent, introvert, even antisocial. The phenomenon is often referred to as social autism, which a mental illness, which is reflected by the inability of an individual to have sufficient interaction with his or her environment.

According to Wikipedia, dictionary, autism is a condition that is characterized by the inability of a person who right from birth through under five-age phase, is unable to make normal social interaction or communication. The condition makes the child an isolated being from the social environment around him or her, which leads to engaging in repetitive and obsessive behaviors in what becomes his or her World. Those suffering from autism require the attention of teachers and of course, the two parents doctors to provide guidance in making socialization with the surrounding environment. This is because Autism victim does repetitive behavior unknowingly. In fact, oftentimes, the behavior of autism patients causes disturbance and inconvenience to others. The epidemic is today affecting many areas and regions, even nations, as many people due to being busy with their cyber world, are increasingly unable to pay attention to the surrounding social reality around them. Autistic people show individualistic behavior, as they are busy and comfortable playing and leading their lifestyles, and try to isolate themselves from the social environment around them. According to Dr. Faisal Yatim, autism does not constitute a symptom of a disease rather a syndrome which is characterized by perversion in social development, ability to use language and pay attention to the surrounding social environment, making an autistic child as if lives in world of his or her own. However, the meaning of autism today has undergone major shift, from no longer just associated with the disease, to also social phenomenon that is now in vogue in society which characterized by inability of many people to interact with their social environment in preference for their technology gadget world.

The young generation as the next generation for this nation, who are expected to become engines that will propel this country in forming its national character, are busy
reveling and merely keen on living for its sake. This is attested by the jargon, which used to be popular among the youth that invoked the young to enjoy life as much as one can whilst still young, engage in merrymaking and profligacy the best one can, and upon reaching old age become rich, if after death go to paradise. In building national character, a strong sense of awareness is needed, especially for the young generation. This is owes much to the importance of cultivating awareness, which will help in creating social solidarity. High social solidarity, will eventually entrench nationalism and the spirit of living as a nation. Nonetheless, roots of solidarity can never grow on its own, which is why nationalism is crucially important in building national character.

6. Closing Remarks

There are two possible ways of building national character- top down and bottom up. The top down approach requires the existence of exemplary leadership. In the context of limited scope, which is the family, parents become the source of exemplary behavior achieved through instilling exemplary social and religious values. Meanwhile, the bottom-up approach calls for self awareness in understanding social and religious values as well as accountability for actions taken. The process of forming/building national character is a continuous or never ending as well as occurs in simultaneity. Nonetheless, building national character faces challenges even threats from developments in technological advancement and globalization, and may spark of multi-dimensional crises. Thus, unless such threats are dealt with appropriately, pose the danger of damaging national identity, which in turn generates an identity crisis and self esteem. In light of that, building national character calls for empathy from various parties in making their respective contribution to the developing the young generation.

Learning to master expertise in modern technology is imperative in building national character during the third millennium. This owes to the reality that competitiveness of an individual depends much on the degree to which he or she has expertise and mastery of science and technology, rather the vice versa. If technology controls humankind, the world will be awash with confused individuals who are unable to choose what is good and bad. A good example is the lawyer whose actions are driven by the principle of defending whoever pays the highest price, an accountant who manipulates balance sheets, and physicians who develop weapons of mass destruction, a medical doctor who offers abortion services, and provides justification for the perpetration of malpractices, and a historian who is more concerned with promoting interests of his or her group at the expense of public and national interest. Reviving national identity and self-esteem, calls for remembering three main components in forming national identity and esteem, which include value system, attitude and behavior. The formation, guidance, and revitalization of good character is only possible if based on perpetually sustainable good behavior.

Human kind has the ability to change the environment, rather than the environment changing humankind. This can likened to the law of harvest which was
amended by Samuel Smiles in Ariobimo Nusantara (ed) which states that: “Sow or cultivate thoughts or ideas, and you will reap action, sow action and you will reap habit, sow habit and you will reap character and sow character and you will reap your fate.” The key issue here is how the law of harvest can be transformed to apply to the young generation as future leaders of this nation. Such transformation must be in consonance with developments and changes in civilization, which are undergoing rapid changes via technology gadgets. This is the challenge which we have to face and find solutions together if Indonesia as a nation must stand solidly and with deserving dignity among other nations. In other words, national character can only realized if the system of values, outlook and attitude, and behavior all follow the dictates of Indonesia’s national ideology as enshrined in Pancasila and its attendant Unity in diversity. Besides, there is need for continues renewal and adjustment in line with rampant globalization, as well as pervasive developments in communication and information technology during the third millennium. The task of building national character today is much different from what would have been required in the past. In the past, nationalism, manifested in engaging in physical confrontation with colonialists constituted the special characteristic that defined building national character. However, today, in line with developments in human civilization which is increasingly being defined by virtual society, national character building requires using mental, spiritual and ideological approaches.

This country has achieved remarkable successes in subsuming reformation, which has in turn lead to changes in social order. However, success already achieved should not be left to like wood to forces of nature, rather should be filled with the dictates of the Law of harvest as amended by Samuel Smiles mentioned earlier. In order to achieve the ideals of building national character that follows the dictates of the law of harvest, there in need for every individual to undergo self de-construction and self reconstruction at the same time. It is wishful thinking to imagine that this nation will change on its own by magic, if an individual who constitutes the smallest element of this nation, who is supposed to build and foster change, does not want to change him/herself. The Javanese proverb puts the point more aptly by stating that “ngeli ning ora keli” (follow the stream flow but make sure don’t get drowned). In the same vein, as the aphorism says, in this world there is always change, nothing is permanent except change.

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Social Construction in Political Reality  
(A Case Study of Woman Leaders in Goverment Offices of the Special Region of Yogyakarta Province)  

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Abstract  
The research is aimed at obtaining knowledge and understanding – through social construction perspective – on how woman government officers achieve their political reality, that is to become the top leaders (political leaders) in Yogyakarta (DIY) Province. The research is conducted by using interpretive qualitative (phenomenology) method, while its study subjects are woman government officers who hold top management positions within the government of DIY Province. To complete the research, the analysis is also conducted based on data taken from other informants. The finding of the research shows that the career constructions of the women in this study are possible due to a range of experiences that influence their lives since their childhoods. These experiences which involved the closest persons in their lives stimulated their self-confidence in a way that when they grew up they externalized their sources by choosing careers, in addition to becoming wives and mothers. They are able to achieve the leadership position because throughout their career, they are able to objectify their competence and self-confidence. They are also able to internalize their competence and self-confidence, which then are getting stronger. These strong feeling of competence and self-confidence then make them dare to compete and they are willing to take the risk in pursuing their career up to these top positions. Based on those finding, the research concludes that women of these top positions are actually the reality that is constructed socially. The social construction involves three processes, namely externalization, objectification, and internalization.  

Key words: women leader, power, top positions, career, gender construction  

1. Introduction  
   Along with the increase of women activities in public sectors, the study on women and politics is also getting more important (Darcy, 1996; Mar’iyah, 2001; Ward et.al., 1994, Orazem, 1998; Surbakti, 1993; Millets, 1970). United Nation records that there have been an increase of women’s activities in public sectors everywhere in the world (United Nations, 2000). The increase of women’s activities in public sectors is also followed by the movement of their work field, that was once focused on traditional areas dominated by women’s jobs (servicing types of works such as health service,
communication, education, finance and banking service, personal support, and other servicing jobs) toward administrative and managerial jobs. There has been an increase of women’s sharing in this sector, although the increase is quite low and various in different countries. Women have filled half of administrative and managerial jobs in many countries such as in Australia, Canada, and USA. In countries like Austria, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Finland, South Korea, Mexico, Norwegian, Philippine, Singapore, Switzerland, UK, Uruguay, and Venezuela, women have filled one-third of such job positions (ILO 1996 in Wirth, 1998).

Based on the previous thought mentioned above, this study is conducted by focusing on women’s involvement in politics (power), especially those which have relation with social construction which helps the establishment of woman leaders’ reality.

There are two main reasons why the study is conducted in those focuses. First, although the number of woman leaders in public sector is not significant, however, by looking at the fact that there are more and more women involve in power zone, it can be said that there is a significant social change. Second, many studies on women’s participation – which mostly related with obstacles for women to participate – have been conducted (see for example Wilcox, 1992; Brained, 2000; Ali, 2000; Krebs, 1996; Rajzman and Semynov, 1997; Netziej, 1998; Hertz and Reverby, 1995; Darcy, 1996; Drenta, 1998; Caballe, 1999; Scott, 1996; Partini, 1999).

There are some facts supporting the reasons. In many countries, it is the fact that there are many women who are able to gain power in public sectors – though the number is not significant. For example, in Philippine, the number of woman leaders in government has increased from 26% in 1980 to 30% in 1990. In Hungary, the number of shared position of woman leaders in companies has increased from 16% to 25% in 1980 to 1990 (ILO in Wirth, 1998). In parliament, there have been an increased number of woman proportions as well, although everywhere in the world, the representative of women in parliament is still low. Everywhere in the world, women only hold 11% of the parliament in 1999; though this percentage is 9% higher compared to the condition in 1987. In South Africa, woman proportions in parliament have increased from 1% to 10% due to the establishment of new constitution (United Nations, 2000).

In Indonesia, the number of woman government officers who hold leader positions (echelon I to III) has increased also from 4.18% in 1992 to 4.91% in 1997 (BAKN in Partini, 1999). This phenomenon also occurs in DIY Province, in that the number of women who hold top positions has also increased from 0% in 1994 to 15% in 2007 (data taken from BKD of DIY Province).

Taking the consideration of what have been mentioned above plus taking a look at the reality that more and more women become leaders in public sector (politics) – a position which mostly dominated by men – it is necessary to conduct a study focusing on those women (Abdullah, 1997; Scott, 1996; Cantor and Bernay, 1998). The study can be generated from the question of how the process of social construction of these women’s political reality is; hence they are able to achieve their political reality (holding top positions in government). This is the central question that will be answered through the research in this study.
The research is aimed at obtaining knowledge and understanding – through social construction perspective – on how woman government officers achieve their political reality, that is to become the top leaders (political leaders) in Yogyakarta (DIY) Province. There are some questions derived from those aims: (1) How is their childhood? (2) What are the messages they got from their childhood to empower them to success in the future? (3) what are the stages of their experiences and careers? (4) how do they overcome the obstacle they meet on their way to achieve top position (politics) in the government?

2. Theory/Approach

How is the actual social process that helps to establish women’s political reality? What is meant by women’s political reality is women who are able to achieve top leadership in public arena. Theory (perspective) of social construction from Berger and Luckman (1966) is used as the base in answering the questions in this study. The theory emphasizes that social reality can be formed through three processes, namely externalization, objectification, and internalization.

Based on this perspective, then, woman leaders’ reality is a status which is formed, designed and constructed through those three social processes. The values of primary gender socialized to women in their childhoods become the foundation of their self-competence, which in turn are externalized by choosing a career when they grow up. When their self-competence (self-confidence and power desire) is increased, objectification occurs. They will view their career as objective reality, as if their career were their identity. Likewise, if their self-competence is internalized and is seen as parts of their identity, and is appreciated subjectively, these women then dare to take a risk in overcoming the obstacles in achieving leadership positions. The perspective can be summarized in the following scheme:
In short, the perspective of social construction is based on premise/assumption proposed by Blumer (in Craib, 1994) which stated that there are three premises in viewing individual behavior in social world: (1) that the individual acts toward its social world based on a social meaning which s/he dedicates to the world; (2) that the meaning given comes from the individual interaction with other people in that world; and (3) that particular meaning for particular thing in the world is perfected during the process of the interaction. Therefore, giving meaning is not inherent in act, however, it is considered in social construction.

The research uses the perspective of social construction paradigm because, in short, this perspective gives more values for the variety of act instead of giving odd label for such variety. This perspective gives important points for individual meaning in social world.

Of course, there are other theories that can be used as the base for explaining the questions in this study, considering that there are many schools of thoughts such as functionalism, structuralism, and positivism which give influence on woman study. However, those schools of thoughts, in my opinion, have ‘weaknesses’ in their concepts when it is used as an approach for this study.

3. Method

The research uses qualitative approach. This approach is chosen based on the following consideration: first, qualitative research may give more data about women and reveal much information on these women’s social reality which is hidden, symbolic, kept in the real life, and specific. Second, the approach is in accordance with the purpose of this study that is especially to obtain understanding, and interpreting anything behind an occurrence: the background of one’s thought, and how s/he gives meaning toward what happened.

The subjects of the research are woman government officers who hold top position in management hierarchy of DIY Province. They are the main source of data collection. There are other informants asked to complete the triangulation of data collection. Those informants are people from different background who are relevant for data checking as they are related with the subjects of the study.

Based on secondary data taken from BKD (Badan Kepegawaian Daerah/Regional Employment Board) of DIY Province, it can be known surely that, during the time this research is conducted, there are 4 woman government officers (as listed in the table below) who hold top position (echelon II), and all of those women are used as the subjects of this research.
Table: List of Research Subject Identity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME*</th>
<th>RANK</th>
<th>ECHELON</th>
<th>JOB POSITION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ZARIMAH</td>
<td>Pembina Utama</td>
<td>II a</td>
<td>Head of the Office of Health and Social Welfare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Madya, IV/d</td>
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<tr>
<td>MIENATUN</td>
<td>Pembina Utama</td>
<td>II a</td>
<td>Head of the Office of Manpower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Madya, IV/d</td>
<td></td>
<td>and Transmigration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRININGSIH</td>
<td>Pembina Utama</td>
<td>II a</td>
<td>Head of Bureau of Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Madya, IV/d</td>
<td></td>
<td>and Governance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARYATI</td>
<td>Pembina Utama</td>
<td>II a</td>
<td>Head of the Office of Regional Income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Madya, IV/d</td>
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</table>

Source: Regional Employment Board DIY Province, February 2007
Note: * with the consideration to keep the privacy of these government leaders, the name written in the list are pseudo names.

The main data in this study is taken from the above-mentioned woman government leaders through in-depth interview. It is worth noted, then that the study relies on their statements, in explaining how their process of social construction are, that is to become the top leaders in government offices. The interview is based on the open-ended questions asked in similar ways to all of the subjects. The subjects are also asked to fill the questionnaire about their personal data.

However, as the subjects are the leaders of government offices, their privacy must be taken care seriously, especially when the talks is suggested toward their personal history and characters. This notion has been mentioned to the subjects since the early time of the research, that is during the first interview, by using pseudo names for their names, and whenever the study needs to acknowledge their statement which is related with their policy, they need to be informed and asked for approval.

Based on those considerations, all of the data then is analyzed. The data is shorted out by first transcribing the content and reading them again and again to obtain temporary interpretation, or whatever categories relevant with the focus in this study.

The research setting is in Yogyakarta. The setting is chosen not only because the social phenomenon researched occurs in Yogyakarta, but also because of the two following things. First, Yogyakarta is considered as the starting point of the history of bureaucracy in Indonesia, and becomes the trial place for local government bureaucracy restoration (Kahin, 1970). Second, DIY Province is, on one hand, the reflection of government institution in accordance with the system of modern bureaucracy. On the other hand, it is also an institution which is filled with cultural values of Javanese Kingdom bureaucracy which focuses on feudalistic and patrimonial system.
4. Data

Childhood and the Message Received

Maryati’s Story. Maryati was born in Kroya, July 18\textsuperscript{th} 1944, as the second child of 3 siblings, with one older sister and one younger brother. She was happy living in her family though they led a simple life. Both of her parents and siblings loved her. They also respected whatever she did.

Maryati still remembers that her father and mother told her that having a goal of life for her future is good and correct as long as it is supported by hard work and pray in fulfilling it. She says, “Then, I didn’t have a big goal. My dream was only to graduate from a university, and become a useful person by having my own business and taking care of my children”.

