


BOOKS CHAPTER ON ASIAN NETWORK AND SOCIAL CHANGE



Books Chapter  
**ON ASIAN NETWORK  
AND SOCIAL CHANGE**

**Editor:**  
**Wasino, Triseptiana, Balraj Singh,  
and Mansor Mohd Noor**

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# BOOK CHAPTERS ON ASIAN NETWORK AND SOCIAL CHANGE

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We are from the Faculty of Social Sciences, Universitas Negeri Semarang, would like to express our gratitude for the publication of this Books Chapter on Asian Network and Social Change. Hope we can make the similar and better Books Chapter in the future. Thank you.

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## PREFACE

In the human history, Asia has shown its excellence for civilization. This can be seen from the two great civilizations, Harappa and Mahenjo Daro in India and the Yellow River in China. These two civilizations are not only functioned for the localization of their own regions but influenced other regions, especially Southeast Asia. Since the beginning of the first century AD, the civilizations of India and China have interacted with the civilizations of people in Southeast Asia, both those inhabiting in the mainland and sea land (Archipelago).

The interaction between Indian, Chinese and Southeast Asian civilizations has created the new civilization which characterized as an acculturation civilization between Indian, Chinese and Southeast Asian cultures. The civilization performance is reflected in both physical and non-physical culture. The Physical civilization is in the form of magnificent buildings related to religion and government. Non-physical culture is related to values and traditions that are part of life among Southeast Asian society.

This civilization relationship was cut off due to Western colonialism. India and China had to be surrender politically and economically to British supremacy which had implications for the entry of Western civilization in all aspects of life in Indian and Chinese society, even though the two regions have different strategies and implementations in accepting the westernization process. The Southeast Asian regions also suffered the same fate under the Western colonial rule, except Thailand. The areas that used to be closer to Indian and Chinese civilizations have shifted orientation to Western civilization and culture.

Despite having experienced of political interactions with the Portuguese, Spanish and British, the Dutch colonial domination was longer and more influential. The Malay Peninsula region (Malaysia and Singapore) and the North Kalimantan region which were part of the State of Malaysia and Brunei Darussalam were under British colonial rule. Vietnam and the other countries that were included in the “Indo China” group were under French colonial rule. Myanmar or Burma under the British colonial rule. Philippines took turns under Spanish and American colonial rule.

The influence of Western civilization has changed the map of civilization relations between India, China and Southeast Asian countries. This change resulted in the diminishing influence of China and India on the one hand, and the strengthening of the influence of western civilization on the other hand. However, traces of the legacy of the interaction of Southeast Asian civilization with India and China are still visible. Western civilization has created the style of new Asian states which have emerged as national states with different characteristics from traditional states. There is a process of becoming a national state that runs peacefully and through war. The process becomes different “Modern” (West).

The books that are presented to readers are the writings of researchers and academics from universities and research institutes in India, China and Southeast Asia. From China represented by Kittisak Jermstittiparsert from the School of Business Administration, Henan University of Economics and Law, China. He discusses about the *Mobilizing Foreign Direct Investment through Competitiveness, Regulatory Quality and Political Stability in ASEAN Countries*. This paper discusses about the importance of regulatory quality and political stability that are very important aspects and can be effectively used for increasing the attraction of



FDI from other countries.

The authors from India have most contributed to this book chapter, and represent a number of universities and research institutes in India. Punjab University Patiala India provides a number of articles, they are: (1) Balraj Singh writes about *Hinduism and Buddhism in Southeast Asia: Origin, Impact and Decline*; (2) Anujot Singh Soni shares about *A Report on 'Edge -Ground' Tools Recovered from the NW Sub-Himalayas of India*; (3) Harvinder Singh discusses the *Role of Bangkok Conference in freedom Movement of India*; (4) Mandeep Kaur discusses about *Changes in Police Administration and Other Arrangements by British under the Board of Administration after Annexation of the Punjab*; (5) Sandeep Kaur discusses on the *Military Obligation of The South Asian Rulers to the British Government: 1809-1908 (A Case Study of Jind and Faridkot States of the Punjab, India)*; (6): Veena Rani discusses about the *Death Sentence in India: Historical Perspective*; (7) Gursewak Singh writes about *Public Response to Political Prisoners during the British Repression*.

Besides, there are also numbers of interesting articles from India and Pakistan, such as: (1) Navjeet Singh from Punjabi University Constituent College Chunni Kalan, Punjab, India with the topic of *Workers Movement in Asia: With Special Reference of India*; (2) Sadhana Meghwal from Dept.of Social Sciences of Sardar Patel University of Police, Security and Criminal Justice, Jodhpur, Rajasthan discusses about *The Role of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar in the Social and Economic Development of India*; (3) Sukhjit Kaur from History Department, Baba Farid College, Bathinda, Punjab discusses about *Women and Indian Society during 1849-1900*; (4) Vijay Singh from Department of Management, Faculty of Management & Behavioral Science, Sardar Patel University of



Police, Security & Criminal Justice Jodhpur discusses about Economic Dimensions of COVID-19: Lessons Learnt and Way Forward. The contribution of the articles also came from universities in Pakistan. (5) Zaib U Nisa (PhD Scholar of Hazara University, KPK, Pakistan) discusses about Elementary teachers' perception about Stake-Holders' Attitude towards subjects assessed by Punjab Examination Commission in Pakistan.

The writers from Southeast Asia came from Indonesia and Malaysia. From Indonesia there are some articles, they are: (1) Hermanu Joebagio from Sebelas Maret State University discusses about the Dutch Colonial Hegemony: The Political Struggle of Empat Sekawan 1908-1945; (2): Masota Delfi, Zainal Arifin and Sidarta Pujiraharjo from Andalas University Padang discusses about The Environment from an Indigenous Perspective in Mentawai Indonesia; (3) Nawiyanto from University of Jember discusses about Environmental Issues and Sustainable Development; (4) Nur Fatah Abidin the of Lecturer History Education Department, Faculty of Teacher Training and Educational Science, Sebelas Maret University, Surakarta, Indonesia discusses about The Archetype of Altruistic Leader: Exploring Leadership Values of Indonesian Ramayana; (5) Tri Septiana Kurniati from Indonesian Institute of the Arts Yogyakarta discusses about Two Most Prospective Reasons of Visiting Yogyakarta and its Effect for the Tourist Visit Numbers in 2016-2017: Historical and Cultural Point of View; (6) Wasino from Faculty of Social Sciences, Semarang State University, and Endah Sri Hartatik from Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Diponegoro University discusses about Indonesia and Vietnam towards Integration of ASEAN: Learn from Southeast Asian National Ethics to Strengthen Asean Economic Integration; (7) Nasution from Surabaya State University

Indonesia discusses about The Rise of Nationalism, Conservatism, and Populism in Indonesia and How Social Studies contribute to keep the Social Integration; (8) Ardeti Jeni Abdilla from Postgraduate Student History Education Department, Faculty of Teacher Training and Educational Science, Sebelas Maret University, Surakarta- Indonesia discusses about The Interrelation of Abdurrahman Wahid and Mahatma Gandhi - Humanistic Spiritual.

Besides, there are some authors from Malaysia, they are (1) Mansor Mohd Noor from Institute of Ethnic Studies, Universitas Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM) discusses about the Discourse on Ethnic, Indigeneity and the Nation: Narrative Bangsa Malaysia; (2) A Rahman Tang Abdullah from History Program, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, Universitas Sabah Malaysia discusses about Historical Legacy in Ethno-Religious Affiliation in Malaysia: A comparative study between the Peninsular and Saba; (3) Ramli Saadon and Khairy Ariffin from Department of History, Faculty of Human Science, Education University of Tanjung Malim Perak-Malaysia discusses about Discrimination in Education and Its Implication for the Nationalism in Malaya 1900-1957.

We hope that the articles included in this Books Chapter will make the readers easier to understand intellectual relations in Asia involving five countries, namely China, India, Pakistan, Indonesia and Malaysia. This reading on intellectual relations will open up future studies that further integrate studies of relations between countries in Asia.

Best regards

Wasino

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# **Historical legacy in Ethno-Religious Affiliation in Malaysia: A comparative study between the Peninsular and Sabah**

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## **Abstract**

This paper discusses the historical dimension that reflects the circumstances and differences which shape the relations between ethnicity associated with religious affiliation in Peninsular Malaysia and Sabah. The basis for the discussion is derived from the current reflection of Multi-ethnicity and multi-religious society in Malaysia which is not merely based on single context at national level. In fact, it is evident that these two interrelated aspects are actually subjected to different context in the sub-regions namely West Malaysia also known as The Peninsula and East Malaysia which is composed of Sabah and Sarawak.

This different status-quo also reflects different impact on all issues related to ethnicity and religious sentiments in Malaysia as a whole. Since most of the existing writings have only focused on the current perspective on the differences in ethnicity and religiosity between the Peninsula and Sabah, it is important to explore the historical development during colonial period which shaped the phenomena in ethnicity and religiosity in both areas. Such differences were fundamentally different and consequently would lead to the different historical development to shape the current status-quo in both areas.

**Keyword: Historical legacy, Ethnicity, Religiosity, Malaysia, Sabah.**

## Introduction

The issues of Ethnicity and Religiosity in Malaysia have always become very complex although the country has long been widely recognized as the harmonious model of plural society. It is generally understood that the concept and the application of plural society in Malaysia in these two aspects are predominantly manifested by the polarization of Malays and non-Malays in one hand and Muslims and non-Muslims on the other. This is because the existing major ethnics in Malaysia have been associated with different religions. This can be seen in the general patterns such as the Malays with Islam, The Chinese with Buddhism and the Indians with Hinduism. Furthermore, the non-Malays are also associated with Christianity. However, this generalization is only limited to West Malaysia or the Peninsula formerly known as Malaya before the formation of the Federation of Malaysia in 1963.

In fact, this diversity becomes more complex considering the different circumstances found in Sabah or formerly known as British North Borneo before 1963. Such differences are referred to the different generalization of the native or *bumiputera* in the area with reference to the peoples of *Dusun/Kadazan* and *Murut* as well as other native ethnics who were subjected to religious and inter-racial diversities. Needless to say, the circumstances became more complex considering the existence of considerable numbers of *Bajaus*, *Suluk* and Chinese who also shaped the religious and multi-ethnic diversity there.

The current different circumstances certainly raise many questions about the homogeneous perception on the issues pertaining to ethnicity and religiosity in Malaysia especially when a comparative study between the Peninsular and Sabah is to be con-

sidered. However, it has to be emphasized here that the present circumstances has always closely related to the historical development in the past. Here, the most significant period in the past in this context is mainly referred to the duration loosely coined as colonial period.

In fact, it could be construed that the existence of the circumstances in ethnicity and religiosity in Malaysia has to be examined from historical context notably during the colonial period which had shaped the current status-quo. Thus, this paper discusses the historical dimension which reflects the difference in ethnicity and religiosity in Peninsular Malaysia and Sabah. The basis for the discussion is derived from the current reflection of Multi-ethnicity and multi-religious society in Malaysia which is not only based on single context at national level. Such differences were fundamentally different and consequently would lead to the understanding of different historical development in shaping the current status-quo in both areas.

### **Socio-Political Status-Quo in Historical Dimension**

Most of the existence of the complexity of socio-political status-quo in Malaysia is always associated with the legacy of historical development during the colonial period. Basically, the term colonial period is generally applied to pre-independence of Malaya before 1957 and British North Borneo before 1963 although it is also subjected to terminological dispute. Malaya was governed by the British authorities as colony in the case of the Straits Settlements and Protectorate in the cases of all Malay States before the Second World War. During the post-war period, Malaya was governed as single entity as Crown colony of Great Britain when it was proclaimed as Malayan Union during the years 1946-1948.

Then, its legal status was transferred as protectorate when it was proclaimed as Malayan Federation until the year of its independence in 1957 (Kratoska 2001: 121-251).

Meanwhile, the British North Borneo was governed by the British Chartered North Borneo Company from 1881 to 1941. Due to the considerable economic burden which had to be carried out by the company derived from the destruction incurred on the territory during the Second World War, the company decided to cede the territory to the British government. Accordingly, this territory began to be rule as colony in 1946. This legal status continued until it was granted independence and the name was officially changed to Sabah in 1963 (Ibid. 281-7). Hence, for a matter of convenience, the British North Borneo is to be referred as Sabah or colonial Sabah. This is because the name had also been applied to the pre-independent period of the territory by historians who specifically had extensively written on the History of Sabah notably James Francis Ongkili (1997) and D. S. Ranjit Singh (2000).