Mienatun’s story. Mienatun was born in Klaten September 20\textsuperscript{th} 1947, as the second child of 4 siblings. Her family lived close to her maternal grandparents’ house. She recounts:

“I was so loved by both of my grandparents, though I was closer to my mother. She always brought cookies for me every afternoon, after coming home from the market. My grandparents also always gave me present. I was the grandchild that was most loved by my grandparent. My mother also often gave me compliments when I was little, and my father always respected whatever I did.”

Young Mienatun was raised in a family who lived peacefully and therefore it gave her the peace feeling. She understood that her father considered her mother as an equal partner, not as the second class – that is the father had more power and had higher position than the mother. Therefore, as a child, Mienatun received a positive message about woman, that in the end helps to shape her positive view toward woman.

Mienatun still remembers, when she was in elementary school, just like other people from Klaten, she did not have a big goal. If it could be said as a goal, it was only to study in Gadjahmada University and lived happily as a wife and mother. She never dreamt of being a government leader as what she achieves now.

Sriningsih’s Story. Sri was born in Ponorogo, one year after Indonesian Independence Day, which is on August 17\textsuperscript{th} 1946, as the first child of 4 siblings, with two brothers and another sister. Her father was a trader and her mother was a descendant of a royal family from Yogyakarta. “Our parents were not rich, but we felt enough, and I could say that we were happy and led a harmonious life,” Sri recounts her childhood. Sri also had good relation with her grandparents, “as I was the first grandchild, I was loved more by my grandparents both my maternal and fraternal grandparents.”

Sri mentions that her father always encouraged his children to have self-confidence as by having it they could do anything. Her father also did not make any
discriminative expectation toward his sons or his daughters. Sri also remembers that her parents told her that she could have a “dream”, eagerness and ambition. But it should be accompanied with hard work, and diligences hence the dream for a better life could be fulfilled. “My father often asked me of what I wanted to be in the future”, she recounts. Her answer was ranged from a vague dream to be ‘a happy person” or to be “a useful person”. “Even if I had had a dream, it was always identical with women’s jobs such as being teacher or nurse”, Sri tries to explain.

**Zarimah’s Story.** This Minangese woman was born in Solok, West Sumatra, at Kubang nan Duo village on June 17th, 1944, as a second child of 4 siblings. She has an older sister and two younger brothers. Her father was an elementary school teacher, while her mother was a housewife, just like other women in Minang. When she was two years old, because her father’s work had moved, the family also moved to Bukittinggi, where both of her maternal and fraternal grandparents lived. “I was good at school, all of the teachers like me”, Zarimah recounts. “I got a perfect score, a hundred, for counting”, she explained her likeness in the subject of counting. She also felt loved and respected by both of her parents and grandparents. From her grandfather, she learnt her religion and how to pray.

Zarimah still remembers that her mother was “a woman behind the husband” in preparing the future of her children. Zarimah recounts that “for me, my mother is an incredible woman. Without my mother’s role, perhaps we – my siblings and I – are nothing. When our father was moved to Riau, and became the headmaster, then our family financial income got better, because my father was paid in Malaysia ringgit.

Young Zarimah did not have big dream either. “I just wanted to study in Java, got married, and became a housewife, just like other Minangese women. Even if I had wanted to work, I would choose to work not far from home, so that I could still take care of my children,” she says. What she knew was that, although as a girl, she could continue her study anywhere and as high as possible, just like as a boy. She could also be anything she wanted to be. However, she did not dream to be a medical doctor.

For Zarimah, being a woman is not an obstacle to have a dream. She also often got empowered messages which strengthen her self-confidence. She received those messages directly from her parents’ advices. She can still rehearse what her parents said “what is matter is that when you take a step, you must work hard and pray to God for the betterment. Then you will get what you want.”

**Career and Experiences**

Zarimah started her career not as an officer in DIY Province, but as a medical doctor in Public Health Service. As a young doctor she did not complain to be stationed in a remote village in Imogiri, Bantul. She was married with a doctor and had a young child when she started her career. Two years later, in 1975, she started her first structured position in echelon V as the head of Public Health Service in a district in Imogiri, Bantul.

In 1982, Zarimah was promoted to a position at echelon IV, as one of Head
Sections in Health Regional Office in DIY Province. In this job position, it can be said that she handled administrative works in her division. Along with this position, she developed eagerness to achieve a higher position. “So that I could do more for other people”, Zarimah says explaining her eagerness.

In 1989, Zarimah was promoted to hold a position of mid management in echelon III as the acting Head of Division in Health Regional Office in DIY Province. Prior to that she was appointed to participate in Sepadya training and accomplished it as one of the best participants. At that point she was at her mid-career. Her position emphasized the improvement of her power. She admits that she was satisfied with that achievement and feels that her effort was worth it. She says, “My resources in working so far were spirit and motivation, spirit and motivation”.

In September 2001, Zarimah was promoted to hold a position in echelon II as the Head of the Office of Health and Social Welfare. At this point she has held a political position in the bureaucracy of DIY Province. Prior to that position, she was an officer in Health Regional Office. Due to the autonomy regulation, Health Regional Office that was once an office belonged to the Central government was liquidated and all of its assets were handed to DIY Province, as it becomes province’s authority to manage its own department offices. Then she was asked to participate in fit and proper test as a candidate of a position in echelon II, and that was how she got her promotion. She says:

“All of the top positions, including the positions in echelon II were rearranged as the result of organization restructure. The names taken as the candidates for those positions were the names of the previous leaders both from the central government offices and from DIY Province offices. My name was one of the names taken from the previous leaders from central government offices. I did not think of going to get the position in echelon II. Therefore, I assumed that my career has ended because I was the head of Health Regional Office and the Office was liquidated. My age was also close to pension age.”

Zarimah now holds a top political position in the bureaucracy of DIY Province. She has had her career for more than 25 years. When she was inaugurated in 2001 she was 57 years old. She realizes now that her position now is her highest career due to her age which is close to the pension age and also due to her highest employment rank as she is now as Pembina Utama Madya (IV/D). She illustrates her position now that, “I have used half of my life to serve the government and the society. By being the Head of the Office, I am able to do anything I think was right within my responsibility. All are ended in the top position of my career and I will be retired.”

Maryati has different story. She was graduated from Civil Engineering of Gadjahmada University. She started her career by applying for a job in DIY Province. During the interview, she was interviewed carefully, “The designs that I made during my study were also checked and I was given critical questions,” she recounts. In 1972, she was accepted as an employee in DIY Province. As a young engineer she was happy
enough to be positioned as an administrative staff of PU (General Construction) office, and not in construction section which should be more appropriate with her field. Three years later, she was promoted as the Head of Financial Sub-section, a position in echelon IV.

Maryati admit that she was satisfied enough with her early career, though she said that, “but if I can have a choice, I would prefer to work in ‘general’ section, rather than in financial section which demands high carefulness”. Then, as the time passed, Maryati developed eagerness to achieve a higher position which led to more power, if there is an opportunity, without denying her “role” as woman.

In 1979, Maryati was promoted to hold a position in echelon III, as the Head of Administrative Section in PU Department of DIY Province. She was 35 years old, and was one of the youngest mid management personnel in DIY Province. Five years later, in 1985, she held a new position as the Head of Sub-department of Karya Cipta, after she had finished her Sepadya training and received the predicate of the best participants. In 1989, she held a new position as the Head of Regional Development Bureau, though still in the same echelon. At this point she considered her career seriously and aimed at higher position.

In 1993, Maryati is promoted as the Head of Mining Department, a position in echelon II. Then, on September 2001, she was horizontally moved as the Head of Regional Income Department. She achieved this position after undergoing a fit and proper test held by Baperjakat (the board for considering position and rank). She now holds the highest (political) position in the bureaucracy of DIY Province, as she is in power to make public policy within the range of her responsibility. She has had her career for more than 25 years.

When she was inaugurated in 2001, Maryati was 57 years. She realizes that it was her highest career, as she was limited by the age of retirement. However, she is not worry too much of that. She says, “Now I am at a senior position. No one could underestimate my ability. I am aware though, that soon I must be ready to lose some of what I have now; power, respect, and leadership. Soon, I will be in line for taking my pension money. But I am ready, my heart is ready”.

Mienatun has a different story. She was graduated from Economic Faculty of Gadjahmada University. She started her career by working in the government office in DIY Province in 1977. As someone with economic degree, she was appointed as an Acting Head of Sud-directorate of Regional Enterprises (echelon V). At that time she has been married and has her first child. She says that, “At that time, the goal of being a mother still dominated my life”. In 1980, she was promoted for various positions in echelon IV; as acting Head of Regional Enterprises Section of Economic Support Bureau of DIY Province, and then as acting Head of Section of Regional Banking Development.

Mienatun enjoyed almost everything she encountered in her work, “Although sometimes I had a guilty feeling as a young working mother”. She explains, “At that time my child was only 2 years old. It was obvious that half of my thought was centered at home. But that should not be the reason for me to reject a promotion, as long as I could anticipate my limitedness.”
In 1988, Mienatun was promoted to a mid-management position, in echelon III, as Head of Regional Economic Infrastructure Bureau. This made her power stronger. She was at the middle stage of her career. In 1994, then she became the Head of Economic Support Bureau. She admitted that she was more motivated to work. She says, “Frankly speaking, it was fun, to start as an administrative staff who oriented her work to make the organization function to become someone who started to be respected by many people”.

In 1997, Mienatun was promoted to a higher position, in echelon II as the Head of Industrial Department. She had achieved her top political position in the bureaucracy of DIY Province, because she had a privilege to establish public policy within the range of her responsibility. Then in September 2001, she was horizontally moved to hold a position as the Head of Manpower and Transmigration Department, after she underwent fit and proper test previously. Up to that point, she has had her career for more than 25 years and she holds the highest rank as Pembina Utama Madya (IV/D). “When I was inaugurated in 2001, I was 55 years old, so the inauguration served as well as a reminder for me that I had reached my highest position and that I was closed to be retired”, said Mienatun. She says that she has prepared to be retired. She explains, “I think one should start preparing for his/her retirement when s/he is 40 years old, long before the actual pension age comes. I myself has prepared for my retirement since a long time ago, hence I am not so worried about it”.

Sriningsih has different story. She holds a degree in Economic Company. She started her career when she was accepted as a government officer in DIY Province in 1980. At that time she has been married and has a child. As someone with economic degree, she was positioned as a staff in Financial Bureau. She says, “The position was much related with my field”. Two years later, she was appointed to have a position in echelon V, as the acting Head of Sub-section of Routine APBD Calculation of Financial Bureau. Then she was promoted to hold a position in echelon IV as an acting Head of Budgeting Division of Financial Bureau. Then in 1991, she was promoted to a position of the Head of Treasurer Division of Financial Bureau. In this position, her tasks were mostly simple, administrative function based, and she held responsibilities for less than ten people.

Her spirit for working since early on had never been decreased, though she had to manage both her works in the office and her works at home. Sri says, “I wanted to be able to do my works at the office well, at the same time I also wanted to take care of my family. It really depended on how we managed them, as I could not neglect both of them”.

In 1992, after 12 years of working, Sri was promoted to hold a position in echelon III, a position in a mid-management force, as the Head of Division of Administrative Training and Education. She was 44 years old at that time. A year before, she was appointed to participate in Sepadya training and completed it as the best participant. At this point, Sri was in her mid-stage of her career.

During her mid-career, Sri had been moved horizontally twice. First, in 1997, she was appointed as the Head of Division of BKPMKD Authorization of DIY Province. She remembers that there was not much she could do at that time, “The politic situation was getting hot, in Yogya, students demonstrated every day. The New Orde was about to be
crushed. Economic atmosphere was also bad, because those who wanted to make business transactions were still waiting for the situation to get better,” Sri explains her work volume at that time. Second, in 1999, she was trusted to hold a position of the Head of Bureau of Program Organization. Sri says that, “On the first year of my position as the head of bureau, the organization force did not work well. Also the coordination with Bappeda was also bad. It was the time full of pressure, but I was full of enthusiasm as I had an opportunity to fix those problems”.

In September 2001, Sri was promoted to hold a position in echelon II, a top (political) position in the bureaucracy of DIY Province, as the Head of Bureau of Organization and Governance. Prior to that, she was appointed to participate in Spamen training in Jakarta and completed it as one of the 10 best participants. She also underwent fit and proper test as a candidate for holding a position in echelon II. When Sri was inaugurated, she was 56 years old with the employment rank of Pembina Utama Muda (IVC). Then, she had her career for about 25 years. She realizes that now she is in her highest position, but she does not want to lose her commitment and she wants to be able to work well until her retired day comes. To Sri, having highest position in career and then retired is common. She says that, “There is time for everyone to be retired. Therefore, it is not necessary to be depressed because of it. As I am getting older, I am being realistic as my age is really close to the pension age. But I do not want to lose my motivation; I do hope to be able to work effectively until I am retired.”

**Interesting Experience during Career Time**

Maryati shares her interesting experience while she was the leaders of a unit dominated by men. She says:

“As the Head of Mining Department, in some occasions I had a leadership activity of doing observation and exploration in the field. Although I was the leader, I was not always able to ask for a special treatment just because I was a woman. For example, to have a special room. If there was a special room, of course I would get it. But in the field, it would be difficult to have. Therefore, it is common for me to sleep in a barrack or in bunker together with men. It was not really a problem.”

Mienatun had another interesting experience during her career. She remembers how she tried to convince everyone on how important it was for Yogyakarta to have a mall. It happened while she was the Head of Regional Economic Infrastructure Bureau. She describes her experience:

“I ever showed people the new way of thinking, the better one, though perhaps was not the popular one. People were against this, some even had a prejudice. This was a good experience, because I had to ‘be a teacher’ to
those – including my supervisors or legislators – who did not understand the matter clearly. I had to teach them, I had to inspire them with something different, something that would be remembered. For instance, it was necessary to build a mall in Malioboro area, the mall that would be used continuously for economic activity.”

Zarimah had a different experience during her career. This is how she tells the story:

“What I thought was interesting was my experience in convincing the Central Government, through the Minister of Health and Legislators to allocate some part of Special Allocation Fund (DAK) of Health sub-sector for a health program which actually was able to reduce the death rate of pregnant woman. I supervised the program to run well, so that I could feel that as the Head of the Office of Health and Social Welfare, I have done something useful to help other women.”

Sriningsih had different interesting experience during her career in DIY Province. She says:

“I became the ‘judge’ to mediate all of the frictions so that the re-organization process of governance and institution could run well. This included the liquidation of Regional Offices as the consequence of autonomy regulation. Re-organization was just a start. You could imagine, from 58 units – which include bureau, directorate, office, regional office, board, etc – prior to the regulation, became only 28 units. You could count how many people lost their positions. It was incredible, from 58 units to 28. Obviously, the courage to simplify this system should be complimented, because it could reduce the budget for position incentive, and it could fix the system’s weakness due to the many units of organization”.

Bad Experience during the Career

Maryati explains her bad experience or sacrifices she had to make for her success career in the government. This is what she says:

“When I decided to make a career, almost thirty years ago, I had always wanted to succeed in my workplace, and at the same time succeed in forming an ideal family. We – my husband and I – both are busy. My husband was a

24 The experience was admitted as an interesting one, though it was also her bad experience during her career in the government. The case made her get the mocking title of “MM” (Malioboro Mall) and almost put her in prison.
specialized medical doctor. Yet, I had to accept the fact; there were times when our family life was not harmonious. Those years were the times that really stressed me out. We stayed in our marriage, but there was a crisis, our love was almost gone, we did not feel close anymore. After struggling for quite some time, we finally were able to redefine our relationship.”

Mienatun had a different story. For her, the worst experience during her career was the Malioboro Mall project. She says:

“I stayed to my plan to discuss the importance of having Mall in Yogyakarta. Before the project was decided, we had seminar, study, and dialog about the project with various audiences including other related institutions and legislators. The contract for the project was for 25 years with the investors through BOT system. Hence the regional government did not need to spend money for the project. After 25 years, the Malioboro Mall will be owned by the regional government.”

To make the story short, then the construction of the mall was questioned. The construction was considered full of crime. “The hot ball” was continued to be discussed and was getting bigger and therefore the construction of the mall became a controversy. The legislators demanded the case to be investigated. The House of Representative also made team to investigate it. As the officer who was responsible for the project, I had to deal with the problem with the attorney for about a year. To make things worse, the issue went beyond the court wall. By the journalists I was given a mocking title of “MM” (“Malioboro Mall”). I was accused for corruption. This is what she says:

“But I was grateful to God, Allah SWT that we all got away from all of those difficult situations. The problem then was solved completely. The judge, both in regional and central level set me free from all of the accusation. Also the Supreme Court won my case with a consideration that there was nothing that I did considered as violating the appropriateness, and carefulness in managing Malioboro Project Mall. All that I did, including doing what was asked by my supervisor was all parallel with the guideline of good governance.”

Sriningsih tells a different story. For her, the worst experience was when she had to make a choice between career or taking care of her sick child. She illustrates:

“What I felt worst in doing my career was when I had to have a work or training at different city, while at the same time my child was sick, especially being hospitalized. Which one should I handle first? My sick child or my
career? For me as a mother, those were the most difficult decisions I had to make, dilemmatic, stressful, and tiring.”

Obstacles and Ways to Overcome Obstacles

During a separate interview with the subjects of this study, they were stunned when I gave them questions, “how did you develop your self-confidence in order to overcome the obstacles in your effort to achieve the powerful position in the government?” They all had the same answer, they did not understand what I meant by ‘obstacle’. When I explained that what is meant by obstacle was anything that was considered difficult for women to achieve a political position in the government. They were all questioning this question.

According to them, “the obstacle is when there is a regulation stating than woman may not have a political position in the government”. Hence there was no obstacle. But when the question was meant for “hidden obstacle”, something that perhaps was not obvious but may have interfered their effort in achieving a position in the government, they generally admitted that such obstacle existed but they did not really think of it as a serious obstacle. The hidden obstacle referred more on gender role or being sexist. The following are their illustrations:

“I had an experience that happened when I was still a junior employee. I often felt that my supervisors were doubtful in giving me a difficult task on the field. Perhaps, they worried that I would ask for a special treatment because I am a woman. These things indeed could be an obstacle in developing our career.” (Maryati)

“Sometimes I feel upset with gender’s role issue reflected on the common thing such as an assumption that all of political position holders must be men. Up to now, I often receive an invitation addressed to Mr. instead of to Ms. Likewise, when I have to give a speech; the master of ceremony often addresses me with Mr. or Sir unconsciously.” (Zarimah)

“In my opinion, the fact that there are more men hold political positions – to be in a position to make decision – is sexism case. Those who are responsible in selecting candidates for a position are mostly men, therefore if there is a woman candidate who has the same capability with a man, and then it is the man who will be chosen to hold that position. At that time, when I was chosen to hold such position, people were saying behind my back, “How could it be, the one who holds such position has always been a man, why now a woman can be the head of the bureau.” (Sriningsih)

“I believe sexism has already rooted in our culture. As a proof, when I was
inaugurated as the Head of Regional Office, and the ex-Head of the Regional Office was not there, I heard clearly men at the back saying loudly, “Wow, it is easy to be a Head of Regional Office, I can be that as well.” (Mienatun)

**The Courage to Take a Risk**

There is a perception that to be able to hold a top (political) position in government it is necessary to have courage to take risk. When the women in this study were asked about that perception all of them admit that the perception is true. The following is their explanation:

“I have met several people, most of them are women, who have all of the requirements to get a public position in the government, but they do not have courage to take risk. That makes me feel sad. In fact, there is always risk in everything – whether we are willing to take an action or not. For instance, even when you just want to jog in the morning for your health, there is a risk that you might be hit by motorcycle. In my opinion, take the risk and we will move forward, or we stop. That’s the only choice we have, right?” (Sriningsih)

“I think there are many people who think that women are not proper to hold important position in the government. Even some women who are working on their career also feel that they are not proper for important positions in the government. In that context, I think if the woman is not sure that she can be tough, and does not have any courage to take risk, she will not be able to get any position in the government.” (Mienatun)

“The process in re-organizing the organization was indeed caused a great distress. No matter how, this new organization (the Office of Health and Social Welfare) does not mean just as the ex- Social Regional Offices. Frankly speaking, I am tired of being criticized, especially physically I am not “native” from DIY Province, but I am from the Regional Office of Central Government. But I am not afraid, I have made a decision to overcome all of the problems, whatever the risk is, I will take care of it.” (Zarimah)

“It is true that everyone has risk in their job, in my case, as the Head of the Office of Regional Income; I have taken a big risk because every policy I make has a wide implication for public. I have decided to take those risks, it has become my responsibility as I am the one who holds a position orienting for regional income target.” (Maryati)
5. Discussion

Now, we understand that all of the subjects in this research grew up in the atmosphere of happy childhood life; none of them implied a bad child bearing. All of them felt that they received good and positive responds, as children, they felt loved and respected by everyone who was important and close to them. They understood that being a woman is not an obstacle. Their parents treated them as someone who could be anything they wanted as long as they were willing to work hard to achieve it. They were also raised in the family whose mothers were considered as partners by their father, not in the family where the father felt more power and higher position than the mother. This condition is in line with what Kelly and Boutilier said (1978), that the key for women’s participation in public field (political) is that their mother was seen to have equal status with the man in the family structure.

Having such fact, without doubt, I can say that growing up in such atmosphere gave them a good memory or experience hence they can develop positive self-image. They have heard the message of acceptance over and over; hence it becomes part of their reflective self-concept (‘I’). Child’s interpretation toward this acceptance is that she is a good child, she has the right to have a goal/dream, she can do her role, and she is accepted by her parents as she is. Those interpretations help shape the child self-confidence. In this case, the family is used by the child as their reflection (Burns, 1993). From this internal acceptance, a child can develop a secured feeling that will give her courage to take risks and play important role in her metamorphose to be an adult. As an adult, this self-confidence is externalized in their behavior in choosing a career, in addition to being a wife and a mother.

It is obvious that the women in this study started their career after they got married and had a child. In the early stage of their career, the goal for being a good mother still dominated their lives. Perhaps, the most valuable lesson that can be learnt from their early stage of career is that they did not deny their basic role as women, with the hope of being able to get to higher position in their career. As young mother who entered public field while their first child was still a little child, they always tried to balance their professional tasks with their domestic tasks. They enjoyed transitional life style, from traditional to non-traditional.

As of their career, they were then promoted to a higher position, a position in mid management stage. According to Schein (1988), they were in the middle stage of their career, and they decided to get involve wholeheartedly in their jobs.

With that decision, what happened within the subjects in this study was objectification, in which they received greater self-confidence because their self-competence was also getting greater, and they formalized this self-competence as objective social value. They had been tested through hard and tiring condition, and they had gone through it well. They became objective and found their real identity; that was the right to do anything they dreamt of. They would pursue their career advancement. They would not lose their interest to hold a position. At this point I remember Levinson
(1988)'s career evolution argument which says that if they feel enthusiastic in their mid-career, and therefore they can avoid “middle age crisis”, for most people, the mid-career stage is the moment to make decision of what to do for their career.

It was not surprising, therefore, that they had big opportunity to move forward and had a big potential career promotion. Then they were promoted to hold a top position (political) in the hierarchy of government organization.

However, although the data shows a good picture of accomplishment, we have to admit that those impressive career stages were not something that could be obtained without obstacles – that there was always positive experience without any negative experience. They could not avoid tragedy as well. The most common thing was that they needed more chances to enjoy their lives; one of the case, even, she was about to be put in prison.

Nevertheless, they were able to change those sad experiences – intrigue in the work, personal and family problems – into valuable experiences. They were able to do that because they had reflection experience that convinced them that their self-competence had become part of their being. Therefore, when there were pressures from their career, pressures that made them upset and afraid – they were able to ask for a help from their impressive experiences, which stayed in their memory. What happened at this point was internalization – the feeling of being a competent person is realized again – and such feeling supported them in their difficult time, motivated their courage to focus more on searching for opportunities instead of focusing on the obstacles. These what made them able to achieve the top position, which was mostly dominated by men.

Talking about goal in life, it was a fact that during their children, these women did not have big dream as what boys usually had. This phenomenon emphasized that women seldom spoke out their dream of what they would want to be in the future. Socially and culturally, it is not difficult to understand why women seldom dream of something big in the future – or even have no dream at all.

Luckily, however, the women in this study are able to live in two paths of goals, which are accepted by the society, that is to become a mother and raise a family (traditional dream), and also to pursue their goal as a career women (non-traditional dream). The women in this study consider that being a mother is more important – they took this role earlier – and keep their dream in doing the career role later, a few years after. Then, when the obligation for the family has changed or less demanding, they put their ambition first.

As of being loved and respected, the subjects of this study not only felt loved and respected through words, but also through physical commodity. They would carry the feeling of being loved anywhere they went when they grew up. This is in line with Leman (1989)'s argument which shows that this kind of love create a feeling of being loved in a child, which in turn, when she grows up, she will have a courage to take risk and take the responsible of it.

Another empowering message such as “You can be anything you want” that was received by these women during their childhood, means that even a girl can get anything they have planned for. During their childhood, they were also treated equally as their
other siblings, including by their brothers, as their parents did not make their brother feel special or better than them (the women). Jordan and Surrey (1968) emphasize that the girl will have self-confidence, be tough, and have courage to take risk because their thoughts are not constructed to realize that there is dissimilarity between them and the boys.

6. Conclusion

From the data and discussion that are relevant with the research questions and the purpose in this study, the answers of the questions can be drawn as follows:

First, career construction for women happens due to a range of influences given by people close to them during their childhood. These influences develop their self-confidence, and when they grow up, they externalize those influences by choosing a career, in addition to becoming a wife and a mother.

Second, women can achieve a leadership position, when throughout their long career lives – which is not always easy and no obstacle – they are able to objectify the values of their self-competence and self-confidence. Those values become their objective behavior, which give them enthusiasm in pursuing the improvement of their career, after they come to the mid-stage of their career. They also realize again (internalization) that they do have their self-confident and self-competence, which are getting stronger. This internalization makes them dare to compete, and have the courage to take risk to pursue their career up to the highest position.

Third, in general they admit that there is “hidden obstacle” that hinders their efforts in achieving the top position. Those obstacles, such as gender and sexism are considered as “small barrier” that can be solved, with the support of their husband and their courage to take risk.

Based on those three answers, the study concludes that women who hold top (political) position are actually the reality constructed by society. The social construction involves three processes, namely externalization, objectification, and internalization.

References


New Telecommunication Era in Indonesia: from Monopoly to Competition

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Abstract
Globalisation has influenced and promoted the policy regulations, included the management of telecommunication business in Indonesia. The existence of telecommunication and its role in the society has become more remarkable. It is obvious that in Indonesia, telecommunication business has achieved a significant progress. Today, information from different country can be accessed quickly, accurately, and in real time. This shows the remarkable progress of the development in telecommunication technology yet, on the other hand, the development of telecommunication technology has influenced the development of other sectors. Indonesia has a great need for telecommunication development, as the function of telecommunication has shifted from being infrastructure into something much more important. The shifting of telecommunication function is the realization of its own potential. It is also in line with what has been ruled out internationally by ITU (International Telecommunication Union) and WTO (World Trade Organisation). As Indonesia is a member of these international boards, Indonesia is bounded to the international rules and policies in telecommunication. Through the deregulation in telecommunication sector, there had been a basic change from monopoly business to competition business. In addition, there is also a policy to let foreign investors to invest in telecommunication sector. Government control is absolutely important in this area so that telecommunication business is oriented to our national need as mentioned in political law of Article 33 of 1945 Constitution.

Key words: telecommunication, monopoly, competition.

Introduction
One of human basic needs is to communicate in whatever means. Telecommunication is a communication means in modern society which has better performance compared to other communication means, because telecommunication has the ability to spread information quickly, accurately, and in real time. Furthermore, it can go through beyond countries borders. In globalisation era, telecommunication has strategic and important role in our lives. Through telecommunication, we establish long distance information exchange orally (through telephone, intercom, radio), or writtenly
(telegram, telex, fax), or audio visually (television). The development of 3C (computer, communication, control) as telecommunication means has become more sophisticated. Those condition becomes feasible due to the phenomenon of sinergetic, that is the interaction among the three technologies mentioned above (Dedi Supriadi, 1996:7). In this decade, a new device of modern technology has been introduced and developed. This new technology integrates telecommunication technology which involves voice, data, graphic, and motion at the same time which is known as Integrated Service Digital Network (ISDN).

In many countries, there have been some basic structural changes in telecommunication management policy. This is also being the case in Indonesia, that is by conducting deregulation in telecommunication which impact among other, is the involvement of private institutions in telecommunication business. The reason for this is that telecommunication is a promising business which may result in significant profit.

In World Telecommunication Development (WTD) Report 2002, ITU (International Telecommunication Union) describes the present telecommunication sector within four key words: "private", "competitive", "mobile", and "global". This means that anywhere in the world, telecommunication has become more privatized, more open toward competition, more mobile, and more globalized both for its operation and regulations, as well as for its service.

The two aspects to be considered in this paper are the formulation of "private" and "competitive". Practically, these two aspects are the main trigger of reformation in telecommunication business anywhere in the world, including in Indonesia. All governments of almost all of the members of ITU has changed their paradigms in managing telecommunication business, from monopolystic approach to market-based approach. By 2002, more than half of countries in the world has privatized its telecommunication sector by selling part of its stocks or even selling all of its incumbent operators’ stocks to private sectors. Taking from revenue point of view, incumbent operators’ stocks owned by private sectors has encompassed more than 85% of world telecommunication market. Meanwhile, incumbent operators owned by the government only take control of 2% of the whole market.

The same phenomenon also happens to end the monopoly and to open the world market for competition. By 2004, for instance, about 50% of all of the member countries of ITU has opened its local connection service for competition. For long distance connection (SLJJ) and international connection (SLIJ), however, only 40% of ITU members open their service for competition. Yet, a lot more ITU members open competition for cellular phone and internet service which comprises 80% and 90% respectively (WTD, 2002).

From monopoly to Competition

Indonesia has performed an appropriate anticipation for such tendency in telecommunication business by constructing telecommunication network which has wider
coverage within various service operators. Therefore, there has been an impressive development of telecommunication means in each year, both quantitatively (coverage, accessibility, and capacity) and qualitatively (technology advancement, efficiency, and service quality). However, along with all of those improvements, there has been an increased demand from the telecommunication users towards quantity, quality, and also various services given by government and private operators. Within the last few years, people demand has shifted from caring for the quantity to caring for the quality.

The change in the management of telecommunication business was started by the establishment of Act No 3 of 1989 about Telecommunication. This act was the replacement of Act No. 5 of 1964. Based on this Act, all of telecommunication management was monopoly based, that was managed by the government through its state enterprises; PT Telkom and PT Indosat. With the Act No. 3 of 1989, government has made a new policy to give chances for private institutions to cooperate with PT Telkom and PT Indosat in managing telecommunication business. There has been new phenomenon in this type of cooperation as seen in the permission granted by the government to PT Satelindo as International telecommunication providers, and to PT Ratelindo as the local radio telecommunication operators, as well as to other telecommunication operators such as public radio call operators, telecommunication stalls, and cellular telecommunication operators (STBS), such as PT Telkomsel, PT Excelcomindo, PT Satelindo, PT Bakrie Telecom, and PT Lippo Telecom.

The management of telecommunication based on Act No. 3 of 1989 within the last 10 years, is proven as no longer able to keep up with the demand and the development of telecommunication technology, therefore, the act is also replaced by Act No. 36 of 1999 about Telecommunication.