Despite the fact that all those entities were historically related to the British as a single power, it clearly did not reflect homogeneous circumstances in the internal socio-political aspect of those territories. Certainly, the real circumstances of all the inhabitants in those territories were historically different in the aspects of ethnicity and religious centricities even during the pre-colonial period.

## **Ethnicity**

It can be identified that during the colonial period, the issue of ethnicity is actually more dominant than religion in both Malaya and colonial Sabah. The issue of ethnicity became the con-

cern among the colonial officials as it can be found in their definition and application of the concept of native. This is the reason for the scholars who wrote on this issue are more concerned with the inconsistent definition of the term 'native' in both territories. This dimension is reflected in the writing of Charles Hirschman (1987) on Malay Peninsula and Toru Ueda (2006) on colonial Sabah. Both of them have extensively referred to the census Report published by the colonial authorities.

However, based on the primary sources which have been utilized by Charles Hirschman and Toru Ueda, it is categorically certain that the inconsistency in defining the concept of native never became the concern among the colonial officials. In fact, the emphasis on ethnicity was basically applied for the sake of establishing the distinction between Europeans and non-European. Furthermore, it is also essential to understand that that the distinction was to define the difference between natives and non-natives as long as the concept of Europeans/non-Europeans was consistently applied. This idea was clearly manifested in the colonial census report published by the authorities in both territories in the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries.

What is more important from the native's point of view is the impact of the application on the society as a whole. It is evident that the concept of native in both territories had been applied in different circumstances. In Malaya, the concept of native is predominantly applied to the Malays rather than the aborigines or *Orang Asli*. It is evident that despite that the *Orang Asli* is also categorized as Proto Malays, they were later classified as *bumiputera* or native after the independence (Carey Iskandar 1976: 4-21,). The term Malays is reflected in the definition of the Malay race in the Malay Reservation Land Enactment of 1913 (Malay

Reservation Land Enactment 1913).

According to Section 2 in the enactment, the term 'Melayu' (Malay people) is actually stipulated as 'Malayan Race'. It implies that a Malay individual is a person of Malayan race, who habitually speaks Malay language or other Malayan languages, and professing Islam as religion. The 1913 Enactment was later revised in 1933 which repealed the 1913 Enactment. However, the 1933 enactment did not constitute any changes to the definition of Malays. This implies that the definition of the Malay race is actually applied to 'Bangsa Melayu' which includes all the natives in the Malay Archipelago or Nusantara. It means that they are not necessarily to be originated from Malaya. Accordingly, the Banjarese, Bugenese, Sumatrans and Javanese are also classified as Malays based on the similarities in religion, language, customs and culture as a whole. This view later became the prevailing application of Malay Race in West Malaysia after independence.

However, the definition of the term 'Malay' also became complex as it was actually not based on purely ethnic terminology. It can be identified that the reason behind the ratification of the Malay Reservation Land of 1913 and 1933 was more motivated by economic means rather than ethnicity itself. The definition of the term was actually to be applied to the land which was to be reserved only for the Malays. This enactment was designed as a measure to restrict the land alienation from the Malay to the non-Malays especially the Chinese, Indians especially Chettiars and so on. It is pointed out by Ahmad Nazri Abdullah (1985: 71) that the attempt to include Chinese or Indians who habitually spoke Malay language was rejected by the Federal Council of The Federated Malay States. This restriction was also applied to the Chinese who converted to Islam and married Malay.

Due to the economic implication in this issue, it is evident that the ruling authorities in the so-called underrated Malay States had applied the term 'Malay' as purely ethnic one. This can be seen in Land Enactment of Johor which stipulated that Malay must be Malay who habitually speaks Malay language *and believes in Islam* (Johor Land 1936: section 1). *Based on this definition, the Arabs have been excluded from Malay race since they maintain their Arab genealogies and their titles as sayyids. It is evident that they were excluded from acquiring the Malay Reserved Land in Johor* (Abdullah 2009: 50). *It is also found that the similar provision had also been applied in Kelantan and Terengganu* (Wong, 1975: 512-3).

Furthermore, it had also brought to the argument whether the Malays should also be applied to those who were descended from matrilineage as this issue was raised in the editorial column of *Utusan Melayu* in 1940. The editor raised his concern about the liberalization of the Malays who were descended from maternal lineage. This was to allow the so-called *Jawi Pekan* (*Jawi Peranakan*) in Penang and Kedah especially Indian Muslims known as 'Keling' and the Arabs who were to be considered as Malays although they were descended from their mother's rather than father's descendant (*Utusan Melayu*, 8.5.1940).

This economic dimension also became complicated when the matter is brought into interracial perspective. The issue here was the term Malayan race which was viewed by the non-Malays should be only applicable to the Malays originated from Malaya. It is found that the cases of Banjarese and Bugenese were less problematic compared to the Sumatrans and Javanese. In an article published in the editorial column of *Majlis* in 1934, the writer claimed that the Sumatrans and Javanese must be classified as Malays since they possessed many similar characteristics in terms



of language, religion, customs and culture, as all of them inhabited in the Malay Archipelago (Majlis, 8.1.1934 & 25.1.1934). It is crucial to point here that those communities recognised themselves as Malays and this definition have been legally applied in West Malaysia Since independence. Accordingly, the ethnic categorisation in Malaya and later Malaysia was simplified as Malays, Chinese, Indians and Others based on the Malayan census of 1957 (CAB 134/1949 1961: Appendix B).

On the other hand, the circumstances in Colonial Sabah were considerably different as it is extensively discussed by Toru Ueda (2006: 74-85). The essential points derived from this piece of writing are that the Malays were not regarded as natives. In fact, the series of official census from 1892 to 1931 did not stipulate Malays including Javanese, Benjerese and Kalantans, as the natives. The concept of native in colonial Sabah was initially applied to Interior natives and Sea Coast Natives. The former referred to Tutongs, Dusuns, Dyaks, Kadayans, Muruts, and Bisayahs, while the latter were Bajows, Sulus, Illanuns and Tidongs.

It is also striking to discover that the concept of 'native' is not necessarily referred to the native of British North Borneo or Sabah. This can be found in the items namely the native of India and Ceylon, natives of Netherlands India and natives of Sulu Archipelago. This means that the Malays were generally regarded as equal to the non-Borneo natives. Subsequently, the concept related to Natives of Borneo were composed of 20 ethnic communities of Bajaws (land and Sea), Buludupi, Bruneis, Dusuns, Dyaks, Idahan, Illanun, Kedayan, Kuijau, Muruts, Orang Padas (Besayas), Orang Sungai, Peluan, Sulu, Tagals, Tambunwa, Tenggara, Timogun, Tidongs and Tutongs.

However, it is discovered that this application was not com-

patible with the legal application in Colonial Sabah. It is evident that the contrasting application can be found in the fact that the Malays were still excluded from the native. According to Land Proclamation of 1913, Native means any aboriginal inhabitant of the Malay Archipelago and the children of such an inhabitant by any union with any native or alien, or any other Asiatic who may be or become entitled to rank as a native in accordance with rules laid down for the purpose (Land Proclamation 1913). However, based on the census of 1921 and 1931, the Malays were still not classified as native despite the fact that they are the majority inhabitants of the so-called Malay Archipelago. Furthermore, in principle, the concept of native stipulated in this ordinance was also applicable to those who were the child descended from inter-marriage between the native and non-native.

Later in 1937, the concept of 'Native' was applied consistently with the 1913 land proclamation. This concept was applied to any aboriginal inhabitant of the Malay Archipelago. The Malay Archipelago is defined as the region comprising the States of North Borneo, Brunei, and Sarawak, the Straits Settlements, the States of Malay Peninsular, the Netherlands Indies, and the Sulu group of the Philippine Islands (Native Administration Ordinance 1937). The provision which applies the concept of native to the children of such an inhabitant by any union with native of alien was still preserved and legally recognized.

However, the application of this concept were later restricted to Borneo territories as stated in The Labor Ordinance 1949. According to this ordinance, native means any person of a race or tribe indigenous to the Colonies of North Borneo or Sarawak or the State of Brunei (Ordinance 1949, No.18). Nevertheless, the legal application of native was restored to that of 1937 status-

quo under Ordinance No.28, of 15<sup>th</sup> December, 1952. The only minor difference in the 1952 Ordinance is that the word ‘Netherlands Indies’ was changed to ‘Indonesian’ and was classified as ‘native’ (Ueda 2006: 83). Later in 1961, the native categorization in Colonial Sabah and also Sarawak was simplified as non-Muslim Indigenous and Muslim Indigenous (CAB 134/1949 1961: Appendix B).

The major differences in term of ethnicity between Malay Peninsula and Colonial Sabah are referred to the position of the Malays. In Malay Peninsula, the Malays are stipulated as the majority native while in Colonial Sabah, they were ambiguously recognized as native. When Sabah was incorporated into Malaysia, the implication is that the Malays were applied in accordance with the constitution which stipulated that a Malay person must be a Muslim, who habitually speaks Malay language and practicing Malay customs (Federal Constitution of Malaysia 2014: Article 160 (2)). This means that the constitutional term is not merely applied as an ethnic term but has also incorporated religious element that is, Islam.

### **Religiosity**

Consequently, the concept of ethnicity and religiosity become integral in Malaysian society. From this definition, the implication is that the non-Malay natives are classified as *‘bumiputera’* while the Malays must be the Muslims. This application realizes that the Malays become the minority in Sabah despite the fact that the concept of Malays as an ethnic is applied to the peoples of Nusantara or Malay Archipelago. Accordingly, it is understandable that the Malay centrality in Sabah is marginal compared to the status-quo in West Malaysia.

In historical and contemporary contexts, the Malay centrality itself is also intimately associated with Islam. In the context of the Malay society in the Malay Peninsula and North Borneo, Islam had long been considered as integral and fundamental characteristic in Malay culture. The Malays had long been synonymously identified with Islam in both territories by latest since the sixteenth centuries. Under the circumstances, the Malays were the majority only in the Malay Peninsula or later known as Malaya in the nineteenth century. This status-quo remained the same during the colonial period and even until the post-independence.

It is understandable that this status-quo is much associated with the prevalence of the long existence of the numerous Malay Sultanates in the peninsula. This is due to the fact that the Malay sultans as the paramount rulers of their kingdoms were proclaimed as the protector of Islam. This proclamation was signified with the title 'Dzillullahi fil- 'alam' which means 'the shadow of God' in all Malay Classical texts such as *Sejarah Melayu* (Malay Annals), *Tuhfat al-Nafis* (Precious Gift) and various legal text known *Undang-undang* of Melaka, Pahang, Johor, Kedah and so on.

In many respects, it is generally known that the historical dimension of the Malay society in Malaya had been shaped by Islamism although it was also overshadowed by western secularism. The British continued to preserve the paramount position of the Malay rulers as the heads of Islam and Malay customs in the Malay states. Since Islam had been constituted as the state religion in all Malay states, it is evident that the Islamic institutions such as Islamic councils, *Baitul-Mal* (Islamic treasury), and *Waqf* (Islamic Endowment) had undergone considerable expansion during this period. It is also evident that the increase in literacy

including in Jawi Writing among the Malays increased as Islamic Education became mass education in British Malaya during the period (Yegar 1979: 187-260).

Furthermore, it is even more significant to point out here that the Malays continued to be inspired by Islamism in the aspect of nation-building. This can be seen in particular reference to the emergence of Muslim political consciousness and the onset of Islamic political activism. It is evident that the Malay nationalism had been pioneered by the Malay young generation of Islamist known as 'Kaum Muda'. The term 'nationalism' here referred to the scope of political sphere covering the whole Malay society as a single community' and 'race'. These two words mean 'bangsa' as a broader term than 'Rakyat', or subject of a kingdom, 'Kerajaan' (Milner 1995: 89-113). Those young reformists were comprised of teachers, scholars, and students who imbibed the reformist ideas centred on the writings and teachings of Muhammad Abduh from Egypt and Rashid Rida, the editor of *Al-Manar Magazine*. Although they did not have any formal organisation, their collective ideas and action were reflected in the establishment of their own magazines notably *al-Imam*, *Neraca*, *Al-Ikhwan* and *Saudara* (Azyumardi Azra 1999.). In the meantime, this reformist also inspired the traditionalist Malay religious elite to promote Islam in defense of the traditional Islam under the auspices of the Malay rulers.

Accordingly, the Islamic religious reform eventually turned out to be associated with radical Malay Nationalism which became the pioneers in the quest for independence for colonial Malaya. However, needless to say, their independent ambition was superseded by the success of the western Malay nationalist movement led by the United Malay National Organization (UMNO).