The followings are some causes that encourage the establishment of 1999 telecommunication deregulation (Blueprint, Indonesia Telecommunication, 1999:5):

1. Global environment change and the development in telecommunication technology which happens very fast has encouraged the basic change in establishing new telecommunication setting and point of view change in the utilization of technology, which include telecommunication convergence with the information technology and broadcasting technology.

2. Adjustment in national telecommunication management is a must considering that there has been a great increase of private competitions in fulfilling the society needs.

3. The development of international telecommunication technology which is followed by its increased roles as one of trade commodities – which has high commercial values – has encouraged the establishment of multilateral agreement.

The change in telecommunication management involves the aspect of fundamental change. According to Field and Kurt Lewin (in Rhenald Kasali, 2005: 98), a change may happen as the result of pressures to an organization, individu, or group.

The change in telecommunication technology which involves the privatization and “fragmentation” of monopoly, surely causes a consequence in government role,
which was once as the main operator in telecommunication service, now has changed as a referee which is hoped to be able to facilitate and give fair conduct toward all telecommunication operators within telecommunication industry both for the state entreprises (BUMN) and private companies (BUMS). With this relation, the government is obliged to guarantee the establishment of healthy competition, no discrimination, and it must support the market as well. Besides, the government also becomes the protector of public need in related with telecommunication service.

Based on those reasons, almost all of ITU members including Indonesia, are urged to form an independent regulation board which is separated from telecommunication operators. This board is hoped to be able to guarantee the establishment of healthy and conducive competition within telecommunication industry; to prevent the practice of anti-competition from “incumbent operator”, to grant permission to manage telecommunication business for a new operator; and from the conducive market condition it is hoped that the board will be able to bring as much advantages as possible for public needs.

The three phenomena – privatization, monopoly fragmentation, and the formation of independent regulation board – are the foundation of reformation in global telecommunication sector. At present, almost all countries in the world accelerate reform their telecommunication sector by focusing on those three aspects. It is true that the success is still difficult to predict, but it is hoped that global telecommunication sector will be more dominated by private companies’ management; that its market will be more competitive and opened for any operators. In order to have a fair, credible, and transparent regulation the government must take its role as regulator only and no longer as operator.

The basic question is then, why there has been a change in the structure of telecommunication management? To understand the causes, some assumptions behind the causes can be argued as follows:

First, it is a fact that telecommunication service fully managed by the government does not always give good contribution. There has been enough proof showing that liberated market initiates more positive effects such as the market becomes more developed, there is a faster innovation in technology and service, and the service to the public is getting better as well.

The experiences from almost all of countries of ITU members who conduct telecommunication liberated market shows that it brings great advantages not only for the customers but also for the telecommunication operators. In those countries, competition has proven to be able to give more various telecommunication operators, wider coverage of service, better quality of service, and cheaper prices.

Natural competition will encourage the incumbent operator (in this case is PT Telkom) to continuously improve its efficiency, product innovation, and finally improve its service to their customers. Generating a good competition which is followed by a correct regulation has guaranteed the establishment of what is called by ITU members as “universal access”, that is the availability of home based telecommunication service.

Cellular telecommunication operators (STBS) is a clear evident of how an
appropriate change in the structure of telecommunication management has resulted in great advantages. Since the beginning, STBS service is a telecommunication segment which market has been liberalized: it is open for competition, open for privatization, and it also lets foreign company to invest. The combination of these three steps that finally creates conducive business condition which enable this sector to undergo revolution development (WTD, 1999).

The competition in STBS brings positive impact, such as the more affordable price, and the development of service innovation from SMS (Short Message Service), game, music, handset camera, until MMS (Multimedia Message Service). The innovation which results in the new products and features in the end is able to enhance the demand for such services, hence it will make the market bigger.

Standard for service and customer satisfaction also improve due to competition. In fact it has outgrown the monopoly fixed telephone service. Besides, STBS service is able to achieve the "universal access/service" mission as it can reach the society with lower income through its pre-paid service and cheap SMS service.

Second, due to the limited financial condition, the government has political will to obtain private capital that is used to develop and to upgrade the infrastructure of telecommunication network as well as to develop new services. In this case, the main mission is to improve the telecommunication service both quantitatively (the number of connected telephone lines and its coverage) and qualitatively (its reliability, speed, product and feature variety, etc.).

Inviting private capital through privatization or other forms of strategic cooperation has become an interesting choice taken by the government. Based on the survey done by Booz Alien & Hamilton and the World Bank, within 1995 – 2001 there is 30 privatization occurred in the whole world and has resulted in $150 billion (Peter S. Adam, 2001).

Third, two new technologies which revolutionized telecommunication service, has developed fast; those are internet and mobile/wireless technology. Since their 'birth', these two services have been especially designed so that its market will not be distorted or even dominated by the incumbent operator. Based on ITU data, by 2003, more than 80% of ITU members have liberalized their internet and wireless service market. In 1999, more than 67% of global cellular market and 72% of global internet market have been opened for competition (WTD, 1999).

Fourth, there has been a great development in the international trading for telecommunication service. Likewise, the multilateral organizations such as International Telecommunication Union (ITU), World Bank, World Trade Organization (WTO), Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) are getting stronger in encouraging the liberalisation of telecommunication market in the whole world.

The conducive market structure generates fantastic result, even a revolution one, both in its service coverage and its service quality. In 1991, less than 1% of the world population had an access to cellular telephone, and less than one third of the countries in the world had cellular telephone network. However, ten years later, more than 90% of countries in the world have cellular telephone network, one out of six people in the world
has cellular telephone, and more than 100 countries have cellular telephone customers, which outgrows the number of customers for fixed telephone.

Related to this, it is important to notice that Indonesia as one of WTO members has signed in General Agreement on Trade and Service (GATS). Therefore, Indonesia is bound to the rules and regulations stated in GATS. Some of the new rules related with the issue of deregulation and liberalisation in telecommunication business (Dedi Supriyadi, 1996:94) are:

(1) Transparency Principle, that is all countries signed the agreement are obliged to announce publicly all of the policy and regulation in telecommunication sector.

(2) All countries signed the agreement must give fair/same treatment to all of trading partners in liberalized service sector.

(3) There must be a guarantee that the monopoly holder in a service sector (for example, based on Act No. 3 of 1989, PT Telkom and PT Indosat are monopoly holders in the management of basic telecommunication) will not develop any anti-competitive policy in a competitive sector such as non-basic telecommunication service.

(4) The price for telecommunication service must be based on cost-oriented pricing.

(5) There must be a guarantee to be able to rent domestic and international lines; there should also be a freedom to connect those lines to public telecommunication network and other terminals/CPE (Customer Premise Equipment) intended by the customer, without any restriction – a practice that is not allowed to do in Indonesia as well as in many other countries.

(6) There should be a guarantee to use telecommunication network for inter-companies communication, both within a country or among countries, and to access foreign database.

The explanation of Act No. 36 of 1999 about telecommunication among others emphasizes that global environment change and the fast development of telecommunication technology has encouraged the establishment of fundamental change, generated a new telecommunication environment, and perspective change in managing telecommunication, which includes the results of convergence with information technology and broadcasting. Therefore, it is considered important to reorganize the management of national telecommunication.

The adjustment in the management of national telecommunication has become a basic need, considering the private sectors’ increased ability in managing telecommunication business, the mastery of telecommunication technology, and the competitiveness in fulfilling the society needs.

It is important to put forward that in order to adjust with the global environment change and to fulfill society needs of telecommunication service, a great amount of investment is needed, both from local and foreign investors, because the government financial ability is limited. The policy to invite investors in telecommunication industry and the increased role of private companies in telecommunication management cause a
shift in interpreting the basic meaning of Article 33 of 1945 Constitution, which states:

"Bumi air dan kekayaan alam yang terkandung di dalamnya dikuasai oleh negara dan dimanfaatkan untuk sebesar-besar kepentingan rakyat banyak. Demikian pula mengenai cabang-cabang produksi yang menguasai hajat hidup orang banyak dikuasai oleh negara untuk sebesar-besar kepentingan rakyat banyak". (earth, water, and its natural resources are owned by the government and utilized at its best for the people needs. So as the other productions which take hold of people’s lives. They are owned by the government and utilized at its best for the people needs)

Telecommunication, as meant by Act No.36 of 1999 about telecommunication, is one of the important productions which is owned by the government.

In this case, it is important to emphasize that at first, telecommunication management was considered as a service which takes hold of people’s lives, is vital and strategic, and uses limited natural sources owned by the government through its state enterprise (BUMN). Such perspective now has changed. At present, telecommunication has become a trade commodity, which is surely related to the aspects of customer protection and business competition. In Indonesia, business competition law (Rachmadi Usman, 2004 : 10), or whatever names it has, such as Antitrust Law (Amerika Serikat), or Antimonopoly Law (Dokusen Kinshibo - Jepang), Restrictive Trade Practices Law (Australia), or Competitive Law (Uni Eropa) is part of economy law. The basic policy for national economy politic must be refered to 1945 Constitution. Article 33 of 1945 Constitution clearly mentions that national economy system must be built based on the philosophy of democratic economy in the form of people-based economy. Article 33 verse (1) of 1945 Constitution states that "perekonomian disusun sebagai usaha bersama berdasar atas asas kekeluargaan" (the economy system is constituted as a communal business based on familial principles).

The term ‘familial” is often interpreted as anti-competition. Though actually the essence of Article 33 is that Indonesia economy system is oriented on people-based economy. This is the constitutional juridical realization of Preamble of 1945 Constitution, that is establishing social welfare for all people in Indonesia (Chatamarrasjid, 2000 : 113).

In addition, the statement of ”the economy system is constituted” on Article 33 directly implies that it is necessary to conduct restructuration and reformation in economy system. The mechanism for doing that is by managing the economy through democratic economy. Economy restructuration is needed to establish economic fairness or economic equality, to avoid economic polarisation (Sri Edi Swasono, 2006). Likewise, the phrase "is constituted” in Article 33 is an imperative, hence, the economy system is not self constituted by the available economic powers, or by the power of free market. The phrase "is constituted” implies that there is an effort to structurally build the economy through a real action and it becomes the government’s duty to accomplish it.

Therefore, the government has duty and obligation to carry out the principles stated in Article 33 verse (1) of 1945 Constitution with the base of democratic economy.
It is necessary to underline that to further carry out the principles stated in Article 33 verse (1) of 1945 Constitution, a range of political policies are needed. The policies are in the form of regulations or Acts to support national economic activities, especially in the era of free market. In this case, the Acts have double functions, (Satjipto Rahardjo, 1977: 289) as a tool for "social control" and also for "social engineering" within national economy structure.

The private companies are given more opportunities to take roles in telecommunication business in the hope to increase tele-density, accessibility, and to improve quality service to the society. Besides, the maturity of telecommunication industry in Indonesia in facing the pressure of global market, and its readiness to face competition are two important factors in deciding the given opportunity for the private companies. These considerations are relevant if they are related with Indonesia government’s position in World Trade Organization which is realized in the document of "Schedule of Commitment". All telecommunication services which is opened for foreign investors must be stated in this document along with the schedules for the investments. Nevertheless, the opportunity for managing telecommunication must be given proportionally, it should not only be given to those who hold strong capital, but it should also be given to cooperation, small enterprises, or regional-owned enterprises (BUMD).

Furthermore, there is a meaning shift in the interpretation of the phrase of "owned by the government". At first, it was meant as owned and ran by the government. The present condition, however, the government only manages it. Besides, the government also lets the dominant foreign investors to invest in telecommunication business in Indonesia by purchasing their stocks, and especially also by direct placement. Such policy clearly does not conform with what is meant by Article 33 1945 Constitution. A clear explanation of such unconformity can be seen through the following data:

2009 data of telecommunication stock holders (Kompas 26 Mei 2011) for fixed telephone service is 51% owned by Indonesia government (PT Telkom) and 59% owned by public. For cellular telephone service (STBS), the data are as follows: PT. Telkomsel (65% is owned by PT. Telkom, 35% is owned by Sigtel mobile); PT. Indosat Q Tel Asia (65% is owned by Qatar, 15,33% is owned by public, and 14,29% is owned by Indonesia government); Skagen As Entities (5, 38% is owned by Norwegia, 66,7% is owned by PT XL Axiata Indocel Holding Sdn Bhd (Malaysia), 20% is owned by Publik); PT Natrindo (Axis) (80,1% is owned by Saudi Telkom Company, 14,9% is owned by Maxis (Malaysia), 5% is owned by Indonesia local companies); PT Hutchison (60% is owned by Hutchison whamooa (Hongkong), 40% is owned by Charoen Polephand Group Indonesia)

As the foreign capital invested is dominant, it is necessary to have a policy and restructuration in the regulation for managing telecommunication business. In this case, the policy should be in favor of national needs, thus, it will reflect the reliability of telecommunication sector which is in line with political law of Article 33 1945 Constitution.
Conclusion

So far, the management of telecommunication in Indonesia has been conducted based on the Act No. 5 of 1964 which is called a monopoly era. This is due to fact that telecommunication business is only managed by state enterprises that is PT Telkom and PT Indosat. This regime has run for 43 years (since 1945 until 1988) and is now replaced by a market-based system under Act No 3 of 1989 and Act no 36, 1999. The new regime has character of competition. The transition process from monopoly system to competitive system requires political law in the form of regulation made by the government. This regulations are important to make the transition process effective, to prevent the market failure, and to improve the quality of service.

By the establishment of telecommunication competition (multioperator) policy as it is meant in Act No. 36 of 1999 about Telecommunication, it is important to keep the implementation based on Article 33 of 1945 Constitution to be used for benefiting the people. in this connection, the telecommunication business must be able to be accessed by the people as the equal and with cheap tariff. Therefore, it need to strengthened regulation and the role of the government encouraged the growth of the telecommunications business and the creation of fair competition.

References


Buku Blue Print Indonesia Telecommunication Ditjen Postel, Cetak Biru Kebijakan Telekomunikasi Indonesia, 1999.

Active Learning and Student-Faculty Interaction: The Case of Malaysia and the United Arab Emirates

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Abstract

To what extent do students experience active and collaborative learning? To what extent is the student-faculty interaction? Are there any significant differences in terms of active learning and student-faculty interaction across gender, degree program, and the estimated students’ Cumulative Grade Point Average (CGPA)? These are questions examined in two higher education institutions in Malaysia and the United Arab Emirates. Findings from the study help to explore and better understand the process of teaching and learning in general. Specifically, the findings of this study can serve as a useful assessment instrument for planning a quality, integrated and effective curriculum for the undergraduate educational experience. The study employed a survey method, whereby questionnaires were self-administered to the respondents. Interesting findings are presented, and recommendations are offered in the light of student engagement in the context of higher education.

Keywords: active learning, student-faculty interaction, effective educational practice

Introduction

This study examines the extent of active learning and student-faculty interaction at the higher learning institutions of Malaysia (Universiti Utara Malaysia, known as UUM) and the United Arab Emirates (Ajman University of Science and Technology, known as AUST). The study is part of a sabbatical research report which looks at the five benchmarks of effective educational practice as outlined by the National Survey of Student Engagement (NSSE, 2001). These benchmarks are: 1) level of academic challenge; 2) active and collaborative learning; 3) student-faculty interaction; 4) enriching educational experiences; and 5) supportive campus environment. The NSSE (2001) refers to the above combination of these benchmarks as “student engagement.”

Findings from this study help to explore and better understand the process of teaching and learning in general. Specifically, the findings of this study serve as a useful assessment instrument for one dimension of the undergraduate educational experience. In other words, "it serves as a tool to improve the undergraduate education by creating pathways to engagement that are clearly marked so that students can easily find their way
to become involved in purposeful activities" (NSSE, 2004). In addition, findings from the study also help to promote and enhance the quality of the education program offered by the institutions. The insights gained in the study help to streamline the curriculum of the program as a whole in meeting standards for accreditations and benchmarks.

**Review of the Literature**

According to Leithwood and Jantzi (2000), student engagement has both behavioural and affective components. The behavioural component refers to the activities that student participates, both inside and outside the classroom while the affective component is the degree to which students identify with the institution and feel they belong. Alvarez (2002) believed that if students are not engaged in work at hand, there is little learning that is taking place. Alvarez stresses that engagement should not be equated with busyness; students who are engaged have a personal stake in the activity. In short, they are taking part in personally meaningful and relevant activities. According to Painter and Valentine (1996, quoted in Quinn, 2002), students are being engaged if they participate in authentic project work, cooperative learning, hands-on learning, demonstrations, active research and the use of higher-order thinking skills. Other indicators of engagement include making class presentation, having conversations with professors outside of class, writing papers that were at least 20 pages long, and wanting to enrol in the same college or university a second time (Gose, 1999).

Student engagement researches have taken the limelight in colleges and universities in the United States. A case in point, which serves as the anchor of the present research, is the national yearly survey on student engagement conducted by Indiana University Bloomington. The measures taken by the university in carrying out empirical investigations on student engagement are rooted from its purpose of finding out whether and how students are actually utilising their institution’s resources to provide deep, meaningful learning experiences. Undertaken by the university’s Center for Postsecondary Research and Planning since Spring 2000, the National Survey of Student Engagement (NSSE) aimed at providing data to colleges and universities to use for improving undergraduate education, inform state accountability and accreditation efforts, and facilitate national and sector benchmarking efforts among 470 different four-year colleges and universities and among 155,000 students thus far (NSSE, 2001). NSSE examined certain benchmarks deemed to be effective educational practice, such as level of academic challenge (emphasis on the importance of academic effort and setting high expectations for student performance), active and collaborative learning (intensity of involvement in student’s education and application of learning in different settings), student-faculty interaction (learning first-hand and solving practical problems by interacting with faculty members inside and outside the classroom), enriching educational experiences (complementary learning opportunities inside and outside classrooms), and supportive campus environment (college/university commitment to students’ success and working and social relations cultivated among different groups on campus).
The benchmarks examined by NSSE attempted to prove that there are educational practices that promote students’ active and meaningful learning as well as indicate positive image of the college or university. In other words, the benchmarks seem to refute the traditional way of looking at exemplary institutions through their publicised excellence or public perceptions of high standards.

Researches related to student engagement abound in the West, and the reports are all thought-provoking in terms of improving students’ experiences in the learning processes. For instance, Zhao and Kuh (2003) did a research on the relationships between participating in learning communities and student engagement in a range of educationally purposeful activities of 80,479 randomly selected first-year and senior students from 365 four-year institutions in the United States. It was shown that learning communities are uniformly and positively linked to engagement as well as student self-reported outcomes and overall satisfaction with college.

Methodology

This study employs a survey method. It is a descriptive-exploratory study whereby questionnaires were self-administered to the respondents. UUM students were selected from three English language classes, which include English for Higher Education, Public Speaking and Report Writing. These courses, which are required university courses, provide samples of students from different semesters. The questionnaires were given to the coordinator of each course who then distributed them randomly to other instructors teaching the same course.

In the case of the AUST, students were given questionnaires in three different classes. They were those taking the General Psychology, Research Methodology, and Educational Technology classes. These courses were selected because they are compulsory subjects for all students to be taken from the list of the University Required Courses. Similar to the UUM situation, the questionnaires were given to instructors teaching the courses, who then distributed them to their students in the respective classes.

Using the stratified random sampling technique, a total of 1022 was selected from the UUM 5101 student population of the three courses. However, only a total of 872 (85%) questionnaires were then collected. A total of 358 were selected from the 1750 AUST student population of the three courses selected but only a total of 259 (72%) questionnaires were then collected. The limitation of the study was dependent on the number of students who attended the class on the day the questionnaires were distributed.

Items for the questionnaire were adapted from the annual National Survey of Student Engagement (NSSE). The questionnaire consists of 87 items, which were categorised using the five benchmarks. Prior to using the questionnaire, a pilot study was conducted to determine the reliability and validity of the instrument for the local context for both groups. For the UUM questionnaire, the overall Cronbach Alpha was 0.93 and 0.74 for the “active and collaborative learning” construct, and 0.62 for the “student-faculty interaction”. For the AUST questionnaire, the overall Cronbach Alpha was 0.84
and 0.65 for the “active and collaborative learning” construct, and 0.69 for the “student-faculty interaction”.

**Results**

To what extent do students experience active and collaborative learning?

The active and collaborative learning benchmark measures to what extent the students learn more when they are intensely involved in their education, and how collaborating with others in solving problems or mastering difficult material prepares students to deal with the real-world problems that they will encounter daily, both during and after college. Eleven items were analyzed in this section. Table 1 summarized the results of the findings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1: Active and Collaborative Learning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>UUM</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Asked questions in class or contributed to class discussions.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Made a class presentation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Worked on a paper or project that required integrating ideas or information from various sources</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Came to class without completing readings or assignments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Worked with other students on projects during class</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worked with classmates <strong>outside of class</strong> to prepare class assignments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Put together ideas or concepts from different courses when completing assignments or during class discussions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tutored or taught other students (paid or voluntary)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Participated in a community-based project as part of a regular course.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Used an electronic medium (list-serv, chat group, Internet, etc.) to discuss or complete an assignment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussed ideas from your readings or classes with others outside of class (students, family members, co-workers, etc.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
All in all, there were significant differences in all eleven items between the UUM and AUST respondents. The items in which AUST students’ mean scores were higher include:

1. Worked on a paper or project that required integrating ideas or information from various sources
2. Worked with other students on projects **during class**
3. Worked with classmates **outside of class** to prepare class assignments
4. Put together ideas or concepts from different courses when completing assignments or during class discussions
5. Used an electronic medium (list-serv, chat group, Internet, etc.) to discuss or complete an assignment
6. Discussed ideas from your readings or classes with others outside of class (students, family members, co-workers, etc.).

Only 5 items showed higher mean scores for the UUM respondents. The items were:

1. Asked questions in class or contributed to class discussions
2. Made a class presentation
3. Came to class without completing readings or assignments
4. Tutored or taught other students (paid or voluntary)
5. Participated in a community-based project as part of a regular course.

**To what extent is the student-faculty interaction?**

Among the five benchmarks assessed, the student-faculty interaction has the least items in the survey. The six items sought answers as to whether students have a good rapport with their instructors or not. Overall the mean score of the UUM students were higher than the AUST students in all six items (Table 2). The mean score for the item using email for communication was the highest among the six items for the UUM students (M=3.20) while the mean score for the item discussed grades or assignments was the highest for the AUST students (M=2.59). In contrast, the mean score for the item using email for communication was the lowest among the six items for the AUST students (M=1.95) while the mean score for the item discussed grades or assignments was the lowest for the UUM students (M=2.71).

All in all, there were significant differences in all six items between the UUM and AUST respondents. In all cases, the UUM students’ mean scores were higher than the AUST students’ mean scores. The items include:

1. Used e-mail to communicate with an instructor
2. Discussed grades or assignments with an instructor
3. Talked about career plans with a faculty member or advisor
4. Discussed ideas from your readings or classes with faculty members outside of class
5. Received prompt feedback from faculty on your academic performance (written or oral)
6. Worked with faculty members on activities other than coursework (committees, orientation, student life activities, etc.).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2: Student-Faculty Interaction</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>UUM</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Used e-mail to communicate with an instructor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussed grades or assignments with an instructor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talked about career plans with a faculty member or advisor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussed ideas from your readings or classes with faculty members outside of class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Received prompt feedback from faculty on your academic performance (written or oral)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worked with faculty members on activities other than coursework (committees, orientation, student life activities, etc.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Are there any significant differences in terms of active learning and student-faculty interaction across gender, degree program, and the estimated students’ Cumulative Grade Point Average (CGPA)?

**Active and Collaborative Learning (AUST)**

**Degree Program**

With regards to the degree program, the analysis of variance revealed a significant difference among the groups in only 7 out of the 11 items. Table 3 shows the results of the one-way analysis of variance.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3: Active and Collaborative Learning by Degree Program (AUST)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ITEM</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Asked questions in class or contributed to class discussions.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Made a class presentation</td>
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<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Worked on a paper or project that required integrating ideas or information from various sources</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Came to class without completing readings or assignments</strong></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Put together ideas or concepts from different courses when completing assignments or during class discussions</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Tutored or taught other students (paid or voluntary)</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Used an electronic medium (list-serv, chat group, Internet, etc.) to discuss or complete an assignment</strong></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p<.05*
The mean score for educational technology students is higher than other groups for 5 out of the 7 items in the active and collaborative learning construct. These include for items:

- Made a class presentation
- Worked on a paper or project that required integrating ideas or information from various sources
- Put together ideas or concepts from different courses when completing assignments or during class discussions
- Tutored or taught other students (paid or voluntary)
- Used an electronic medium (list-serv, chat group, Internet, etc.) to discuss or complete an assignment

Results also showed that the Computer Science students seemed to ask more questions in class or contributed to class discussions, while students in the program of Accounting/Marketing/Business/Management/Finance more often came to class without completing readings or assignments.

The Scheffé post-hoc analysis procedure showed that Educational Technology students use electronic medium (list-serv, chat group, Internet, etc.) to discuss or complete an assignment more than Computer Science and Dentistry students. No significant differences were reported between the other groups of students.

Year Level/Semester
With regards to the semester, the analysis of variance revealed a significant difference among the groups in only 3 out of the 11 items. Table 4 shows the results of the one-way analysis of variance.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>SEMESTER</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Made a class presentation</td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>2.15</td>
<td>.933</td>
<td>5.266</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>2.32</td>
<td>.829</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5-6</td>
<td>2.33</td>
<td>.883</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7-8</td>
<td>2.82</td>
<td>.854</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9-10</td>
<td>2.73</td>
<td>.985</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Used an electronic medium (list-serv, chat group, Internet, etc.)</td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>2.29</td>
<td>.927</td>
<td>2.986</td>
<td>.020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to discuss or complete an assignment</td>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>2.56</td>
<td>1.119</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5-6</td>
<td>2.64</td>
<td>1.150</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7-8</td>
<td>2.86</td>
<td>.962</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9-10</td>
<td>3.09</td>
<td>.921</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussed ideas from your readings or classes with others outside</td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>2.41</td>
<td>.818</td>
<td>2.525</td>
<td>.042</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of class (students, family members, co-workers, etc.)</td>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>2.45</td>
<td>.848</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5-6</td>
<td>2.83</td>
<td>.930</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7-8</td>
<td>2.79</td>
<td>.951</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9-10</td>
<td>2.86</td>
<td>.710</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Scheffé post-hoc analysis procedure showed that there is a significant difference between the students.

Senior students (i.e. semester 7-8 or fourth year and 9-10 or fifth year) tend to have more class presentations, used an electronic medium more often to discuss or complete an assignment, and they also seemed to discuss ideas from their readings or classes with others (students, family members, etc.) outside of class.

**Estimated students’ Cumulative Grade Point Average (CGPA)**

Only one item from the active and collaborative learning construct was found to show a significant difference among the groups in terms of the students’ estimated CGPA (the general average of all the subjects taken per program at the time this research was conducted). Table 5 shows that students with CGPA between 2.51 and 3.00 received the highest mean score for the item “made a class presentation.” Results also show that students with CGPA less than 1.99 have the lowest mean score for the same item. No significant differences were reported between the other groups of students.

The Scheffé post-hoc analysis procedure showed that there is no significant difference between the students.

### Table 5: Active and Collaborative Learning by Estimated students’ CGPA (AUST)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>CGPA</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Made a class presentation</td>
<td>Less than 1.99</td>
<td>2.17</td>
<td>.753</td>
<td>2.777</td>
<td>.028</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.00-2.50</td>
<td>2.40</td>
<td>.876</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.51-3.00</td>
<td>2.82</td>
<td>.936</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.01-3.50</td>
<td>2.27</td>
<td>1.095</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.51 and above</td>
<td>2.51</td>
<td>.758</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p<.05

**Gender**

Table 6 shows the results of the independent-samples t-test. Out of the 11 items in the active and collaborative learning construct, only 3 items were found to show significant differences for the two groups. Female students seemed to have a higher mean score than the male students in the item “Worked with classmates outside of class to prepare class assignments”. On the other hand, male students more often came to class without completing readings or assignments, and they also tend to participate more in a community-based project as part of a regular course.

### Table 6: Group Differences for Active and Collaborative Learning (AUST)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>(df)</th>
<th>sig</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Came to class without</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>2.21</td>
<td>.890</td>
<td>2.086</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
completing readings or assignments | Female | 1.97 | .773 | (251)
---|---|---|---|---
Worked with classmates outside of class to prepare class assignments | Male | 2.42 | 1.061 | -2.243 (247)
 | Female | 2.72 | .894 |  
Participated in a community-based project as part of a regular course. | Male | 2.27 | .953 | 2.074 (241)
 | Female | 2.01 | .869 |  

*p<.05

**Student-Faculty Interaction (AUST)**

### Degree Program

With regards to the degree program, the analysis of variance revealed a significant difference among the groups in 4 out of the 6 items. The items which were found not significant include: “Discussed ideas from your readings or classes with faculty members outside of class” and “Worked with faculty members on activities other than coursework (committees, orientation, student life activities, etc.).” Table 7 shows the results of the one-way analysis of variance.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>PROGRAM</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Used e-mail to communicate with an instructor</td>
<td>Dentistry</td>
<td>1.76</td>
<td>.880</td>
<td>7.523</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Educational Technology</td>
<td>2.62</td>
<td>.968</td>
<td>3.369</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Accounting/Marketing/Management/Finance</td>
<td>2.06</td>
<td>.998</td>
<td>3.083</td>
<td>.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TESL/TEFL</td>
<td>1.72</td>
<td>1.031</td>
<td>2.466</td>
<td>.034</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Computer Science</td>
<td>2.14</td>
<td>1.167</td>
<td>3.951</td>
<td>.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussed grades or assignments with an instructor</td>
<td>Dentistry</td>
<td>2.47</td>
<td>.855</td>
<td>3.951</td>
<td>.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Educational Technology</td>
<td>2.98</td>
<td>.794</td>
<td>3.083</td>
<td>.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Accounting/Marketing/Management/Finance</td>
<td>2.24</td>
<td>.970</td>
<td>2.466</td>
<td>.034</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TESL/TEFL</td>
<td>2.71</td>
<td>.918</td>
<td>2.14</td>
<td>.116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Computer Science</td>
<td>2.43</td>
<td>.852</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talked about career plans with a faculty member or advisor</td>
<td>Dentistry</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>.939</td>
<td>2.472</td>
<td>.045</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Educational Technology</td>
<td>2.36</td>
<td>.845</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Accounting/Marketing/Management/Finance</td>
<td>2.56</td>
<td>1.199</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TESL/TEFL</td>
<td>2.30</td>
<td>.939</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Computer Science</td>
<td>2.43</td>
<td>.938</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Received prompt feedback from faculty on your academic performance (written or verbal)</td>
<td>Dentistry</td>
<td>2.09</td>
<td>.864</td>
<td>9.328</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Educational Technology</td>
<td>2.85</td>
<td>.751</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Accounting/Marketing/Management/Finance</td>
<td>2.29</td>
<td>.772</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TESL/TEFL</td>
<td>2.74</td>
<td>.902</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Computer Science</td>
<td>2.14</td>
<td>.663</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Student Faculty Interaction by Degree Program (AUST)
Results of the Scheffé post-hoc analysis revealed that the use of email to communicate with an instructor is particularly low among the Dentistry and TEFL students while the educational technology and computer science students use email more often. Accounting/Marketing/Business/Management/Finance group of students seemed to have less interaction compared to other group of students in terms of discussing grades or assignments with an instructor. A higher student-faculty interaction occurs among the Educational Technology and TEFL students. The Post hoc analyses procedure also showed that there is a significant difference between three groups of students with regards to feedback they received from instructors. The educational technology and TEFL students claimed that they received “more often” prompt feedback from faculty than dentistry students.