One of the fundamental strength of UMNO was their association with the Malay rulers. By this means, UMNO was also able to incorporate the traditionalist Islamic elite who had long been associated with the Malay rulers. Thus, it is noticeable that the symbiotic relation between Malay and Islam was significantly relevant in the Malaya during the colonial period. For this reason, the definition of the Malayness and Islam as integral meaning in the Malayan Constitution of 1957 and continued to be applied to the Constitution of Malaysia.

This definition is applied as a single meaning at national level although such meaning does not reflect the situation in Sabah. This is simply due to the fact that the Malays were evidently not the majority in the territory known as Sabah although the territory used to be subjected under the suzerainty of the Muslim Sultanate of Brunei and Sulu during pre-colonial period (Singh 2000: 57-112 and Abu Bakar Hamzah 2011: 80-22). In fact, the majority of the native inhabitants in the territory notably the Dusun/Kadazans, Murut and so on were non-Muslims who practiced animism (Rutter 2007: 20-45). A considerable number of them tended to remain as animist or a proportion of them were eventually converted to Christianity during the colonial period. The penetration of Islam into those communities was only eminent during the post-independence (Muhiddin Yusin 1990: 31).

Thus, it could be construed that the process of transformation in Sabah during colonial period was actually associated with Catholicism. The most obvious circumstance can be seen in the case of Catholic Christianization through the missionary led by Fr. Prenger among the Kadazan community at Inobong, Penampang in 1887. More significantly, the process of transformation was made integral with Catholicism especially the establishment

of educational system which promoted literacy and numeracy in the society. This is due to the fact that the British Chartered North Borneo Company was not interested in promoting education among the natives.

This brought the opportunity for the Catholic Missionary to open schools for the peoples especially the natives as this matter was proclaimed as one of the chief aims of the Catholic mission in North Borneo. It could be construed that the Chartered Company had an unbalanced idea about education. The Company allowed the Chinese and other races to attend school but the Company considered it a waste of money to support the natives in school. As a result, only the town mission schools improved. In some cases, the Company hindered missionary work among the natives. At this time, the government was suspicious about the presence of missionaries among the natives. Their presence and influence seemed to have made the natives politically aware of their rights (Ongkili 1997: 57).

Accordingly, the Catholic missionary manage to promote mass education among the Kadazan community, this development had major impact on shaping the religious sphere of the Kadazans who were regarded as the majority of the inhabitants in Sabah. This is manifested by the action taken by Rev. Fr. Augustine Wachter, *Prefect Apostolic for Labuan, North Borneo and Brunei* to shift his headquarters from Labuan to Penampang on 26 July, 1927. Since then, Penampang became the center for Catholicism in Sabah. In fact, Catholic teaching was taught in Kadazan dialect in Penampang including in the sermon and congregation. (Poilis 1981: 16). It even more significant to note that by 1953, there were 40 Catholic schools in Sabah with almost 6000 students and the majority was natives. The Catholic schools used the native



language as medium of literacy and instruction at the elementary stage and then shifted gradually to English language by the third or fourth year (Reid: 2009: 191).

In this respect, the Kadazans became integral to Catholicism in Sabah. Although the Catholic missionary did not promote political awareness and the sense of unity among the Kadazans, the Kadazans' nationalism was inspired by their graduation from Catholic schools. They were now able to read public newspapers such as North Borneo Herald and Official Gazette, which contained international major events at that time. Moreover, it encouraged the writing and publications in Kadazan language which led to the growth of ethnic pride which had never happened before. As a result to this development, the Kadazan graduates who were fluent in English and their commitment to promote Kadazan language formed the Kadazan Cultural Association (KCA) the leadership of Donald Stephen (later Fuad Stephen). He later founded and led the Kadazans' first political party in Sabah known as United National Kadazan Organisation (UNKO) in early 1960s. He is also the First Chief Minister of Sabah when the state entered into the Federation Malaysia in 1963.

By examining this comparison, it clearly manifests the symbiotic relation between ethnicity and religiosity in both territories. On one side, Malay and Islam were significantly relevant in Malaya during the colonial period. However, in the same time, the different symbiotic relation came into existence in the case of the Kadazans and Catholicism in Sabah. These two different circumstances were correlated when both the two territories were incorporated into the Federation of Malaysia as a single nation. However, the nation was still overshadowed by these major differences due to their historical legacy in terms of ethnicity and

religiosity. Such differences certainly established the precedence for the differences in the perception of the issues pertaining to the imposition of any single meaning related to ethnicity and religiosity at national level.

It can be said that in many respects, the fundamental differences resulted from the different historical developments in both territories during the colonial period are still relevant until today. Generally, the degree of symbiotic interracial integration resulted from interracial marriage and the assimilation of non-native into native communities were less in West Malaysia than Sabah due to difference of religion of the majority natives. This is simply because Islam is more dominant in West Malaysia and appears to be viewed as a restricting factor. Due to synonymy of Islam with the Malays, it seems that the Chinese in particular were more willing to convert to Christianity compared to Islam in both territories. For instance, the Chinese appears to be dissuaded to convert to Islam as he or she would be pronounced as 'masuk Melayu'. This term had long been in existence as a tradition in the Malay society (Gullick 1991: 277).

The above issue is also closely related to the process of racial integration. It is widely believed that the most common way of promoting symbiotic interracial relation is to be achieved through the interracial marriage between Malays and other races. Due to the marital practice which is regarded as fundamental in Islam, such a marriage with non-Muslims was prohibited. Such interracial marriage was only possible if the non-Muslim partner was willing to profess Islam. It appears that these circumstances did not provide flexible means for the assimilation with other races notably the Chinese and Indians.

However, such a problem did not exist in Sabah. It is be-

lieved that the intermarriage between the natives and the Chinese in Sabah had long occurred since most of the native's practiced animism. Furthermore, it could be construed that most of the Chinese did not regard religion as the main issue in marital affairs. The Chinese only became more concerned about religion when they converted to Christianity. It also appears that the marriage between Kadazans and Chinese for instance, is widely practiced because interreligious marriage between Christians and non-Christians was not strictly imposed. This resulted to the emergence of a sub-ethnic called Sino-Kadazan.

Such differences also reflect other general issues which are more concerned with perceptions rather than substances. For instance, the concept of religious tolerance is perceived differently due to their understanding based on different social environment. On one hand, the Sabahan are viewed as more flexible compared to the Malays in West Malaysia or Semenanjung simply due to the dominance of Islam in Semenanjung. This view appears to be based on the less degree of symbiotic integration between the Malays and non-Malays due to their differences in religions. By contrast, the Sabahan including the Muslims there are viewed as too liberal in religious matters as Islam is less dominant in Sabah. This is because the Malay centricity is also less dominant in Sabah as they are not the majority of the population there.

Ultimately, it is hard to discard the fact that such views was closely associated with historical development in the past but the matter appears to have become complex when the territories had been incorporated into a single nation. This is simply due to the fact that both territories had undergone different historical path which led to different circumstances. These historical path and circumstances seem to be relevant because there are no major

changes in Malaysian societies in the issue of ethnicity and religiosity after the independence. Even if there some changes, it is still minor and still does not depart from the past framework.

## **Conclusion**

Having observed the comparison between Semenanjung and Sabah, it can be concluded that the differences in ethnicity and religiosity in both territories were derived from historical development in the past especially during the colonial period whether such development was actually coincidental or not. The fact that the Malay centricity and Islam were dominant in Semenanjung while the Kadazan centricity associated with Catholicism prevailed in Sabah was subjected to historical process. Such historical legacy is to become the precedence for the emergence of the current reflection of Multi-ethnicity and multi-religious society in Malaysia. Consequently, the differences in ethnicity and religiosity based on location in different territories which had undergone different historical path are eminent. That is why any meaning related to these two aspects cannot be applied as single context at national level.

The general patterns of differences in perceptions and understandings on these two aspects seem to be fundamental. It is hard to discard the fact that religiosity seems to be important than ethnicity in reflecting those differences. This is based on the circumstances that different communities had adopted different views and perceptions in religiosity. Consequently, it can be said that the degree of symbiotic interracial integration can be found higher in Sabah than Semenanjung even during the colonial period due to the different pattern of religious affiliation in both territories.

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# **Cultural Diversity in South Asia: Challenges and Prospects**

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Diversity is quality of diverse and different cultures, which co-exist in harmony by respecting one another. Cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as bio-diversity is for nature. It is the common heritage of humanity and should be recognized and affirmed for the benefit of present and future generations.<sup>1</sup> Culture is learned and disseminate through everyday life. Culture is more accountable for differences among human groups than genes. Freedom and equality makes most sense to the majority of nationals within their own, 'societal cultures' which are defined by language, history, shared memories and values, common institutions, religious, economic and recreational life. Cultural membership provides humans with an intelligent context of choice, and secure sense of identity and belonging. Cultures, civilizations and national identities are never static but constantly fluctuating and metamorphosing and are not stable all the time.<sup>2</sup>

Culture is an indefinitely expandable tool. Any behavior, symbol or memory can be held up and promoted as culture. Despite the typical claim to historical and even primordial depth, culture can be newly infused with meaning and significance. The claims on the basis of culture are appealing because they are "horizontal" rather than "vertical" unlike class or race distinctions. There is no argument that one culture is better or worse than another rather, cultures are merely different. A claim based on

culture maintains not only difference but also equality or parity with other groups and distance from other groups, cognitively or epistemologically, if not spatially. It carves out a new discourse, a “pedagogy of the oppressed” in which they define their own terms and values.<sup>3</sup> The World Conference on Cultural Policies defined culture as the “[ ] the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or social group. It included not only the arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, values systems, traditions and beliefs.”<sup>4</sup>

Cultural identity is a treasure that vitalizes mankind’s possibilities of self-fulfillment by moving every people and every group to seek-nurture in its past. It also paves the way to welcome contributions from outside that are compatible with its own characteristics and so to continue the process of its own creation. The basis for membership in political fraternity is grounded upon similarities and not on differences. Political systems based upon cultural identities, differentiate between ‘us’ and ‘them’. Cultural identity desires that all individuals should belong to an identical group and should not hold cosmopolitan and obscure identities. This kind of stress upon cultural identity only helps to reinforce marginality, motivates tribalism, and demotivates tolerance while not encouraging the formation of self-identity. The promoters of group rights have also to explain why a strong sense of identity can only arise within cultures and how this affords greater political tolerance based upon universal human rights.<sup>5</sup>

Culture is a popular asset or weapon in contemporary politics because it is such a potent one. For one thing, claims on the basis of culture are difficult to defeat or contradict; any such attempt may be condemned as “racist”, “elitist”, “oppressive” or “genocidal”

or given some other opprobrious label. Injecting culture into political debate gives it a moral tone on both sides, putting fundamental realities and unimpeachable truths against each other. And since there is no “cross-cultural truth” or standard, there is no way to verify or to falsify a group’s claims. Knowledge, value and culture are political and perspectival and must be treated as such. An instrumental approach to culture logically flows from the romantic vision. Culture is reified. Culture-possessing groups, being the most authentic of groups, are taken, not only to be real but to have rights, not the least of which are the rights of survival, institutionalization and recognition. In the real world, where most societies are plural societies, this amounts to a struggle between groups, particularly between ostensibly “oppressed” or “disadvantaged” groups and dominant or “hegemonic group”. In this struggle, culture becomes both, a field of struggle and a means, as asset. In that struggle, groups appear to fight about culture but actually fight with culture. Culture is a group’s seal of authority and its warranty of worth, serving as a gloss, a badge, and a weapon for a party in the war of “identity politics”. It becomes, if you will, a fetish of group-in-struggle.<sup>6</sup>

In this globalized era, people are mobilizing along ethnic, religious, racial and cultural lines, and demanding recognition of their identity, acknowledgement of their legal rights and historic claims and a commitment to the sharing of power. The South Asian Region is also witnessing the rise of “identity politics”. The Region is important not only for its people but also of their ancient and modern history encompassing the experience. India is among the most diverse societies with a plurality and diversity of cultures which makes it out as the largest multicultural society in the world. Afghanistan is a unique example of multicultural

country where different groups like Pashton, Tajik, Hazara, Uzbek, Qazalbash, and Nooristani, Bloch etc. who possess different cultures like their own language, food habits, dress, and music are living together.