**Year Level/Semester**

With regards to the semester, the analysis of variance revealed a significant difference among the groups in only 2 out of the 6 items. Table 8 shows the results of the one-way analysis of variance.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>SEMESTER</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Discussed ideas from your readings or classes with faculty members outside of class</td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>2.05</td>
<td>.804</td>
<td>3.463</td>
<td>.009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>2.24</td>
<td>.932</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5-6</td>
<td>2.46</td>
<td>.874</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7-8</td>
<td>2.04</td>
<td>.877</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9-10</td>
<td>2.68</td>
<td>.955</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Received prompt feedback from faculty on your academic performance (written or oral)</td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>.863</td>
<td>3.451</td>
<td>.009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>2.18</td>
<td>.870</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5-6</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>.890</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7-8</td>
<td>2.38</td>
<td>.879</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9-10</td>
<td>2.73</td>
<td>.631</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p<.05

The Scheffé post-hoc analysis procedure showed that there is a significant difference between the students. Semester 9-10 or fifth year students seemed to discuss ideas from their readings or classes with others (students, family members, etc.) outside of class more often than other groups. They also noted to have received more prompt feedback from faculty on their academic performance whether by written or oral more often than other groups.
Estimated students’ Cumulative Grade Point Average (CGPA)

In comparison to other constructs, results of the ANOVA in Table 9 showed that there were more items in the student-faculty construct which were significant among the student group across the estimated CGPA. The items include:

- Used e-mail to communicate with an instructor
- Discussed grades or assignments with an instructor
- Talked about career plans with a faculty member or advisor
- Worked with faculty members on activities other than coursework (committees, orientation, student life activities, etc.).

The Scheffé post-hoc analysis procedure showed that students with a lower CGPA (i.e. less than 1.99) tend to communicate via email with their instructors more often than other groups of students. They also discuss grades or assignments with instructors more often than the others. In addition, they talk about their career plan with their advisors more often than those who have a higher CGPA. There were no significant differences reported between the other groups of students.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>CGPA</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Used e-mail to communicate with an instructor</td>
<td>Less than 1.99</td>
<td>2.83</td>
<td>1.169</td>
<td>4.631</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.00-2.50</td>
<td>2.17</td>
<td>.926</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.51-3.00</td>
<td>2.09</td>
<td>1.066</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.01-3.50</td>
<td>1.60</td>
<td>.688</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.51 and above</td>
<td>1.71</td>
<td>.986</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussed grades or assignments with an instructor</td>
<td>Less than 1.99</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>.894</td>
<td>3.540</td>
<td>.008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.00-2.50</td>
<td>2.55</td>
<td>.802</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.51-3.00</td>
<td>2.93</td>
<td>.821</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.01-3.50</td>
<td>2.36</td>
<td>.892</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.51 and above</td>
<td>2.44</td>
<td>.929</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talked about career plans with a faculty member or advisor</td>
<td>Less than 1.99</td>
<td>3.17</td>
<td>.983</td>
<td>2.431</td>
<td>.049</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.00-2.50</td>
<td>2.32</td>
<td>1.002</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.51-3.00</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>.939</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.01-3.50</td>
<td>2.09</td>
<td>.949</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.51 and above</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>.959</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worked with faculty members on activities other than coursework</td>
<td>Less than 1.99</td>
<td>2.33</td>
<td>.516</td>
<td>4.676</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(committees, orientation, student life activities, etc.).</td>
<td>2.00-2.50</td>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>.938</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.51-3.00</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>.899</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.01-3.50</td>
<td>1.56</td>
<td>.813</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.51 and above</td>
<td>1.84</td>
<td>.903</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p<.05
Gender

Table 10 shows the results of the independent-samples t-test. Out of the 6 items in the student-faculty interaction construct, only one item was found to exhibit a significant difference for the two groups. Female students seemed to score a higher mean score than the male students in the item “Received prompt feedback from faculty on your academic performance (written or oral)”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>GENDER</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>t  (df)</th>
<th>sig</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Received prompt feedback from faculty on your academic performance</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>2.18</td>
<td>.840</td>
<td>-2.151</td>
<td>.094</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(written or oral)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>2.45</td>
<td>.894</td>
<td>(247)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p<.05

Active and Collaborative Learning (UUM)

Degree Program

With regards to the degree program, the analysis of variance revealed a significant difference among the groups in only 3 out of the 11 items. Table 11 shows the results of the one-way analysis of variance.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>PROGRAM</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Made a class presentation</td>
<td>Economics</td>
<td>2.48</td>
<td>.643</td>
<td>3.305</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>made a class presentation</td>
<td>International Studies</td>
<td>2.69</td>
<td>.551</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>made a class presentation</td>
<td>Public Management and Laws</td>
<td>2.61</td>
<td>.628</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>made a class presentation</td>
<td>Accountancy</td>
<td>2.70</td>
<td>.650</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>made a class presentation</td>
<td>Business Management</td>
<td>2.67</td>
<td>.666</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>made a class presentation</td>
<td>Social Development and Humanity</td>
<td>2.57</td>
<td>.596</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>made a class presentation</td>
<td>Management of Technology</td>
<td>2.80</td>
<td>.414</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>made a class presentation</td>
<td>Quantitative Sciences</td>
<td>2.28</td>
<td>.696</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>made a class presentation</td>
<td>Cognitive Sciences and Education</td>
<td>2.89</td>
<td>.601</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>made a class presentation</td>
<td>Information Technology</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>.623</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>made a class presentation</td>
<td>Finance and Banking</td>
<td>2.86</td>
<td>.520</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>made a class presentation</td>
<td>Tourism, Hospitality, Environmental Management</td>
<td>2.70</td>
<td>.571</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>made a class presentation</td>
<td>Communication and Modern Languages</td>
<td>2.47</td>
<td>.629</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worked on a paper or project that required integrating</td>
<td>Economics</td>
<td>1.95</td>
<td>.621</td>
<td>1.785</td>
<td>.046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worked on a paper or project that required integrating</td>
<td>International Studies</td>
<td>2.01</td>
<td>.695</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worked on a paper or project that required integrating</td>
<td>Public Management and Laws</td>
<td>2.03</td>
<td>.768</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worked on a paper or project that required integrating</td>
<td>Accountancy</td>
<td>2.05</td>
<td>.686</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The findings of the mean score for the active and collaborative learning construct across the degree programs showed that the mean score for the Faculty of Quantitative Sciences students was the lowest among the other groups while the mean score for the Faculty of Cognitive Sciences and Education students was the highest among the other groups for these two items:

- Made a class presentation
- Worked on a paper or project that required integrating ideas or information from various sources

The Scheffé post-hoc analysis procedure showed that no significant differences were reported between the other groups of students.

**Year Level/Semester**

With regards to the semester, the analysis of variance revealed a significant difference among the groups in only 5 out of the 11 items. Table 12 shows the results of the one-way analysis of variance.
Table 12: Active and Collaborative Learning by Year Level/Semester (UUM)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>SEMESTER</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asked questions in class or contributed to class discussions.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.71</td>
<td>.488</td>
<td>3.212</td>
<td>.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.88</td>
<td>.542</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.69</td>
<td>.668</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>5</td>
<td>2.86</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.40</td>
<td>.699</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.64</td>
<td>.618</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Made a class presentation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.86</td>
<td>.378</td>
<td>6.656</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.64</td>
<td>.505</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.71</td>
<td>.615</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>.655</td>
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<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.55</td>
<td>.624</td>
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<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.40</td>
<td>.699</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.17</td>
<td>.660</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Came to class without completing readings or assignments</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.29</td>
<td>.756</td>
<td>2.285</td>
<td>.034</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.45</td>
<td>.934</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.84</td>
<td>.710</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.64</td>
<td>.867</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.77</td>
<td>.779</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.20</td>
<td>.632</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.64</td>
<td>.821</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Put together ideas or concepts from different courses when completing assignments or during class discussions</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>.535</td>
<td>2.854</td>
<td>.009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.91</td>
<td>.831</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.35</td>
<td>.646</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>2.19</td>
<td>.786</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.31</td>
<td>.657</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>2.90</td>
<td>.738</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.19</td>
<td>.671</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Used an electronic medium (list-serv, chat group, Internet, etc.) to discuss or complete an assignment</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.14</td>
<td>.690</td>
<td>2.005</td>
<td>.063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.73</td>
<td>.786</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.01</td>
<td>.833</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.78</td>
<td>.760</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>1.88</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.80</td>
<td>.919</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.69</td>
<td>.715</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p<.05

The Scheffè post-hoc analysis procedure showed that there is a significant difference between the students. Semester 7 students tend to have more class presentations than third and fourth semester students.
Estimated students’ Cumulative Grade Point Average (CGPA)

With regards to the students’ CGPA, the analysis of variance revealed no significant difference among the groups in all the 11 items.

Gender

Table 13 shows the results of the independent-samples t-test. Out of the 11 items in the active and collaborative learning construct, only 3 items were found to exhibit significant differences for the two groups. Female students seemed to score a higher mean than the male students in the items “asked questions in class or contributed to class discussions” and “tutored or taught other students (paid or voluntary)”. On the other hand, UUM male students more often worked on a paper or project that required integrating ideas or information from various sources than the female students.

Table 13: Group Differences for Active and Collaborative Learning (UUM)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>GENDER</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>t  (df)</th>
<th>sig</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asked questions in class or contributed to class discussions</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>2.64</td>
<td>.721</td>
<td>-3.603</td>
<td>.596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>2.81</td>
<td>.596</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worked on a paper or project that required integrating ideas or information from various sources</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>2.29</td>
<td>.852</td>
<td>2.777</td>
<td>.760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>2.13</td>
<td>.760</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tutored or taught other students (paid or voluntary)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>2.57</td>
<td>.829</td>
<td>-3.942</td>
<td>.796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>2.80</td>
<td>.796</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p<.05

Student-Faculty Interaction (UUM)

Degree Program

With regards to the degree program, the analysis of variance revealed a significant difference among the groups in only one out of the 6 items. Table 14 shows the results of the one-way analysis of variance.

Table 14: Student Faculty Interaction by Degree Program (UUM)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>PROGRAM</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Used e-mail to</td>
<td>Economics</td>
<td>3.22</td>
<td>.827</td>
<td>1.804</td>
<td>.044</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Across the program, students from the Faculty of Communication and Modern Languages scored the lowest mean in the item, while students from the Faculty of Tourism, Hospitality, and Environmental Management scored the highest mean.

The Scheffé post-hoc analysis procedure showed that there is

### Year Level/Semester

With regards to the semester, the analysis of variance revealed a significant difference among the groups in 4 out of the 6 items. Table 15 shows the results of the one-way analysis of variance.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>SEMESTER</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Used e-mail to communicate with an instructor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.43</td>
<td>.535</td>
<td>4.204</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.45</td>
<td>.688</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.24</td>
<td>.780</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.03</td>
<td>.774</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.21</td>
<td>.764</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>1.247</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.67</td>
<td>.846</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussed grades or assignments with an instructor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.14</td>
<td>.690</td>
<td>2.808</td>
<td>.010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.27</td>
<td>.467</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.72</td>
<td>.693</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.53</td>
<td>.609</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.77</td>
<td>.650</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.40</td>
<td>.699</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.55</td>
<td>.670</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussed ideas from your readings or classes with faculty members outside of class</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.14</td>
<td>.690</td>
<td>2.740</td>
<td>.012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.36</td>
<td>.505</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.99</td>
<td>.672</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.67</td>
<td>.586</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.98</td>
<td>.662</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p<.05
There is a tendency for students in the first and second semester to interact with the faculty members more often than other groups of students. The mean score was found to be the highest either for the students in the first or second semester for all 4 items above.

The Scheffé post-hoc analysis procedure showed that there is a significant difference between the students. Second semester students seemed to use email more often to interact with the faculty members than the semester 7 students.

**Estimated students’ Cumulative Grade Point Average (CGPA)**

With regards to the students’ CGPA, the analysis of variance revealed no significant difference among the groups in all the 6 items.

**Gender**

Table 16 shows the results of the independent-samples t-test. Out of the 6 items in the student-faculty interaction construct, only one item was found to be not significant for the two groups. The item was “Received prompt feedback from faculty on your academic performance (written or oral)”. Female students seemed to score a higher mean than the male students in all 5 of the items below.
facultymembers outside of class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Worked with faculty members on activities other than coursework (committees, orientation, student life activities, etc.)</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.78</td>
<td>3.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.883</td>
<td>.811</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-3.176</td>
<td>(865)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p<.05

Discussion, Conclusion and Recommendations

On the whole, the study was able to achieve all the identified objectives. The utilisation of the NSSE instrument was appropriate and helpful in providing explanations between the two HEIs and useful insights about the students’ educational experience in general, and their levels of active learning as well as student-faculty interaction specifically. Based on the findings, the following conclusions were drawn.

The overall mean score for the active and collaborative learning items showed a contrast between the two groups of students. UUM students tend to ask more questions in class or they contributed more to class discussions than the AUST students. They also made more class presentations than the AUST students. In addition, they participated more in a community-based project as part of a regular course. The AUST students, on the other hand, worked on more collaborative activities, i.e. did projects with other students during and outside class time; worked on paper or project from different courses, with different people, and from various sources.

It was found that senior students (semester 7 and above) of both institutions have been more involved in active and collaborative learning activities than other groups of students. This finding is parallel to the study done by Pike (2003) as discussed in the literature.

However, responses from both institutions for the student-faculty interaction were not encouraging. Using email to communicate with instructors has still not become part of the culture for both groups. This was reflected in the high percentage of students (about 40%) who have “never” used an email for communication with instructors. The finding of this study is not in agreement to the NSSE 2003 Annual Report, whereby it was found that three out of five respondents (62%) frequently used email to correspond with their instructors.

Another alarming finding was the high percentage of students for both institutions (between 27-34%) who claimed “never” to have worked with faculty members on activities other than coursework. One possibility for this occurrence could be due to the fact that students at both institutions are constrained by their academic work. Another possibility is that the instructors themselves are not encouraging the students to work with them in other non-academic projects. For AUST, since co-curricular activities are not compulsory, students do not find the opportunity to work with their instructors.
In light of the findings and discussion of the study, the following recommendations are advanced:

- Both institutions need to devise methods and techniques to ensure that students come to class prepared. One of the ways is to provide students with uninformed tests and pop quizzes. Another more important measure is to shift from a teacher-centred to a more student-centred approach. Instead of relying on the lecture method, instructors should explore methods such as discussion, problem-based learning, discovery and cooperative learning. These student-centred methods will ensure that students come to class prepared. One issue that may hinder the use of such methods is the large class size. Both institutions will have to look into this matter.

- UUM and AUST should attend to the issue of faculty-student-administrative personnel interaction more seriously. As students are the main client, both universities should improve in this area. Administrative and faculty members must be provided with further training on dealing with students. Counselling and academic advising workshops could provide faculty members with the necessary skills to deal with the diverse student population that are enrolled in both universities. More general courses, such as interpersonal and communication skills should be provided to the administrative staff members to enable them to be more effective with students.

- Providing students’ access to emails is of utmost importance as it was found that a high percentage of students have “never” used an email for communication with instructors. The problem here may not only be due to students not willing to communicate with their instructors via email but also to the fact that there could be instructors who are not willing or are not comfortable in using email.