Nepal boasts of more than hundred castes and ethnic groups who are largely Hindus, Buddhists, Animists, Muslims or a combination of two or more of them. The island of Sri Lanka is an ethnically, linguistically and religiously diverse South Asian State. The Sinhalese makes up near about seventy five percent of population while the Tamils in Sri Lanka form the largest minority group. The Moors, the Indian Tamils also form a distinct ethnic group. The South Asian Countries have in the past shared deep economic and socio-cultural links that have been torn out by colonialism. In South Asia, the British Colonial States as well as European anthropologists and ethnographers constructed distinct ethnic and religious identities through policies (i.e., the institution of Census, the Strategy of 'Divide and Rule', and the formation of separate electorates) and academic studies (e.g. studies on caste and race). While it is agreed that these factors impacted the formation of modern identities, but the scholarship is divided on the nature and degree of its impact and the basis of these identities in pre-colonial community relationships.<sup>7</sup>

In the first few decades of 20<sup>th</sup> century, a number of regions in South Asia were in the midst of anti-colonial or independence movement, attempting to consolidate a unified national identity. Cultural diversity was sometimes acknowledged, but largely subordinated to in the drive toward a more homogenous national identity based on religion.<sup>8</sup> Hinduism, Islam and Buddhism are found in the subcontinent. It also has a sufficient number of Jain, Zoroastrian, Christian and Sikh minorities. Muslim majority

Pakistan, Bangladesh, Afghanistan and the Maldives are Islamic states. Bhutan, in its 2008 constitution, declared Buddhism as the spiritual heritage of Bhutan.

Buddhist majority Sri Lanka stops short of declaring Buddhism as the state religion, it does not replace its foremost. The religious minorities in Pakistan witness human rights abuses because the State has increasingly moved to the right in a bid to seek legitimacy and cohesiveness by using Islamic symbols and rhetoric in support of its rule. As radical Islamic groups gain strength in the country, the non-Muslims find the society getting intolerant. In Bhutan also, there was societal pressure on non-Buddhists to uphold the Buddhist spiritual heritage of the country including participating in Buddhist prayers and rituals.

The inclusion of the demands of religious groups might encounter specific problems. Their demands can be considered to be an attack on secularism. Secularism as a clear cut ideology does not exist in practice. The meaning of secularism in South Asian societies should be rethought and theorized and needs to be taken into account the claims of diverse groups. Religious linguistic, Ethnic and cultural diversities in themselves are not causes of war or conflict; it is the refusal to accept diversity that causes strife war and partition. Ethnic identities give rise to valid claims for special treatment, because within a liberal state, all groups are free to deploy their energies and resources in pursuit of culturally derived objectives on the same terms.<sup>9</sup>

In some cases special rights disadvantage certain groups within the minority therefore; diversity politics between groups might endanger the diversity within in groups. Nepal has been entrapped by Maoist insurgency by killing many people. The government has no refugee policy. The ethnic issues in Sri Lanka have

led to a great political problem for the country and for the whole region as well. The clash between the two casts the Tamils and the Sinhalese has kept a war like situation in the country. Bangladesh has also had history of military rule and the government still uses arms to suppress indigenous people who seek political independence. Human Rights of the innocent people are crushed as there is no political stability. Violence against minority and refugee problems is rampant. Terrorism is challenging the secular fabric of societies and has deeply influenced inter-state relations in South Asia. Punjabis live on both sides of India Pakistan border. The failure to evolve a satisfactory solution to minority rights led to the partition of Pakistan and the subsequent creation of two countries: Pakistan and Bangladesh.

The general tendency in South Asia today, towards centralization and personalization of political authority, has only increased the inability of the state structure to accommodate ethnic concerns. An obstacle to robust forms of minority rights is the geopolitical insecurity that affects the region. Most countries perceive themselves as having neighboring enemies who would like to weaken them. In this context, minorities can be seen as a potential 'fifth column' in collaboration with a neighboring enemy, especially in a situation where they are linked by religion, ethnicity or political ideology to the neighboring state. The main obstacle in implementing western models is not in consistent cultural values, but many other potential obstacles rooted in the distinct historical, demographic, economic and geopolitical circumstances of the region. Some of these conditions are unique to a particular group or unique to a country. European imperial powers' programs have been generally depicted as adopting 'divide and rule' policies in their colonies.

Colonial administrators generally looked for local allies who could be relied upon to help administer the colony. In many cases, these local helpers were ethnic minorities, who were given due access to education, civil services, job opportunities and army positions in return for which they were supposed to support the imperial power against any local opposition. Colonial bureaucrats often intentionally created disbelief between minority and majority groups, so as to inhibit common struggle against the colonizer, and to let the minorities perceive that they were more secure under European colonial administration than under the rule of some larger neighboring ethnic groups. Managing Diversity is therefore key to political stability in the region. The centralized, unitary 'nation-state' model adopted by Post-Colonial States appears increasingly unable to meet this challenge. Most of the ethnic groups were integrated with a desire to unshackle themselves from colonial rule, and there was a hope that a new nation-state and new national identity would gain faithfulness and support of all citizens. But after sometime, the signs of restlessness appeared. Many ethnic groups have much embedded in rooted that it is almost difficult to reframe the feeling of unity that accompanied independence. Some of these minorities had a long history of being oppressed or excluded by locally dominant groups. In the pre-colonial period in Asia, there was no universal ethnic hegemony and equality. Rather, it was based on strong ethnic hierarchy, which had differences between the 'civilized' groups at the center and the 'backward' groups at the periphery.<sup>10</sup>

Debates over cultural diversities in South Asia are now part of a broader international discourse and cannot be understood beyond that context. The people of Asia show a strong desire to understand their local debates in the context of global trends and

international norms. Millions suffer from ethnic and cultural deprivation that is the root cause of most of the conflicts facing the world. The refusal to accept religious, ethnic and cultural diversities causes strife war and partition. The fate of minorities in almost all South Asian countries today is at risk or in political confrontation with the State.<sup>11</sup> The question now is how to establish that the interaction of the local and the global occurs in a productive way. As against Huntington's idea of 'clash of civilizations' or Gray's ideas of 'radical tolerance' both of which leave the hope of cross cultural issues of multiculturalism can be a site for cultural confrontation and learning.<sup>12</sup> The differences in skin, color, language, culture etc. are of a superficial nature. The common humanity seems to be deeper and more hidden, than the differences that are usually on the surface are also invisible. Instead of concentrating on divisive elements, the socio-diversity is an important element in helping to develop further rather than to stagnate. Especially the modern globalized world with its new technologies allowed the world to become better connected and turned the earth into a smaller place. The world society undergoes a process of assimilation. As a result national societies will become more and more similar and this process can be described as "emergence of communities."<sup>13</sup>

Defending and preserving tradition at all costs can hold back human development. Some indigenous groups fear that their traditional cultural practices are endangered by the inflow of globalizing forces like goods ideas, people and capital. These kind of groups have reacted to violations of their cultural identity by shutting out all new ideas and change. This kind of behavior narrows their choice in the name of defending national cultural industries through protectionism. In every society, life styles, values, are not static and Anthropologists now concentrate on now cultures



change and continuously influenced internal conflicts and contradictions.<sup>14</sup> The minority always perceives that it has been misused in the hands of the majority. This helps to legitimize their current claims. There are many cases in Asia, Africa and even Eastern Europe, where the majority group feels it has been mistreated at the hands of minority in collaboration with foreign powers, and some diminishing of minority rights are needed to heal this historic discrimination.

Minorities have also been doubted of collaborating with former imperial powers, or with international movements that threaten the state e.g, International Islamist movements. Some Asian countries conceive the very process of building international minority rights norms as a tool by western powers to weaken Asian states. Several explanations can be given in this context. For example, some minority leaders view those members of the dominant group betrayed promise to share power, and have used post-colonial nation-state as a tool to promote its particular identity, culture and economic interest at the cost of other groups. Another view is to some state officials, who think minority ethnic uneasiness is the deliberately constructed legacy of colonial divide and rule policies, or of communist insurgency, or of other forms of foreign interference. The rise of ethnic calls up as the result of state weakness with people falling back on ethnic ties when the state is another reason for this discontentment. Some others think that democratization itself promotes ethnic mobility.

This is due to the fact that local politicians beseech and moreover democratization is deeply related to human rights, which in turn is linked to resistance to inherited ethnic and social hierarchies. These western models, theories and examples cannot be applied in the region because of the specific historical, cultural,

demographic and geo-political circumstances of the region. So many Asian societies have their own, often dating to pre-colonial times. All of the major ethical and religious traditions in the region from Confucian and Buddhist to Islamic and Hindu have their own traditions of peaceful co-existence amongst linguistic and religious groups and have conceptions of the value of tolerance, and their own recipes for sustaining unity amidst diversity.<sup>15</sup>

According to the advocates of the “politics of difference”, there are many cultures, with their own system of meaning. All of them are ‘inherently limited’. This makes dialogues between cultures about their differences “mutually beneficial.” Cultures are internally plural. For this reason, dialogues can help them define their own identities.<sup>16</sup> Many of the demands of cultural minorities are consistent with liberal principles such as individual freedom and social justice. One should be aware of the influence of national politics on the lives of individual members and how some people can feel disadvantaged or alienated because these politics do not take cultural differences into account. Therefore, minorities should be granted special rights, “talk of treating people as individuals is itself just a cover for ethnic and national injustice”. It means one cannot strive for equality without taking differences into account.<sup>17</sup>

Four principles should inform a strategy for tackling the issue. The first principle is that tradition should not be confused with freedom of choice. Cultural conservation can discourage or prevent people from adopting a different lifestyle, indeed even from joining the life style that others, from a different cultural back ground, standardly follow in the society in question. There is much to cherish in traditional values and practices, and much that is consonant with universal values of human rights. But there

is also much that is challenged by universal ethics, such as inheritance laws that are biased against women, or decision making procedures that are not participatory and democratic.<sup>18</sup> Homogenization and a kind of unification is promoted by the diffusion of common moderation in politics, promise of continuous change and the recognition of the dignity of values in other societies. Political pluralism and social welfare policies leave behind loyalties and common values. But plural societies are not the same as those with multiculturalism because one majority ethnic group could still dominate the minority.<sup>19</sup> Today's debates about globalization and the loss of cultural identity have often been argued in terms of upholding national sovereignty, preserving the ancient heritage of indigenous people and safeguarding national culture, preserving the ancient heritage of indigenous people and safeguarding national cultural in the face of growing inflows of foreign people, films, music and other goods. But cultural identities are heterogeneous and evolving. They are dynamic processes in which internal inconsistencies and conflicts derive change.<sup>20</sup> If citizens have social, cultural as well as civil rights these would create bonds and lead to the 'pacification of class antagonisms' while globalization would help in 'saving the republican heritage' by going beyond the boundaries of the nation state.<sup>21</sup> In this new international order, effective, well organized nation-states are necessary as problems become even more global. It is contradictory to say that nation-state is going to accommodate the conflicting pressures generated by globalization. Nation-state are compelled to shift their role in the era of globalization, the claim of the emergence of a global culture is accompanied by cries of alarm that local values and nation states are suffering a sense of threat to identity. In context of cultural flows, a more human, civilized and ethical approach

is needed to accommodate the complex world. Cultural identities are not dangerous but over sensitivity to indigenization might provoke over nationalism which might lead to ethnic conflicts. Cultures should not be protected by bureaucrats or confined behind iron-bars but cultures should live freely.

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Rein Mulleson, quoted is Silenho Yee and Jacaques Yvan Morin (eds.) *Multiculturalism and International Law, Eassays in Honour of Edward Martinus*, Martinus Nijhoff publishers, Leiden/Boston, 2009, p.xxviii,

Human Development Report 2004, p.8

Kymilicka, n. 10

Parkh 2006, 33 in Midden, n. 09.

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# A Report on 'Edge -Ground' Tools Recovered from the NW Sub-Himalayas of India

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## Abstract

Edge-ground tools were known from late-Pleistocene to early-Holocene sites of SE Asia till now. However, flake-rich edge-ground assemblages have now been discovered by us from the mid-Holocene sites of North-western sub-Himalayas of India. This discovery adds a new dimension to the stone-tool types that were being reported from the Siwaliks.

They were first recovered as a rich assemblage from a limited excavation of a late mid-Holocene site along with Soanian type tools and late-Harappan pottery in 2003-4 but later, many surface finds were made by us from mid to late mid-Holocene sites of Punjab and Himachal Pradesh Siwaliks. An analysis of such tools is presented here with an experiment performed to ascertain their possible fabrication and use.

**Key words: NW Sub-Himalayas, Edge-Ground, Mid-Holocene, Late-Harappan, Experiment.**

## Edge-Ground Tools

Until now, the edge-ground tools were known from late-Pleistocene to early-Holocene sites of SE Asia. Edge-ground adzes, axes and occasionally a small number of edge-ground flakes have been found from the mid-Holocene sites in Southeast Asia (*Bellwood, 2007*). Some such tools were found from Assam by T. C. Sharma (*H.D. Sankalia, 1974*) but in the present case the edge-ground flakes have been found by us in very large numbers from some sites (*Soni & Soni, 2009, 2012*).



Fig.1. (Edge-ground tools with hafting provisions from Australia)

In an excavated site (*Jandori-6*) from where a few thousand flakes/flake-tools fabricated on quartzite were recovered, more than 15% were having ground edges (*Soni and Soni, 2009*). Interestingly, these tools were found in association with the Soanian tools and Harappan potsherds (see figure.2) one of which was got dated to 4.5ka.

Site *Jandori-6* is situated in the middle-Siwaliks (Miocene rocks) and lies on the left bank of a stream *Jandori-Di-Khad* in district *Bilaspur* of *Himachal Pradesh*. This site provided us with an almost in-situ assemblage of archeological specimens. It is situated on a slope which has somewhat planar portion near the edge of the stream; most of which has been swept away by the flooding stream during heavy rains. A large number of stone tools were at first noticed on a small area of the site and then a limited excavation at a point yielded a huge flake-rich assemblage (*Soni and Soni 2009*) mixed with weathered potsherds. Some of the potsherds resembled the Harappan types.

There were also present many edge-ground artifacts (n=732)



in the total assemblage of about five thousand surficial/excavated lithic specimens. Site Jandori-6 appears to have experienced a phase of aridity in the past since all the lithic specimens and the potsherds below 30cm of the top of the trial trench (when a denser layer of the artifacts that appeared were laden with  $\text{CaCO}_3$  (Figure 2: A, F, O). It shows that the artifacts in the lower layers had collected there as a creep wash during aridity (which makes  $\text{CaCO}_3$  to deposit on them) and hints at the fact that the site could have been occupied by hominines during some mid-Holocene arid phase.

The occurrence of Harappan pottery along with Soanian-like stone tools (though there were edge-ground tools also) in-situ also points to the presence of Harappans at the site. One date of a potsherd obtained by OSL method (*Table-2*) also falls in mid-Holocene. Jandori-6 is as such a first mid-Holocene site in which edge-ground tools were found in association with the Soanian tools and Harappan potsherds.

In southeast Asia, mostly core tools and occasionally flakes with an edge-gloss are reported in upper stages of the Hoabinhian (Ha van Tan 1997; Bellwood 2007: 155, 167, 181-82, 184), but here in Jandori-6 assemblage, the edge-ground tools (Figure 2: B, C, M, O) are abundantly the flakes (> 95%) and flake tools. This place was a factory site which is evidenced by the presence of a large quantity of lithic shatter in the excavated material. The details of the archeological material obtained from this site will be reported elsewhere when more dating results are obtained.

Many edge-ground tools were also found from late mid-Holocene sites (*were got OSL dated*) like Bika Khad (Dist Ropar Punjab) and Nangal terraces, again in association with Soanian tools.

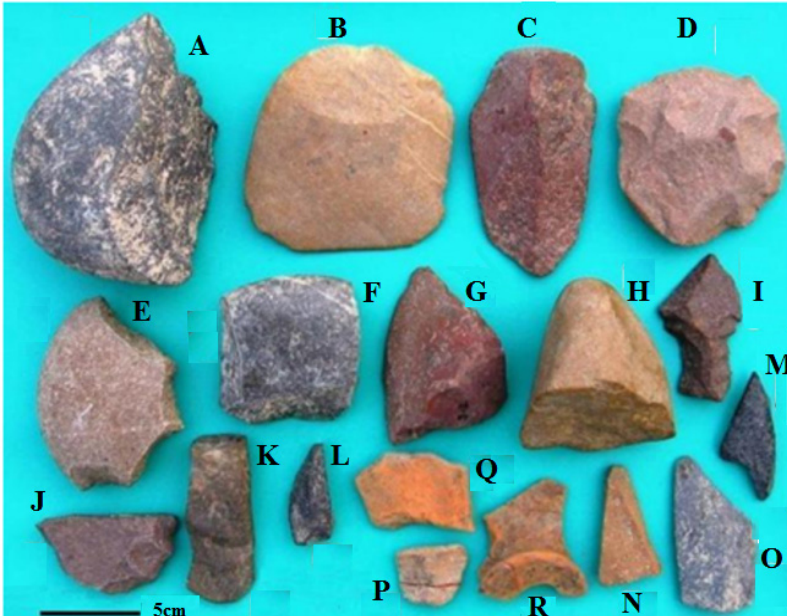


Fig.2. (Soanian tools along with Harappan pottery found from an excavation).

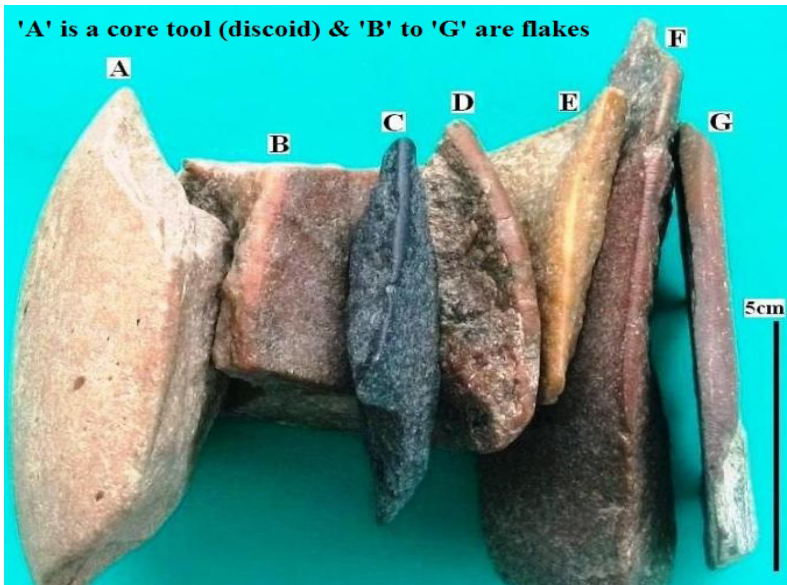


Fig.3. (Edge-ground tools from excavation; focus on ground edges)

Figure-3 shows some edge-ground tools with special focus on ground edges. The grinding of the edges here appears to have been done with some utility purpose and the gloss on flakes is not post-utilization. These tools followed Neolithic period and what purpose they served for the late-Harappans, is not known as yet. This convention might be the continuation of the Neolithic styles in which the stone tools were fully ground but here, only edges are ground and that also mostly in case of the flakes.

Figure-4 shows the ground edges of some archaeological flakes as seen by high power microscope. It was found that mostly the grinding was done by lateral movements (see Figs A & B) but in figure C, it appears that smoothening by vertical movement was also done in some cases.

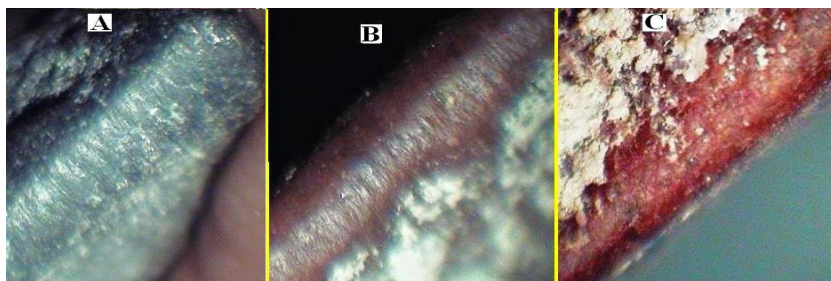


Fig.4. (Ground edges of some archaeological tools seen through a high power microscope)

To check if the ground edges were the result of some activity, we tried to replicate the ground edge on a similar non-ground quartzite flake. It was rubbed several times on a bamboo, on a mat and then on an animal skin, but failed to get a ground edge. Then a quartzite flake was again taken and was rubbed repeatedly on a soft sandstone core, both laterally and longitudinally. It was found that a shine started to appear on the flake's edge.

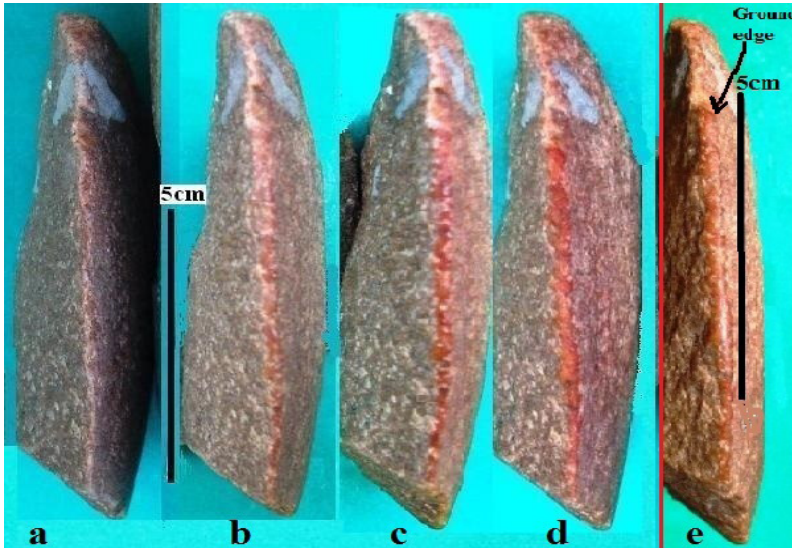


Fig.5.(Experiment for grinding an edge; photographs of different stages)

This gloss was similar to the shine on the edge-ground archaeological flakes (see images shown in Figure-5). Here the image 'A' is of the un-ground flake and 'B', 'C' & 'D' are later appearances of the artifact after repeating the grindings. This fact makes us believe that the edge grinding was pre-utilization act and was not a result of some activity. The edge-ground stone tools were prepared in this way for some utilization

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# The Interrelation of Abdurrahman Wahid and Mahatma Gandhi - Humanistic Spiritual

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## Abstract

This article discussed the humanistic spiritual of Abdurrahman Wahid and Mahatma Gandhi. The humanistic spiritual of Abdurrahman Wahid and Mahatma Gandhi consist of three dimensions; they are self-consciousness, self and knowledge transform, and egalitarianism. Self-consciousness consists of love and compassion, empathy, solidarity, and tolerance values. Self and knowledge transformation consists of altruistic, critical, and rational values. Egalitarianism consists of equality, plurality, justice, and democratic values. Those three major dimensions can be assessed have interrelation with the accessible model of spirituality which consist of three major constructs: the soul, the sacred, and the spirituality. The humanistic spiritual of Abdurrahman Wahid and Mahatma Gandhi basically a universal value contained that can be sensed in every faith and spiritual tradition.

**Keywords:** *humanstic spiritual, compassion of Abdurrahman Wahid, Mahatma Gandhi*

## Introduction

Humanistic and spirituality are interrelated. Abraham Maslow stated that spirituality is an aspect that affects a person's humanistic actions. Spirituality was intimately connected with "peak experiences" or mystical encounters characterized by feelings of intense awe, reverence, bliss, and ecstasy. Those peak



experiences are interpreted within the framework of a particular cultural or personal belief system<sup>1</sup>. For example a Muslim will describe the experience using the language and symbols of Islam, a Hindu will use Hindu terms and symbols, etc. The peak experiences will transport human out of ordinary consciousness into a higher dimension of being, providing them with glimpses of a transcendent reality and allowing to touch ultimate values<sup>2</sup>.

Contrary to Maslow, Dalai Lama is very clear in making the distinction between spirituality and religion. Religion is a belief in one belief tradition, while spirituality is related to the human soul such as love and compassion, patience tolerance, forgiveness, contentment, a sense of responsibility, a sense of harmony– which brings happiness to both self and others<sup>3</sup>. From this perspective, it is clear if some people said if they are spiritual but not religious.

The word spiritual is derived from the Latin '*spiritus*', which has to do with “breath” or the animating principle. According to Elkins, spirituality comprises three major constructs: the soul, the sacred, and spirituality itself. Soul points to the mystical and imaginable dimensions of human experience. It has to do with awe, wonder, and reverence. The soul is that dimension of the human capable of being touched, stirred, and nourished by the sacred. The sacred is equivalent to power. The sacred is saturated with being. Sacred power means reality and at the same time enduringness and efficacy. Spirituality is universal. Spirituality is available to every human being. It is not limited to religion, one culture, or one group of people. In every part of the world, one

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1 Maslow, A. H. (1976). Religions, values, and peak experiences. New York, NY: Penguin

2 Elkins, D. N. (2015). Beyond religion: Toward a humanistic spirituality. In K. J. Schneider, J. F. Pierson, & J. F. T. Bugental (Eds.), *The handbook of humanistic psychology: Theory, research, and practice* (p. 681–692). Sage Publications, Inc.

3 Dalai Lama XIV. (1999). *Ethics for the new millennium*. New York: Putnam., Pg.22



finds those who have cultivated their souls and developed their spiritual lives<sup>4</sup>.