References


Between Dr. Ir. H. Sukarno and the Great Army General H. Muhammad Suharto

Dwi Tiyanto and Totok Sarsito
(Universitas Sebelas Maret, Solo, Indonesia)

Abstract

As the great leaders of the country, Sukarno (who was popularly called Bung Karno) and Suharto (who was popularly called Pak Harto) had different background of family and education as well. Therefore, although they were both Javanese, when becoming president, their style of leadership was different. The only similar performance of the two leaders was that they both preferred developing an authoritarian power system. As a prominent leader of national movement who graduated from higher education, Bung Karno was also a writer as well as a brilliant orator who learnt very much about Western political theories. In leading the nation Bung Karno preferred to changing environment first in order to free people from oppression, so that they could live much better, either as individual or as group. On the other hand, as a strong leader who emerged to power after the failure of the Thirtieth of September Movement (1965) masterminded by the PKI and only graduated from primary school but learnt very well about Javanese culture and philosophy, in leading the nation Pak Harto preferred to changing individuals first in order to achieve the ideals of the independence inherited by the founding fathers. Based on what they had learnt when they were young, Bung Karno then became an outward-looking leader. He preferred improving the quality of social and political environment first in order to improve the quality of life of every person; and Pak Harto, on the other hand, became an inward-looking leader. He preferred improving the quality of individuals first in order to achieve a just and prosperous society based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.

Keywords: Bung Karno, Pak Harto, Javanese culture and philosophy, an outward-looking leader, an inward-looking leader, Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, Guided Democracy, Pancasila Democracy.

Introduction

Apart from their weaknesses, both Sukarno and Suharto were still regarded the great leaders of the country. If Sukarno, who was popularly called Bung Karno, was a hero of proclamation who had taken part in very important role in establishing the unitary republic of Indonesia as well as digging and formulating Pancasila which was then stipulated as the state basis and philosophy of the country. Then Suharto, who was
popularly called Pak Harto, was a strong national leader who had contributed his energy and thought in order to fulfill the independence of the country. By firstly crushing the Thirtieth of September Movement (which had attempted to overthrow and then take over the legitimate government through the kidnap and murder of the six top army leaders), Pak Harto then initiated the movement of development for the country.

Although both Bung Karno and Pak Harto were Javanese, the two great leaders were different from each other. Bung Karno who was born in East Java, on 6 June 1901, was a descendent of ‘bangsawan’ (aristocrat) for his father, Sukemi Sosrodihardjo, was a ‘bangsawan’ from Java, while his mother, Idayu Nyoman Rai, was a descendent of brahmana from Bali (Dahm, 1987:27). Whereas, Pak Harto who was born in Godean, Yogyakarta, on 8 June 1921, was a son of Kertosudiro or Kertorejo, a poor farmer having no land, working as an “ulu-ulu” who was in charge of irrigation in village area. His mother’s name, Sukirah, was a simple village woman (G. Dwipayana and Ramadhan KH, 1989:6-7).

Due to his father’s position as a teacher, Bung Karno managed to enter higher education. Beginning from lower school of 5 years in Mojokerto (1914), Bung Karno then went to Europeesche Lagere School (ELS) in Mojokerto too and finished in 1916. After that he went to Hogere Burger School (HBS) in Surabaya and finished in 1921. Actually after finishing his HBS, Bung Karno had a chance to continue his study in Europe, but due to financial problems and his mother’s rejection he then decided to go to THS (Tenische Hogere School) in Bandung or now it is called ITB (Institut Teknologi Bandung or Bandung Institute of Technology). At that time very limited number of native people was able to enter such a prestigious Dutch school, and usually only people coming from bangsawan or priyayi were allowed to go to that school.

On the other hand, not long after he was born, Pak Harto’s parents were divorced. Once, his own father, Kertosudiro, took Pak Harto and brought him to Wuryantoro, Wonogiri. There he left his beloved son at his only one sister, the wife of Prawirowiharjo. Due to that Pak Harto had to move from one school to another school, such as from Puluhan (Godean) to Pedes (Kemusuk) then to Wuryantoro, and moving again to Tiwir (Kemusuk) and at then going back to Wuryantoro. After finishing his lower school, Pak Harto entered primary school or Schakel School in Wonogiri. But, due to a certain school regulation, Pak Harto had to go back to Kemusuk and finished his school at Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta.

After finishing his schakel school of Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta, he went back to Wuryantoro to apply for a job, and was hired as a clerk of a village bank (Volksbank). Getting out as a clerk of village bank, he attempted to find a job in Solo but failed. He then decided to apply for KNIL (Koninklijk Nederlands-Indisch Leger – Royal Dutch Army. Because of his school background, he was accepted in Kortverband and joined military training in Gombong, He managed to be the best graduate and was then located in Batalyon XII in Rampal, Malang.

This article is attempting to compare and explain thoroughly the similarities and differences between Bung Karno and Pak Harto, particularly the style of leadership as well as the strategy taken by the two leaders in leading the country. Different background
of family, particularly their father’s occupation, and also different educational background had influenced each great leader differently, particularly with whom they had interacted during their youth time. From the people they met, each got different experiences and inspirations, which then influenced their attitude and way of life.

**Life of Bung Karno**

In Surabaya, Bung Karno met prominent national pioneers of national movement, who happened to be his father’s close friend, Haji Oemar Said Tjokroaminoto, chairman of Sarekat Islam who became the central figure of Indonesian nationalism at that time. He was the man who arranged Bung Karno’s enrolment to HBS and also prepared accommodation for him. In Tjokroaminoto’s home, Bung Karno stayed and then often met a number of prominent movement leaders coming from different ideology who often had a meeting at Tjokroaminoto’s home, such as Agus Salim, Soewardi Soeryaningrat (Ki Hadjar Dewantoro), Hendriek Snevielt (a Dutch the founder of Indies Communist Party which then became the PKI) and his assistants such as Adolph Baars, Semaun, Muso, and Alimins.

Bung Karno’s relation with these prominent leaders on the one hand had ignited Bung Karno’s political awareness, broadened his political horizon, and also improved his capacity as an orator. From Tjokroaminoto Bung Karno learnt a lot of things, particularly about leadership and public speaking. Bung Karno was very impressed with Tjokroaminoto’s leadership model that had been regarded as having capacity to unite many different elements such as conservative and modern Islam, Marxist, Javanese Moslem, etc. He also learnt the way Tjokroaminoto had a speech which was then making him a brilliant orator. Special from Alimin, Bung Karno began to learn about Marxism.

With these movement leaders Bung Karno not only listened to the discussions they had on Indonesian position and difficulties, on revolutionary movement in other countries, on tactic and strategy for local condition; but also participated in the debates and discussions and even being involved in group activities. The first step he took as an active nationalist was to join a youth organization of Surabaya, *Tri Koro Dharma*, which was established in 1915, which in 1918 was changed into *Jong Java*. In it Bung Karno began to be involved in organization, trained to write articles for *Oetoesan Hindia* and began to train his capability in speaking, which then often attracted his audiences. His capability in organization, writing, and public speaking grew up parallel with his more important role which he played in many activities for Indonesian independence. The end of 1920, Bung Karno established *Partai National Indonesia* or PNI and posited as the chairman of the party.

Bung Karno’s attitude and behavior as a pioneer of independence began to emerge through his involvement in political discussions and debates which were often held by prominent leaders, particularly on Indonesian difficulties. From reading books, his knowledge on Western political thoughts developed. Besides being close to philosophy of Hegel, Kant, Rousseau, and Voltaire, Bung Karno also understood very
much democratic theory of Jefferson, Fabian socialism, and Marxism. Great names such as Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Dalton, Mazzini, and Garibaldi were closed to him, particularly relating to his struggle freeing the oppressed from the oppressor.

While maintaining his relationship with Ki Hadjar Dewantoro, when he was in Bandung, Bung Karno knew other national movement leaders such as Earnest F.E. Douwes Dekker and Dr. Tjipto Mangunkusumo. He also admired Tan Malaka, representative of Comintern for Southeast Asia. His ideas influenced Bung Karno’s way of thought, particularly in his struggle against the Dutch.

With his experiences Bung Karno was able to emerge as a brilliant orator, a thinker and ideologue that was able to formulate Marhaenism or Sukarnoism and also dug and formulated Pancasila which was then elected President of Indonesia.

**Life of Pak Harto**

On the other hand, when staying in Wuryantoro, the people’s background met by Pak Harto was different from those met by Bung Karno. According to Pak Harto himself, from his adopted father, Prawirowiharjo, he began to learn how to cultivate land and to read Al Qur’an at a small mosque. Pak Harto also joined a boy scout called Hisbul Wathan.

His adopted father, Prawirowiharjo, also taught him spiritual training such as fasting on Mondays and Thursdays and sleeping under the edge of their house’s roof. He also recommended that Pak Harto sleep near a “pawuhan” or a rubbish hole. But, he was unable to do so because it was not easy to sleep on a place of decaying rubbish that gave off an odor. Almost every old Javanese home has a rubbish hole called “pawuhan” located in the back or the front yard, into which the owners throw their rubbish away and then burn.

Pak Harto began to learn how to be a puritan Javanese from his adopted father. He tried to understand the Javanese customs as well as the Javanese way of life. He said: “At that time I was forced to understand and adopt the Javanese philosophy of life effective in the society surrounding, to understand religion and Javanese way of life.” (Dwipayana and Ramadhan 1989:13)

Pak Harto said that when living with his adopted father, he began to learn the teaching of the three Javanese prohibitions: “Aja kagetan, aja gumunan, lan aja dumeh” or “You shall not be surprised and amazed of whatever happens on earth, and you shall not be presumptuous of your power.” He adopted the teaching as the guidance of his life and the encouragement when his spirit was shocked.

And then with Kyai Daryatmo, a popular ‘ustadz’ Pak Harto learnt Islam and Al Qur’an. From Kyai Daryatmo, Pak Harto also got understanding on what samadi, kebatinan, and how to serve people who came to him asking herbal and assisted Kyai Daryatmo to prepare traditional herbal to be given to people who came to ask for.

Beside the Javanese philosophy, Pak Harto practiced the philosophy of Islam as well. He said that in every situation he never forgot the teaching coming from his
ancestors: “hormat kalawan Gusti, Guru, Ratu lan wong tuwo loro” (always respecting God, teacher, king and the two parents). As he once said: “Until I am president I never change my principle. I always uphold these teachings and I trust the truth of the teachings.” (Dwipayana and Ramadhan 1989:13)

Different from Bung Karno who got broad horizon from reading, Pak Harto got horizon particularly from direct experiences. When he lived together with his uncle, he learnt Al Qur’an with Kyai Daryatmo and worked as a clerk of a village bank. He then became a member of KNIL, of Keibuho, of PETA, and of BKR which was then became TKR and TNI. He then emerged to be the most prominent leader of the country no sooner after he had managed to crush the Thirtieth of September Movement (1965) masterminded by the PKI which had attempted to overthrow the legitimate power under President Sukarno.

When he was president, Pak Harto seemed to know his limitation comparing to Bung Karno. From his point of view, his lack of knowledge and experiences could be facilitated by making himself as a good Javanese or becoming becik sajatining becik, berbudi bawa leksono, hambeg adil paramarta; that was someone who lived based on guidance and prohibition taught by his ancestors. Pak Harto had said: “Someone would be able to achieve his life ideals if when he lives on the earth, he is spirited by the character of God that was good character. His entire mind, dreams, spoken words and behavior is controlled by the character of becik becik, berbudi bawa leksono, hambeg adil paramarta. The meaning of becik is not always for himself, but also for all humankind” (Hardiyanti Rukmana, 1993:vii).

What he believed and practiced was then written into a book of “Butir-butir Budaya Jawa: Anggayuh Kasampurnaning Urip. Ber Budi Bawa Leksana. Ngudi Sajatining Becik” (Some Items of Javanese Culture: In Search of Perfect Life. Noble and Generous Mind. In Quest of the Essence of Goodness). This book is a collection of “pituduh” (guidance) and “wewaler” (prohibition) relating to many aspects of life (such as God the only One God, spiritual, humanism, nationalism, family, and materialism), compiled by the eldest daughter, Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana, and presented to his children to serve as the guidance for their life (Hardiyanti Rukmana, 1993:vii).

Perspective on Leadership of the Leaders

As the nation leader, Bung Karno and Pak Harto possessed different perspective, particularly on how to progress his nation. While Bung Karno was more outward-looking, improving social and political environment first in order to improve the quality of life of every person; Pak Harto, on the other hand, was more inward-looking, starting from improving the quality of individual in order to achieve his life ends in order to realize people life in harmony.

Based on such a different perspective, the style and strategy adopted by the two leaders were also different, even though both of them had the same Javanese blood flown in themselves. As a prominent leader of national movement, a writer as well as a brilliant
orator who learnt very much about Western political theories, in leading the country Bung Karno preferred to changing environment first in order to free people from oppression, so that they could live much better, either as individual or as group. For that purposes, Bung Karno regarded independence as the golden bridge through which people could reach their demands.

But, the Indonesian independence which had been reached was unable to change society as he wanted. This could be seen from the instability of politics occurred since the proclamation on 17 August 1945 till the end of liberal democracy. According to Bung Karno, political instability threatened the unity of the state occurred because the people’s mind, particularly political elites, had not been freed from the domination of colonialism of Western democracy. In order to free the domination, a revolution had to be continued. The Presidential Decree of 5 July 1959 remarking the end of liberal democracy and the beginning of Guided Democracy based on the principle of ‘musyawarah untuk mufakat’ was regarded by Bung Karno as the rediscovery of the Indonesian revolution. According to Bung Karno although Indonesian independence had been reached, Indonesian revolution had not finished yet. For that purpose, Indonesia had to go back to its rail of revolution and that revolutionary activities had to go on.

Since then, Bung Karno never stopped talking about revolution of human being and stressing on the importance of revolutionary thinking in order to shock the established institutions, in order to demolish and rebuild, and at the end to build the world anew. For the success of revolution Bung Karno posited himself not only as the president, but also as the Great Leader of the Revolution whose task was to stipulate the goals of revolution as well as to formulate the revolutionary ideology as the guidance which had to be followed by all leaders and people of Indonesia. Here Bung Karno seemed to stress on changing the environment rather that to better the condition of individuals.

Related to Javanese culture, Bung Karno did not talk too much about it, except he described the day of his birth which was on the same day of the eruption of Mount Kelud (Legge 1972: 17). According to Javanese people, a child who was born on the same day of the big events usually would become a great man in the future time. The principle of ‘musyawarah untuk mufakat’ as formulated in Pancasila was also regarded by Bung Karno as a part of highly respected values, particularly for the Javanese. But actually Bung Karno’s ambition to unite all existed elements of society into what so called ‘NASAKOM’ (Nationalist, Religious, and Communist) having different backgrounds of ideology, was a realization of Javanese culture which always dreamt of life on then basis of ‘urmat’ or respect and ‘rukun’ or harmony.

On the other hand, based on his life and experiences background in leading the nation, Pak Harto preferred stressing on the betterment of attitude and behavior of every individual like what he had always done in order to achieve the goals of life, including the promotion of wealth. Different from Bung Karno, Pak Harto was not an orator. He was neither an ideologue nor a theoretician. As a soldier, Pak Harto was a practical worker who had often got jobs from his superior in order to finish. His good understanding on highly respected Javanese cultural values which he then formulated into ‘pituduh’ or guidance and ‘wewaler’ or prohibition including all aspects of life, also his
belief in the rightness of the highly respected Javanese cultural values had been the
guidance for Pak Harto to make himself to be a leader having the character of ‘becik
sajatining becik, berbudi bawa leksana’, so that he would be able to carry out his tasks
and obligations well.

Therefore, in his struggle for prominent leader of the nation till he had to resign,
Pak Harto always used the guidance of highly Javanese cultural values. As for example,
when trying to persuade Bung Karno to resign from his position as the President (1967)
or to respond many people who wanted him to resign (October 1997), Pak Harto used the
same philosophy of Begawan Habioso: ‘Lengser kepraban, madheg pandhito’, meaning
“First to grow close to God Almighty; second, to raise offspring who are useful to the
nation. And then to give advice to society, and to advise the powerful to lead from
behind.” (Inside Indonesia, No. 54 April-June 1998: 2)

Since old Javanese teaching only knows the concept of king, not president, the
step of Pak Harto by often referring to Javanese cultural terminology in his activities was
meant by many people that Pak Harto had behaved as if he was not the president, but the
king or the Sultan, like other existed king or sultan of Java in the past time.