In the context of India and Indonesia, Mahatma Gandhi and Abdurrahman Wahid were spiritual leaders who often voice peaceful religious messages. Mahatma Gandhi and Abdurrahman Wahid were religious leaders who focused on thinking about humanity and peace. Not only were Gandhi's ahimsa and *satyagraha* concepts effective in igniting the spirit of India's independence, but they also developed as a global peace discourse<sup>5</sup>. Abdurrahman Wahid, the former president of Indonesia, is a Muslim intellectual who has focused his studies mainly on humanity, intercommunal relations, inclusivism, and tolerance of diversity issues<sup>6</sup>.

The thought of Abdurrahman Wahid and Mahatma Gandhi toward humanity have relation and similarity. Abdurrahman Wahid oftentimes stated that he was a follower of Gandhi's non-violence idea. Based on this matter, this article aimed to discuss the humanistic thought of Abdurrahman Wahid and Mahatma Gandhi which rooted in their respective faith and spiritual traditions. How the thought can be formed and how the humanistic spiritual of Abdurrahman Wahid and Mahatma Gandhi can justify that the East world, especially Indonesia and India share universal values.

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4 Elkins, D. N. (2015). Op cit. Pg. 687

5 Bornman, E. (2003). Struggles of identity in the age of globalisation. *Communication*, 29(1–2), 24–47. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02500160308538019>; Juergensmeyer, M. (2007). Gandhi vs. terrorism. *Daedalus*, 136(1), 30–39. <https://doi.org/10.1162/daed.2007.136.1.30>; Sharma, J. N. (2012). Satyagraha: Gandhi's approach to conflict resolution. *Contributions to Conflict Management, Peace Economics and Development* (Vol. 20). Emerald Group Publishing Ltd. [https://doi.org/10.1108/S1572-8323\(2012\)0000020014](https://doi.org/10.1108/S1572-8323(2012)0000020014)

6 McIntyre, A. (2001). Middle Way Leadership in Indonesia: Sukarno and Abdurrahman Wahid Compared. In G. Lloyd & S. Smith (Eds.), *Indonesia Today: Challenges of History* (pp. 85–96). Singapore: ISEAS.

## Humanistic Spiritual of Abdurrahman Wahid

Abdurrahman Wahid is a moderate Muslim intellectual figure that Indonesia has ever had. His attitude in upholding humanistic values cannot be separated from the socio-cultural context that shapes his thinking. Stuart Hall stated that identity is built in discourse and therefore identity must be understood as something that is formed in specific historical and institutional spaces through specific discursive structures and practices<sup>7</sup>. For this reason, in projecting Abdurrahman Wahid's genealogy of humanistic thought, it is important to analyze the linkages of his thoughts in the synchronic and diachronic framework of history and the discourse that surrounds it in order to present a legitimate intellectual identity.

In Mark Woodward's term, Abdurrahman Wahid is an intellectual who has a 'sacred lineage' because he was born in a family of *Ulama* (Muslim Scholars)<sup>8</sup>. Abdurrahman Wahid is the son of KH. Abdul Wahid Hasyim. His father is the son of KH Hasyim Asyari, the founder of the Pesantren<sup>9</sup> Tebuireng, while his mother is the daughter of Kiai Bisri Syansuri, the founder of the Pesantren Denanyar. K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari and Kiai Bisri-Syansuri were great Indonesian Muslim Scholars as well as the central figures in the establishment of the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) organization (the biggest Islamic organization in Indonesia)<sup>10</sup>. Meanwhile, his father, Kiai Wahid Hasyim, was the Chairman of

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7 Hall, S. (Ed.). (1997). Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices (Vol. 2). Sage, Pg.4

8 Woodward, M. R. (1998). Memahami Semangat Baru Islam Indonesia: Percakapan dengan Abdurrahman Wahid. Dalam Mark R. Woodward (et. Al.), Jalan Baru Islam: Memetakan Paradigma Mutakhir Islam Indonesia, Bandung, Mizan.

9 Islamic Boarding School

10 Ahmad, M. (2010). Ijtihad Politik Gus Dur; Analisis Wacana Kritis. Yogyakarta: LKiSPelangi Aksara, Pg.58-59

Masyumi<sup>11</sup> and also served as Minister of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia during the Old Order<sup>12</sup>.

The thoughts and ideas of KH Hasyim Asyari and KH Wahid Hasyim regarding Islam and the state influenced Abdurrahman Wahid's thought. Hasyim Asy'ari was a scholar who upholds the unity based on social solidarity<sup>13</sup>. Meanwhile, Kiai Wahid Hasyim is a liberal scholar, who prioritizes rationality and togetherness. His egalitarian attitude made Wahid Hasyim view Pancasila as a form of tolerance from major religions in Indonesia<sup>14</sup>. The values of the struggle of Hasyim Asy'ari and Wahid Hasyim inspired Abdurrahman Wahid's struggle to promote humanity.

Abdurrahman Wahid's humanistic ideas and thoughts cannot be separated from the *pesantren* tradition. In the *pesantren* tradition, there is an extraordinary relationship of obedience between *Santri* (student) and *Kyai* (teacher). The respect and obedience of the *Santri* to the *Kyai* is manifested in intellectual relationships<sup>15</sup>. This relationships affect any *Santri* were inspired by the thoughts of *Kyai*, just like Abdurrahman Wahid was inspired by the egalitarian attitude of *Kyai* Ali Ma'shum Krapyak Yogyakarta<sup>16</sup>.

Abdurrahman Wahid's thoughts followed a neo-traditionalist path which was enriched by his association with intellectuals from various communities. Since the 1970s, Abdurrahman Wahid has been invited by pro-reform intellectuals working in the NGO world to take part in the *pesantren* community development proj-

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11 Indonesian Islamic Party in the Old Order Era

12 Barton, G. (2017). *Biografi Gus Dur: The Authorized Biography of Abdurrahman Wahid*. Yogyakarta: LKiS

13 Dhofier, Z. (2015). *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Pendangan Hidup Kyaidan Visinya Mengenai Masa Depan Indonesia (the Pesantren Tradition: the Study of Kyai's Worldview and His Vision of the Future of Indonesia)*. Jakarta: LP3ES.

14 Ahmad, M. (2010). *Op cit*.

15 Dhofier, Z. (2015). *Op cit*. Pg.125-129

16 Barton, G. (2017). *Op cit*

ect, designed by LP3ES (Institute for Economic and Social Research, Education and Information) and P3M (Association of Pesantren and Society Development). Through these associations, Abdurrahman Wahid's intellectual ideas began to be influenced by dominant themes among NGO activists –such as alternative development, democracy and human rights<sup>17</sup>.

Abdurrahman Wahid was also invited to join the intellectual circles of neo-modernism reform, such as LKiS (Institute for Islamic and Social Studies) which is engaged in NGOs and the *MajelisReboan*<sup>18</sup>. The *MajelisReboan* is an experiment to develop an open and plural public sphere in situations of authoritarian control. The participants of the *MajelisReboan* involved intellectuals from various backgrounds, both Muslim and non-Muslim. These two organizations strengthened Abdurrahman Wahid's ideas around secularization, pluralism, non-sectarianism, inclusivism, and Islamic contextualization. This led to the formulation of his Islamic paradigm, "*Pribumisasi Islam*" (the indigenization of Islam). Through this paradigm, traditionalists not only have new intellectual weapons to defend their historical religious practices from criticism of reformers-modernists, but also a reason for placing Islamic interests under national interests<sup>19</sup>. The NGO circle around Abdurrahman Wahid accidentally formed what Grant Jordan called the policy community<sup>20</sup>. This policy community will form a policy network that influence Abdurrahman Wahid's critical and democratic ideas. Greg Barton<sup>21</sup>, classified

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17 Latif, Y. (2013). Genealogi Inteligencia: Pengetahuan & Kekuasaan Inteligencia Muslim Indonesia Abad XX. Kencana. Pg.606

18 A discussion forum that is held every Wednesday

19 Ibid. Pg.607

20 Jordan, G. (1990). Sub-governments, policy communities and networks: refilling the old bottles? *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 2(3), 319–338.

21 Barton, G., & Tahqiq, N. (1999). *Gagasan Islam Liberal di Indonesia: Pemikiran Neo-Modernisme* Nurcholish Madjid, Djohan Effendi, Ahmad Wahib, dan Abdur-

Abdurrahman Wahid's writings into five major themes, namely: 1) The Strength of Traditional Islam and the Islamic Boarding School System, 2) The Weaknesses of Current Traditional Islam in Indonesia, 3) Dynamics - Responses to Modernity, 4) Pluralism, 5) Humanitarianism and Socio-Political Policy. According to Barton, Abdurrahman Wahid's thoughts on humanitarianism are the most prominent among other writings. For Abdurrahman Wahid, the message of Islam is fundamentally a message that pays close attention to humanitarianism and Islam has been the source of Abdurrahman Wahid's thoughts so far as well as the source of his humanistic thoughts.

According to Abdurrahman Wahid, humanitarianism is important because humans have a high position in the cosmological order, so that each individual must obtain the same basic rights. Abdurrahman Wahid developed the issue of humanitarianism which is very relevant to the context of Indonesian democracy because the life and humanity that is complete in a country with heterogeneous population can only be achieved through democracy. Abdurrahman Wahid's view of humanitarianism is based on the value of Islamic universalism which upholds human rights. Through this, Abdurrahman Wahid can easily accept and cooperate with other ideology and thought as an effort to free humans from the injustice matter<sup>22</sup>. Abdurrahman Wahid's plurality side appears in the essay "*Agama dan Demokrasi*"<sup>23</sup> where according to him, plurality can be achieved if it begins with internal transformation within the institution or religious group. In internal

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rahman Wahid. Jakarta: PustakaParamadina.

22 Bakri, S., & Abdullah, M. (2004). Jombang-Kairo, Jombang-Chicago: sintesis-pemikiran Gus Dur dan Cak Nur dalam pembaruan Islam di Indonesia. Surakarta: TigaSerangkai.

23 Wahid, A. (2007). *Agama dan Demokrasi (Religion and Democracy)*. In *Islam Kosmopolitan: Nilai-Nilai Indonesia dan Transformasi Kebudayaan* (pp. 281-290). Jakarta: The Wahid Institute.

transformation, religion must reformulate on human values and build solidarity among human beings. The transformation process in Abdurrahman Wahid's thought means making changes in a new direction. In relation to religions, the religious law (shari'a) in society should not be accepted as it is, but needs critical reasoning to be translated, rationalized, and adapted to the existing life context.

The transformation process means religions can interact with others religious beliefs so they can find universal values in social life. The interfaith interaction process does not mean equating various religious beliefs in total, but the interaction which can builds interfaith dialogue. In Abdurrahman Wahid's essay, "*Islam dan Dialog Antar Agama*"<sup>24</sup>, interfaith dialogue which needs to be built is that every religion must cooperate with each other in dealing with people's lives, because every religion is obliged to create justice and prosperity in a shared life. If the internal transformation can be implemented, then in the next level it will build liberation and democracy in the society.

Abdurrahman Wahid's thought of humanistic was also derived from his openness to Western science. The breadth of Abdurrahman Wahid's reading, such as in Karl Marx's *Das Kapital*, Lenin's *What is To be Done* and *Infantile Communism*, Mao's *Little Red Book*, and Tolstoy's<sup>25</sup>, has started since his teens and increasingly when Abdurrahman Wahid studied at Al Azhar Cairo and his studies in Baghdad. This made Abdurrahman Wahid very open to Western knowledge (modernism) without leaving the traditional values he had during his time at the *pesantren*. These two things have shaped his thought about humanistic and

24 Wahid, A. (2002). *Islam dan Dialog Antar Agama* (Islam and Interreligious Dialogue). Duta Masyarakat, p. August 26

25 Barton, G. (2017). *Op cit*. Pg.56

his humanitarian actions which are carried out without considering ethnicity, race, religion and social status.

The spiritual humanistic in Abdurrahman Wahid's thought is built on three interrelated things, namely self-awareness, transformative, and the principle of equality. Abdurrahman Wahid's thought originated from his inner awareness of humanitarian issues around him. His criticism and sharp response through his writings show that Abdurrahman Wahid has an attitude of empathy, solidarity, and tolerance towards fellow human beings regardless of social status. Abdurrahman Wahid had these attitudes because he was open to his social environment and able to eliminate prejudice and suppress selfishness towards others. Abdurrahman Wahid's humanistic thought was then built on the basis of the transformation of knowledge that was carried out. As a neo-modernist intellectual, Abdurrahman Wahid was able to combine traditional and modern thinking through his critical attitude and rationality. Abdurrahman Wahid's knowledge transformation went well because self-awareness was already formed. The culmination of Abdurrahman Wahid's humanistic thought is to build the principle of equality for all levels of society. The principle of equality referred to by Abdurrahman Wahid is an attitude of democracy, freedom, justice, prosperity and religious pluralism, all of which can be achieved through cooperation of cooperative community.

### **Humanistic Spiritual of Mahatma Gandhi**

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was an Indian religious leader who was tolerant to all religions of mankind. His respect on religion was not limited to Hinduism only, but also opens to the truths of other religions. His spiritual experience in learning

was not only the Gita, but also Qur'an, Bible, and Guru Grantha Saheb, lead him to a conclusion that religion is a truth (satya) and anti-violence (ahimsa). Religion is a moral teaching that must be presented in human behavior, so that every religious person must show the truth of his religion in his own conduct and respect for each other. This can be read in his book *All Men are Brothers*<sup>26</sup>, in the sub-chapter which discusses religion and truth.

He stated that indeed religion should pervade every one of our actions. Here religion does not mean sectarianism. It means a belief in ordered moral government of the universe. Religions are different roads converging to the same point. What does it matter that we take different roads, so long as we reach the same goal? After long study and experience, I have come to conclusion that (1) all religions are true; (2) all religions have some error in them; (3) all religions are almost as dear to me as my own Hinduism, in as much as all human beings should be as dear to one as one's that close relatives. My own veneration for other faiths is the same as that for my own faith.

Gandhi's journey in getting to know religions occurred when he was studying law in London and during his tenure in South Africa. Gandhi's encounter with the Theosophy group made him read *Key to Theosophy* by Madame Blavatsky and *Why I Became a Theosophist* by Annie Besant. In addition, Gandhi also read Sir Edwin Arnold's *The Song of Celestial* and *The Light of Asia*, Washington Irving's *Life of Mahomet and His Successor* and Tolstoy's *The Gospel in Brief, What to do?* These books made Gandhi interested in learning more about the Bhagavad Gita and other religious books and he came to the conclusion that

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26 Ganhdi, M. K. (1960). *All Men are Brothers: Life and Thoughts of Mahamtma Gandhi as Told in His Own Words*. Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House. Pg.54



all religions had the same universal values and it made himself become tolerant<sup>27</sup>.

Gandhi's tolerance does not indicate that he was a secularist. It actually originated with anti-secularism and his rejection of Western modernism. Gandhi's tolerance originated from the Hindu tradition, *sanatana-dharma*, which made him always hold honesty values, not hurt living things, maintain purity, have a good intention, be forgiving, patient, control lust, control himself, and be generous. Gandhi's tolerance was not merely faith tolerance but religious tolerance. His obedience to religion was not trapped in religious exclusivism, because he was convinced that no peace could be built upon exclusivism. Gandhi felt that the religious struggle could be realized by fighting for the lives of others who needed help regardless of their religious and social status. It can be said that his religious tolerance also fostered his empathy towards humanity. While in South Africa, Gandhi often provided legal assistance to workers who were subjected to violence and pressure from European employers. Gandhi saw many injustices incurred by Indian workers in South Africa and in India itself due to British colonialism. This was what ultimately made Gandhi decide to return to India and establish *Satyagraha*<sup>28</sup>.

Gandhi's *Satyagraha* or the truth force was based on anti-violence or ahimsa concept. *Ahimsa* is love and compassion within an individual which aims to achieve oneness with the other. According to Gandhi the universal human value of Ahimsa ought to be cultivated not merely at personal level, but at social, national and international level too if we wish to avoid personal, social, national and international conflicts. It is a very powerful means to

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27 Ibid.

28 Gandhi, M. (1983). *Autobiography: The story of my experiments with truth*. Courier Corporation.

avoid conflict, since it springs from inner realization of the equality of all human beings.

*Ahimsa* can be achieved by starting a complete change in oneself (*vyakti*), both in body, mind, and spirit, to reach the truth. Gandhi applied this through his promise to carry out *brahmacharya*, a concept of the Gita to control lust and achieve awareness in thoughts, words, and deeds. A high-level of self-control also means self-suffering (*tapasya*), which, according to Gandhi, is a way to enrich individual morally. Self-suffering is the most important form of *ahimsa* in doing *Satyagraha*. Gandhi's *Satyagraha* and *ahimsa* movements built interpersonal relations throughout Indian society through the concept of *Sarvasharma Samabhava*, equality of religions and equal respect for religions, which include peace, tolerance, simplicity, politeness, and kindness to achieve prosperity and justice for others (*sarvodaya*). These concepts were used by Gandhi to achieve self-rule and self-restraint (*swaraj*), for a country that is independent, democratic, and sovereign<sup>29</sup>.

Mahatma Gandhi's thoughts were built on three interrelated dimensions, namely self, self-transformation, and *satyagraha*. Self (*vyakti*), Gandhi's humanistic spiritual is based on self-maturity in the soul, body, and mind, which originates from his religious tolerance. Through his tolerance, Gandhi had love and affection for all people, as well as an attitude of empathy and concern for humanity. In self-transformation, Gandhi fully transformed himself through the practice of *Brahmacharya*. This practice was a self-suffering (*Tapasya*) which required Gandhi to be able to regulate his ego and lust to achieve a positive mind and actions. *Satyagraha*, is Gandhi's highest humanistic thought which was carried out through *ahimsa*. The truths espoused for by Gandhi were equality,

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29 Ibid.

justice, prosperity, and democracy for all people (*Sarvodaya*).

### **The Interrelation of Abdurrahman Wahid and Mahatma Gandhi Humanistic Spiritual:**

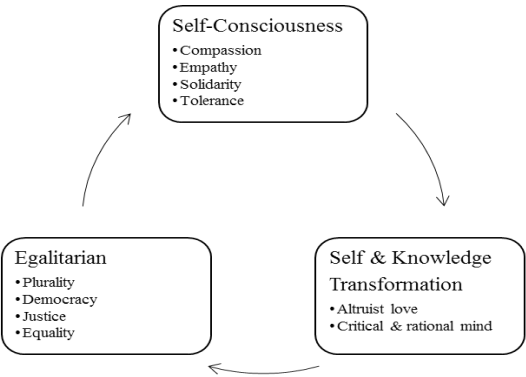
Based on the findings, the humanistic spiritual of Abdurrahman Wahid and Mahatma Gandhi is formed in the same pattern of stages, i.e., self, transformation, and action. At the self-stage, Abdurrahman Wahid and Mahatma Gandhi have the same values associated with love and compassion, namely empathy. Empathy, the human ability to enter into, know, and feel the psyche of another, is an attitude that supports humanitarianism<sup>30</sup>. Empathy is a manifestation of love, compassion, and selfishness towards one's social environment, and will subsequently establish tolerance and solidarity. All these values can be seen in the humanistic spiritual of Abdurrahman Wahid and Mahatma Gandhi.

The transformation stage is an important step in shaping the humanistic spiritual of Abdurrahman Wahid and Mahatma Gandhi. This stage led Abdurrahman Wahid and Mahatma Gandhi to their thoughts about humanity and openness with other groups. There are differences between Abdurrahman Wahid and Mahatma Gandhi in the transformation stage based on their respective faith traditions. Abdurrahman Wahid carried out knowledge-transformation through *ijtihad*, while Mahatma Gandhi carried out self-transformation through *brahmacharya* (chastity). *Ijtihad* referred to by Abdurrahman Wahid is a rational interpretation of Islamic teachings. According to Abdurrahman Wahid, with continuous rationality, Muslims are able to face the challenges of modernity and respond to the pluralism society positively. While *brahmacharya*(chastity), according to Mahatma Gandhi,

<sup>30</sup> Asad, T. (2014). Reflections on Violence, Law, and Humanitarianism. *Critical Inquiry*, 41(2), 390–427. <https://doi.org/10.1086/679081>

means control of the senses in thought, word and deed. Gandhi carried on *brahmacharya* by fasting to distance himself from lust and selfishness, so it can be understood that *brahmacharya* is a complete transformation of self. This stage of transformation is an important stage in building the humanistic thoughts. At the action stage, Abdurrahman Wahid and Mahatma Gandhi shared the same values, namely democracy, equality, and justice. Abdurrahman Wahid named these values as egalitarian principles while Mahatma Gandhi integrated these values in the action of Satyagraha.

Based on these stages, the humanitarianism values of Abdurrahman Wahid and Mahatma Gandhi are summarized in universal humanitarianism values composed of three dimensions, namely self-consciousness, self and knowledge transformation, and egalitarian. Self-consciousness consists of love and compassion, empathy, solidarity, and tolerance values; self and knowledge transform consists of altruistic, critical, and rational values; egalitarian consists of equality, plurality, justice, and democratic values which can be seen in the following figure.



The figures above show that the humanistic thought of Abdurrahman Wahid and Mahatma Gandhi have three major di-

mensions: self-consciousness, self & knowledge transformation, and egalitarian. Those three major dimensions can be assessed have interrelation with the accessible model of spirituality promoted by Elkins which consist of three major constructs: the soul, the sacred, and the spirituality. Elkins stated that the aim of spirituality is compassion. The word compassion literally means “to suffer with”. Spiritual life springs from the tenderness of the heart, and authentic spirituality expresses itself through loving action toward others<sup>31</sup>. In the context of Abdurrahman Wahid and Mahatma Gandhi, compassion emerges through self-consciousness, in other words their souls, then their sacred heart grows through a process of transformation so that it eventually creates loving action toward others in an egalitarian dimension.

## **Conclusion**

The humanistic spiritual of Abdurrahman Wahid and Mahatma Gandhi begin in self-consciousness, which includes love, empathy, solidarity, and tolerance attitudes. The culmination of this humanistic spiritual is to achieve egalitarian principle, an attitude of justice, democratic, plural, and upholding the equity of human rights. The egalitarian principles can be achieved through self and knowledge transformation. Based on humanistic spiritual of Abdurrahman Wahid and Mahatma Gandhi, it can be concluded that to become a humanitarian actor one must have openness to others and be able to transform themselves through self-suffering and rational, critical knowledge transformation. These humanistic attitudes are basically a universal value contained that can be sensed in Islam, Hindu, and in every faith and spiritual tradition.

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31 Elkins, D. N. (2015). Op cit. 686-687

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# **Hinduism and Buddhism in Southeast Asia: Origin, Impact and Decline**

**Balraj Singh**

## **Abstract**

The relationship between India and Southeast Asia is not only recent. The relation was started from the ancient times. The intermingling of the cultural and the religious values are very much discussed in the various books and text of the historians and the travelers. The biggest role is played by the Hindu and Buddhist religions for the formation of the old administrative and the social system of the Southeast Asia.

These two religions flourished in the Southeast Asian countries for long time and had a great impact on the political, social and religious system of the countries of the Southeast Asia. As per the saying nothing is living for all the times the same was faced by the Hinduism first and Buddhism later on.

Finally the shine of both these religions started diminishing in the Southeast Asian countries gradually as the new religions started making their own place in the minds of the people and later on dominated the polity of all the countries of Southeast Asia.

**Key Words: Hinduism, Buddhism, India, Southeast Asia.**

South East Asia consists of 11 countries, area of 4,545,792 square kilometers and 655,298,044 populations also the most populous region of the world. The most prevalent religions in Southeast Asia are Islam and Buddhism. The others people are of

Hinduism, Animism, Taoism, Vietnamese. 42 % population has adopted Islam, with the total number 242 million. Buddhists in the region is about 190-225 million.

A geographical survey of Southeast Asia' shows two domain patterns. Southeast Asia characterized by numerous river systems that flow from interior highlands to the ocean, a feature that had had significant impact upon its social and economic evolution. People settled in various river systems, populations becoming concentrated only in the broad delta region at river mouths.

Southeast Asia was under populated and the rulers attached among themselves to attract the manpower necessary for them to assume power. Hinduism is a major religion of India with a long and complex history. It is also a way of life that embraces many aspects of south Asian culture. The Indian settlement in the Southeast Asia gradually resulted in the Indianite kingdom on the Indo Chinese Peninsula and pre modern Indonesia.

The migrants brought traditional arts, religious beliefs and customs along with a sacred language Sanskrit. The archaeologists who discovered these relics have reported that many of the idols of Siva culture, specially these in childian, Xiawei and other vil-lages are all regarded as that of Avalokitesavara. Not only in china, have similar cases been observed among the Chinese communi-ties in Indonesia also.