Also, unlike Sukarno who always attempted to develop his political thought as the
ideology of the nation, Suharto thought that the problem of the nation foundation and
philosophy had already been final, that was Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. According
to him, for the Indonesian people there was no other problem except how to
execute or to carry out both Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution in original and consistent
manner. And, in order to carry out and practice Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution in
original and consistent manner what the Indonesian people needed was to understand
Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution correctly and appropriately by using the guidance
which he had wanted to create and enact in 1978: the P-4 or ‘Pedoman, Penghayatan
dan Pengamalan Pancasila’ (Guidance for the Comprehension and Practice of
Pancasila). The purpose of this P-4 was to create the attitude and behavior of every
citizen who understood well Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.

In the P-4, Pak Harto also cited the Javanese philosophy of leadership: ‘Ing
ngarso sung tuladha, ing madya mangun karsa, tut wuri handayani’, as taught by Ki
Hadjar Dewantara. This Javanese philosophy had become the main principle of leadership
for the New Order regime.

According to Pak Harto, the Indonesian nation had already got Pancasila and the
1945 Constitution. But, in the past time Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution had been
deviated, either by Bung Karno or by the PKI. Even, said Pak Harto, there had been
systematic attempt to change Pancasila with other ideology, such as Communism, as
already done by the PKI through what we called G-30-S/PKI. Consequently, every
attempt of development in order to fulfill the independence had become ineffective. The
New Order which he established was meant to conducted total correction to all kinds of
deviations by carrying out Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution purely and consistent. The
New Order regime was not only a constitutional order, but also an order of development
attempting to fill up the independence.
Bung Karno: The Road to Guided Democracy

During the days after the proclamation of the independence, President Sukarno had become the central and necessary figure of the country. He was even regarded as the symbol of a united nation in a situation of potential anarchy. In fact, “Sukarno became the one unquestioned focus of authority” (Legge, 1972:209).

After being elected president (18 August 1945), Sukarno created a cabinet which was responsible to him as provided by the 1945 Constitution. On the other hand, the ‘Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat’ (KNIP) or the Central Indonesian National Committee was established (29 August 1945), intended to be an advisory body to the president. As the president, Sukarno relied heavily on his Vice-President Hatta, leaving many details to him while he directed his own talents to the task of mobilizing support. This division of labor was sensible, but it had important consequences for Sukarno’s position (Legge, 1972:210).

The center gravity of government shifted dramatically at the expense of Sukarno, when the KNIP established itself as a central forum within which a national consensus could be expressed, making no government could move without its support. The KNIP quickly became the parliament of the republic after being granted co-legislative power with the President (Vice-Presidential Decree of 16 October 1945).

Then, with the new authority, the KNIP headed by Syahrir (one of Sukarno’s opponents) issued a decision (October 1945) encouraging the formation of competing political parties, the function of which would be to express the views of their members within the KNIP (Legge, 1972:211-212). Following this official call, a number of political parties such as the “Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia” (Masjumi), the “Partai Nasional Indonesia” (PNI) and the “Partai Sosialis Indonesia” (PSI) soon emerged into surface, followed by other smaller political parties, such as the “Partai Komunis Indonesia” (PKI), remarking the birth of the Indonesia’s multi-party system. These developments, although accepted by Sukarno, was against his preference. Spirited by the Javanese philosophy of ‘rukun’ or harmony, Sukarno would have preferred bringing all sections of opinions into the one organization, a single state party, as he had attempted to do in the late twenties and again in the early thirties (Legge, 1972:212).

Under the chairmanship of Syahrir, the KNIP managed to impose a proposal separating the position of president from that of chief executive. It was suggested that, though the constitution provided for a presidential system of government, the president should, as a matter of policy, agree to accept only cabinet which commanded the support of the KNIP. Through this change of constitutional convention the position of president would become largely ceremonial, while power would rest with a prime minister and a cabinet controlled by the representatives of the nation gathered in the KNIP (Legge, 1972:213). Vice-President Hatta accepted this proposal and then asked Syahrir (PSI) to form a new government. Once again, Sukarno’s supremacy on national politics was

25 The formation of political parties was meant to show to the world that Indonesia was not a ‘baby doll’ of the Japanese, but an independent democratic country.
diminished. The system of government was even informally shifted from presidential to parliamentary system, and it was formalized when the Federal Republic of the United States of Indonesia (RUSI) was established in 1949.

In December 1948, no longer after the army crushed the Madiun Affairs, Communist rebellion initiated by the PKI, the Dutch launched a second military action and occupied Yogyakarta, the capital of the Republic. In this action the Dutch managed to arrest the President and Vice President and then exiled them to Bangka. With the help of the United Nations Security Council and the United States a conference called the Round Table Conference was held in Den Haag between Augusts to November 1949. This conference produced a compromised political settlement in which the two parties agreed to establish the RUS, 27 December 1949. Sukarno was sworn in as President and Mohammad Hatta was chosen as Prime Minister of the RUSI and the Constitution of the RUSI was also enacted. But the RUSI lasted only 7 months. It was then replaced by the Unitary States of the Republic of Indonesia (the Second Republic). On 17 August 1950 the Constitution of the RUSI was replaced by the Provisional Constitution of 1950.

The enactment of the RUSI Constitution which was then followed by the Provisional Constitution of 1950 was regarded by Kahin, as the beginning of the ‘Liberal Democracy’ period (Kahin, 1964:204). In this period power was in the hands of the parties. Parliament was an institution of some authority, and the power of the chief extra-parliamentary political actors, President Sukarno and the army, was effectively limited (Kahin, 1964:204).

During the time of the Liberal Democracy, Indonesia was trapped into continuing crisis, threatening the unity of the country. President Sukarno who at the very beginning did not agree with the decision to encourage a multiplicity of parties then announced his own concept – the President’s Concept or ‘Konsepsi Presiden’ – for the solution of Indonesia’s ill. He suggested the formation of what he called a ‘gotong royong’ or mutual help cabinet (representing all the major parties such as the Masyumi, the PNI, the NU and the PKI) as well as a National Council as representatives of functional groups (workers, peasants, intelligentsia, national entrepreneurs, religious organizations, the armed services, youth organizations, women’s organizations and also the regions of the country) (Legge, 1972:283-284).

Of the major parties only the PNI and the PKI were in favor. Masjumi was opposed, so was the NU (Legge, 1972:285-286). Meanwhile, a number of territorial commanders such as Colonel Achmad Hussein from Central Sumatra, Colonel H.N. Ventje Sumual from Sulawesi and Colonel Barlian Simbolon from South Sumatra who preferred the return of Hatta (who resigned from his position as Vice-President in 1956) to his office opposed the President’s concept by staging a coup. In response to these coups, President Sukarno backed up by Major General Abdul Harris Nasution (Chief Staff of the Army) declared a State of War and Siege (Legge, 1972:286).

According to J.D. Legge this declaration had established both President Sukarno and the army as the major forces in the Indonesia’s political scene (Legge, 1972:287). With this declaration President Sukarno had more chance to realize his concept, minimizing the role of the party. He not only created a cabinet called ‘Kabinet Karya’ or
Working Cabinet headed by Djuanda (9 April 1957) the members of which were chosen as individuals; but also established a National Council consisting of 45 members, including the representatives of the PKI.

In the end of 1957 two critical incidents occurred: (1) in November 1957 a group of young Muslims made an attempt to assassinate President Sukarno, and (2) the General Assembly of the United Nations rejected the draft of resolution on West Irian. These incidents made President Sukarno angry toward the West. He then decided to take over the West Irian from the Dutch through military action.

Responding to the two incidents, radical actions were made by labor unions using the government’s name by taking over all properties owned by the Dutch in Indonesia. An exodus of the Dutch to the Netherlands occurred. Worrying the vital companies would fall into the hands of Communist, on 13 December 1957 Major General AH Nasution enacted Martial Law giving rights to the army to take over all the Dutch companies from the labor unions. Through the martial law, the army managed to place their officers to occupy the management of the companies taken over from the Dutch, making the position of the army stronger particularly in civilian affairs.

In January 1958 leaders of the Regional Councils made a meeting, attended by the Masjumi and the PSI leaders. They then announced an ultimatum demanding that Djuanda cabinet resign and be replaced by Mohammad Hatta or Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX. If rejected, a government would continue to be established. On 15 February 1958 ‘Pemerintah Revolusioner Republik Indonesia’ or the PRRI (the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia) was established in Padang, headed by Syafruddin Prawiranegara as Prime Minister. Responding to the establishment of the PRRI, in March-April 1958 the central government took military actions and managed to crush the rebellion.

Meanwhile, as the result of the President’s condemnation to the Liberal Democracy or ‘democracy of 50 plus one and the sickness of the parties’, all parties which used to be powerful had already lost their prestige. They were demoralized and lost their influence. Of the four political parties that emerged from the 1955 election, only the PKI was still vigorous and respected. But the PKI had been the target of the army. Until mid 1958 parliamentary government still existed. The parliament which was formed in 1955 still held meetings, but the power had been challenged by the National Council appointed by President Sukarno as well as the Martial Law under Major General Nasution.

In 1959, backed up by the army, President Sukarno and his cabinet accepted the army proposal on the concrete form of the Guided Democracy or ‘Demokrasi Terpimpin’. They asserted that political reform had to be conducted in the framework of the return to the 1945 Constitution (which had been abolished formally in 1949, but theoretically in November 1945). After being unable to persuade the Constituent Assembly or ‘Dewan Konstituante’ to adopt the proposal, President Sukarno eventually stipulated the enactment of the 1945 Constitution through the Presidential Decree of 5 July 1959, ending the debate on the state ideology of Pancasila and marking the beginning of the Guided Democracy in place of the Parliament or Liberal Democracy which had been
regarded as unsuitable to the national identity.

**Pak Harto: The Road to Pancasila Democracy**

The national political constellation changed drastically when on the early morning of 1 October 1965, through a group of armed movement which named itself the Thirtieth of September Movement or ‘Gerakan Tiga Puluh September’ (G-30-S/PKI) headed by Lieutenant Colonel Untung Syamsuri, an army officer of the palace guard which was popularly called ‘Resimen Tjakrabirawa’, the PKI failed to seize power from the legitimate government under President Sukarno. Not only were the PKI and its all affiliated organizations nullified from the national political arena, President Sukarno who had always protected the PKI and its all affiliated organizations were also removed from power, making the triangle of forces (President Sukarno, the army, and the PKI) drastically collapsed.

The outbreak of the Thirtieth of September Movement had made Suharto aware that he had to play important and decisive role in order to prevent the country from falling down into the hands of the Communist. In order to win support and sympathy from the people, Suharto had successfully explained to all Indonesian people that the Thirtieth of September Movement was the PKI’s plot designed to overthrow and take over the legal government from President Sukarno and finally to change the state ideology of Pancasila with other ideology of Communism.

In Suharto’s perspective, by assassinating the six top army general, taking over the legal government from President Sukarno, and changing the state ideology of Pancasila with other ideology of Communism, the PKI had been militarily against the principle of peaceful transfer of power, politically against the 1945 Constitution, ideologically against the state ideology of Pancasila, and culturally against the Javanese principle of ‘rukun’ or ‘harmony’. Regarding the PKI as the puppet master or mastermind of the coup attempt, Suharto insisted on dissolving the PKI and its all affiliated organizations. He even wanted not only ‘to eliminate the PKI from the nation’s life’ (Elson, 2001:123), but also to ban Marxism, Leninism and Communism.

All what Suharto wanted was rejected by Sukarno. Sukarno’s rejection was based on his belief that the PKI had already made contribution and sacrifices for freedom. As the consequence of his political preference, he kept advocating the existence of the PKI, defending his policy of ‘NASAKOM’, and calling for the continuation of the Indonesian Revolution. He even made a statement that the Thirtieth of September Movement “was something ordinary and normal in a revolution and a ripple in the ocean of revolution” (Elson, 2001:122).

But, when the security of the country went in danger, President Sukarno issued the ‘SUPERSEMAR’ (Surat Perintah Sebelas Maret). In the Instruction Letter of 11 March or ‘SUPERSEMAR’ President Sukarno ordered Suharto “to take all measures considered necessary to guarantee security, calm, and stability of the government and revolution, and to guarantee the personal safety and authority of the President/Supreme
Commander/Great Leader of the Revolution/Mandatory of MPRS in the interests of the unity of the Republic of Indonesia, and to carry out all the teachings of the Great Leader of the Revolution” (Crouch, 1978:189).

The issue of ‘SUPERSEMAR’ was regarded by Suharto not only as a historical milestone of the utmost importance for the safety of the people, the country and the nation, but also the beginning of the struggle of the New Order (Dwipayana & Ramadhan KH 1989:174); and it was not “a means to obtain power and a tool for staging a veiled coup” (Crouch, 1978:139) as many people had already charged. Therefore, after dissolving the PKI and its all affiliated organizations, “a strategy to replace Sukarno in a slow, careful, systematic as well as constitutional process” (Elson, 2001:143) was arranged.

In order to win the strategy, a number of political maneuvers were taken by Suharto, such as: raising the status of SUPERSEMAR “from an authorization of the president which, naturally, he could revoke at any time, to a decision of the highest body of the state (the MPRS), which the President could not overrule” (Elson, 2001:143); abolishing many old state bodies such as the National Front, the ‘Komando Operasi Tertinggi’ (KOTI), the ‘Komando Ganyang Malaysia’ (KOGAM), the ‘Komando Tertinggi Retooling Alat Revolusi’ (KOTRAR), the ‘Komando Logistik Nasional’ (KOLOGNAS), and others which had no constitutional basis but which had served to embellish Sukarno’s grip on power, including (Elson, 2001:145); and finally suggesting President Sukarno that he should follow the example of the wise ‘King Habiyoso’ in the ‘wayang’, who entrusted his kingdom to his sons and retorted to the mountains to mediate but was available to sons for consultation whenever his sons faced difficulties.

Responding to Suharto’s political maneuvers, Sukarno first sent a confidential letter to Suharto offering to announce that he was entrusting Suharto with the daily leadership of the government while he retain the state leadership and the right to determine the broad outline of the government leadership in order to uphold the Pancasila revolution. But, Suharto rejected (Crouch, 1978: 215-216), but then he agreed to transfer the authority of the government to Suharto who would be obliged to report on the implementation of the transfer whenever it was felt to be necessary.

In the end, at its special session on 8 March 1967, the MPRS issued a decision declaring that “President Sukarno has not been able to carry out his constitutional responsibilities and that President Sukarno has not been able to implement the sentiments and decisions of the MPRS.” It also appointed General Suharto as Acting President. “A clarification was added as an appendix stating that the meaning of government authority was the same as that in the constitution so that President Sukarno is thereby replaced by General Suharto as Acting President of the Republic of Indonesia” (Crouch, 1978:218).

General Suharto was sworn as Acting President by the speaker of the MPRS, General Nasution, on 12 March 1967. And, on 21 March 1968 he was formally full president after the Fifth General Session of the MPRS appointed him as the second president of the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia. After his dismissal, Sukarno, was put under effective house arrest until he died on 21 June 1970.

His position as full president paved the way for him to achieve his political
visions, that was conducting a total correction toward all deviances of the past history of the nation done by the Old Order regime either by practicing the Parliament or Liberal Democracy as well as the Guided Democracy in order to establish a new page of the nation and state of Indonesia called the New Order. The New Order was defined by Suharto as an order who had the deep commitment to re-straighten out the history of the nation’s and state’s journey, based on the philosophy and moral of Pancasila and through the road as guided by the 1945 Constitution (Ensiklopedia Politik dan Pembangunan Pancasila, 1988:265-266).

Suharto further stated that: “With such a historical background, the New Order in the first part is the order loving and struggling for democracy; not Liberal Democracy, neither nor People Democracy ala people’s democracy in socialist countries, but democracy of Indonesia, Pancasila democracy and democracy based on the 1945 Constitution, democracy which is carried out based on the Constitution” (Ensiklopedia Politik dan Pembangunan Pancasila, 1988:265-266).

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