The diaspora of the Indians first in the Southeast Asia re-gion and then to south and southeast china has a long history. Al-ready during the seventh century Yijing (A.D 625-713) acquaints us with a flourishing Buddhist settlement in SriVijya in Indo-nesia. Even before that a Funan kingdom had become a virtual Indian colony where the Brahmanic gods penetrated even before Buddhism. The historical remains of ancient Indian civilization

are still traceable in Thailand, Kampuchea (Cambodia), Indonesia and Quanzhou in China. Indonesianized dynasty appeared both in southern Vietnam and in Kampuchea. Hinduism spread into Southeast Asia as the Indian settlement in Southeast Asia is supposed to be from as early as 6th century. The great epic Ramayana refer to Suvanbhumi and Yavadvipa. Puranas mention Malaydvipa and Yavadvipa.

In the 9th century kingdom of central Java had four of its rulers were followers of Saivism. One of them built 156 temples of this cult. The close relation between Sumatra and the south India can also be seen from the Tamil inscription of 1088 which was discovered in the neighborhood of Bolash and contains statements suggesting its authorship by Tamil merchants.<sup>9</sup> Buddhist monks arrived in the Southeast Asia during the 1st century. Buddha images from 1st and 3rd centuries have been discovered in Siam (Thailand), Champa (Cambodia), Sumatra, Java and Celebes (Indonesia).

The influence of the Indians on Southeast Asia was most noticeable from 290 B.C to 15th century. Kings of India maintained trade relations with Southeast Asian countries such Burma, Thailand, Indonesia, Cambodia which led to cultural social as well as religious exchanges between these two regions.

Indian culture reached out to other cultures and civilizations encouraged a healthy exchange of values, ideas and knowledge. Archaeological proofs points at vast trade relations of Indus Valley civilization with the Mesopotamian civilization. The emergence of India-Grecian arts and culture in Gandhara and Taxila, the famous silk route, Chola influence over Southeast Asia and the spread of Buddhism all over Far East confirm the important role of India in advancement of world culture.

Indian literature from the first centuries A.D refers to Southeast Asia in general as Yavadvipa or Suvarnadvipa, the “Golden Island” or “Golden Peninsula”. The Ramayana, India’s great epic poem about Lord Rama’s attempt to rescue his wife, who had been abducted by the king of srilanka, records seven kingdoms on the “Gold and Silver Island” beyond SriLanka. The Buddhist ‘Jatakas’ fables from popular literature mentions Indian merchants who went to Southeast Asia in search of wealth.

Guna Varman, an Indian Prince and a Buddhist Monk sailed from India to Southeast Asia in the early fifth century, landing at the Javanese trade depot of She-plo. He departed from there with the intension of a stop in a Lin-Yi (Cham) patron the lower Vietnam coast before entering china. The winds were unfavorable, however and the merchant ship on which he had taken passage sailed nonstop for china. The Southeast Asian rulers learned Indian culture through their interaction with Indians on the maritime route and drew from the Indian traditions for their own benefit. By encouraging the migration of Brahman clerk to help them administer their realm. Indian culture was important to Southeast Asian states as an ideological base for their expansion.

Historians have examined the roles of Brahman priests, Ksatriya warrior or Vaisya traders from India in spreading Indian civilization along the emerging maritime routes to develop Southeast Asian states while some have postulated wholesale colonization by Indian exiles. “Others have mentioned that Indianization was fully created by Southeast Asians themselves, by calling Brahmans to their courts and creating a sense of Indian customs. There is no historical record which provides evidence of Indian colonies, Indian conquest, or direct Indian control. The adoption of Indic culture appears to have been voluntary on the

part of the Southeast Asians. This process did not merely occur once or twice but many occasions happen between the third and fourteenth centuries A.D, in riverine coastal centers as well as in hinterland wet rice plains.

The initial contact with cultural tradition came through Southeast Asian sailors. Southeast Asian rulers adopted the Indian culture and provided certain opportunities for administrative and technological advantages vis-à-vis their rituals contacts. Early Southeast Asian society thus rallied behind spiritually endowed leaders who supported by a blend of local and Indian cultural symbols and values.

The initiative was by Southeast Asians, not Indians. It was a slow process of cultural synthesis that one of rapid imposition of Hinduism made possible by a massive influx of Brahmans that was responsible for the Indian of Southeast Asia. With the dispersal of Tamil population into the south east and East Asian regions the Tamil traders were very active during the eleventh century. Eleventh to fifteenth century was the period when the Indian merchants and sailors especially the Tamil dispersed and spread over the whole of Southeast Asia and from there to the south and southeast china.

The Southeast Asia's elite's patronage of the Hindu and Buddhist tradition from India brought them into a wider universe of symbols and attachments and provided an Indian framework for their statecraft. Southeast Asian kings utilized Sanskrit vocabulary, described the world in the idiom of Hindu and Buddhist thought and sponsored art and architecture that expressed the Hindu and Buddhist word views. Royal monuments were cosmological symbols redefining the boundaries of time and space to the advantage of the state's elite. A vast and orderly cosmos was sub-

stantiated by the most advanced mathematical astronomy of the time and was the foundation for Hindu and Buddhist thought. States were patterned on the order of the cosmos and linked the sacred and secular order.

Hindu and the Buddhist traditions among the early South-east Asian rulers fused these cosmological principles with Indic topographical formulas (mandalas-a “contained core”) that provided a design for the integration of clan or lineage based group into centralized politics. In the Indian philosophical tradition a mandala was a sacred diagram of the cosmos that was normally depicted in art as a geometric construct of encompassed circles and rectangles.

A ruler and his capital were at the Centre of the universe, cosmological and magical symbols expressed royal power. In the Hindu and the Buddhist concept of the state the ruler facilitated the establishment of a secular society that was in harmony with the natural cosmic order (dharma). In a successful state, society was prosperous. The most effective ruler did not force conformity by use of physical might (danda) but achieved success due to his righteous victory (dharmavijaya/ dhamavijaya) and continued peaceful leadership. The just ruler was called cakravartin (universal Monarch) whose illustrious moral force uplifted his subjects and established the secular conditions necessary for the attainment of their salvation.

The sanctity of the Hindu rulers in central Java was concentrated in the temple complex on the Dieng Plateau, was originally a sacred “mountain of the gods”. It became the locus of a Javanese Saivite cult. In 732 inscriptions, Sanjoy (King of Java) constructed a Linga that was associated with a mountain, praising siva, Brahma and Visnu used to inhabit an island (dvipa) (Bhumi, a Land)

of great prosperity known as Yava.

In early Cambodia Hindu religion was introduced in temples provide the basis for legitimizing political and economic integration. The local elites used Saivite religion to reinforce indigenous symbols of authority relationships. Siva was referred to “Lord of the Mountain” responsible for the success or failure of the living were various local spirits who bestowed fertility on the land.

Worship of Siva in Cambodia the Devaraja (God King) cult of Jaya Varman II (770-834) was based on a mountaintop that became the site of his realm’s principal temple at the center. In the Brahmanical concept of the universe a circular central continent, Jambudvipa was surrounded by seven oceans and continents.

During Northern Song dynasty (A.D 960-1127) itself, Indian merchants and sailors had come to stay in China. Its very existence of Indian settlements can be tracked back to many centuries before this period. With this probably began the introduction of Brahminism (popularly known as Hinduism) in China. The aggressive Chola rulers must have backed its dissemination vigorously. Buddhism had already started its decline in India and the re-emerging Brahminism championed by Sankracharya was going ground and consolidation of its hold in India.

The rise of Chola power in South India and their massive naval attack of Srivijaya must have been preceded by centuries of maritime trade between these countries. The rivalry between them for China trade probably led to violent conflicts for control of both sides of the Straits of Malacca. The kingdom of Srivijaya had close relations with the Song emperors. The kings of Cambodia, were champions of Indian culture and art like the conqueror King Suryavarman II, the builder of Angkor Wat. They were also carriers

of Indian religions and art to china. Consequently two Brahmanical gods Vishnu and Shiva were recommended for worship not only in India and Southeast Asia (Indonesia, Cambodia, Thailand etc.) but also in the coastal area of china.

In 1987 the image of god Siva in dancing pose, 66 cm in breadth and 48 centimetres in height forming a part of the Yavan period (A.D 1279-1368) Hindu temple was found in a niche in Xingting the old street of childian, Quanzhou. The archaeologists who discovered these relics have reported that that many of the idols of Siva culture, especially these in childian, Xiawei and other villages are all regarded as that of Avalokitesavara. Not only in china, have similar cases been observed among the Chinese communities in Indonesia also.

In the 9th century kingdom of central Java four of its rulers were followers of Saivism and one of them built as many as 156 colossal temples characteristic of the cult. The close relation between Sumatra and the south India can also be seen from the Tamil inscription of 1088 which was discovered in the neighborhood of Bolash and contains statements suggesting its authorship by Tamil merchants.

Thus the ships bearing Hindu names like Balagopal, Sargragerly, shankerakkary, ssuburama found their way to Manila 1730s on word upto 1760. Even the rulers of Southeast Asia had their commercial representation at surat and other Indian ports.

Various Hindu festivals are celebrated with great pomp in Southeast Asian countries. Diwali is one of the most celebrated festivals in Singapore. Another impact of Hinduism on the Southeast Asia is of Sanskrit. Sanskrit is one of the old written language used in Laos, Myanmar, Cambodia and Thailand. Even today Sanskrit words are associated with the names of the inhab-



itants of this region, especially Indonesia. Sukarno for example is popular name in Indonesia. Indonesia is a Muslim majority country but even then the country's national symbol bears the symbol of Garuda. The eagle mount of the Hindu God Visnu and the national airline of Indonesia is "Garuda International".

The impact of Hinduism is immense in the Southeast Asia. Manuscript is translated into many regional languages of the Southeast Asia but various sub stories attached to it. Many things like caste system were followed as per the Manu's views but the poor condition of women as described by Manu was not followed at all in the Southeast Asian countries. The Indian influence include the Hindu or Buddhist cult, local literary through Sanskrit local use of mythological elements from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, the Puranas and other Sanskrit text . In many events cultural transmission involved the retention of Brahmin priests as count functionaries in south Asia.

The history of Hinduism and Buddhism is very ancient. India is considered to be the source of Christianity and Islam the two most prevalent religions of the Southeast Asia. Indian civilization influenced various civilization of the world by Hinduism and Buddhism. It is mainly through Indian religions that Indian culture, language, foods, customs and lifestyles gradually penetrated into various civilizations of the world and became integrated with them. India does not share border directly with the Southeast Asian countries except Myanmar. The impact of Indian Hinduism and Buddhism on the Southeast Asian countries remains intact for thousands of years.

Buddhist monks arrived in the Southeast Asia during the 1st century. Buddha images from 1st and 3rd centuries have been discovered in Thailand, Cambodia, Sumatra, Java and Indonesia.

Buddhism was first introduced into Quanzhou. In the Sang and Yuan dynasties, there were over six thousand monks and priests in Quanzhou, more than four thousands of the names are still known.

## **Impacts**

Over times, forms of Hinduism and Buddhism developed which incorporated aspects of local culture of south East Asia. Numerous inscriptions indicate the central role of Brahmins in the religious lives of Southeast Asian people popular local forms of Hinduism included Saivism, with Siva bring the supreme deity and Vaishnavism, where Vishnu is the supreme deity. Several temples dedicated to Siva and Vishnu were built in the ancient Khmer empire. One such example is Angkar wat, the largest Hindu temple in the world at the time of its construction in the 12th century. It was initially dedicated to Vishnu later transformed into Buddhist temple.

Saivite cults became popular in Southeast Asia especially during warfare. Yet another cult of Saivism, showing a goddess as the Siva's Sakti became a strong feature of tantric Buddhism found in many parts of Southeast Asia by the 8th century and came to play an important role in the 13th-14th century Indonesia.

The third of the Hindu Trimurti, Brahma plays a less prominent role in Southeast Asian Hinduism. Instead other gods gained popularity and appeared in Southeast Asian mythology. Among them were Yama, the lord of underworld who judges mankind as well as Surya, Indra and the Serpent gods.

There was a massive geographical spread of the Rama story by sub continental boundary and was adapted in several parts of

the Asian continent. In central Asia, China and Tibet it was adapted to local space and time and drew from Buddhist originals. In Southeast Asia there was a great inclination on Indian folk and local geography, tradition and events. In these versions local geographies were brought in to make the local people identify with it. There developed culture specific rendition of the RamaKatha in Thai, Korean or Burmese Ramayana.

The Ramayana in countries like Sri Lanka, Indonesia and Thailand has immense historical and cultural significance. Irrespective of cultural and social differences, the Rama story has been accepted by Mons, Khmers, Khotnese and Mongolians. They rewrote the story to suit their own social and cultural milieu. Thus Ramayana has been as diverse of the culture as part of living tradition.

The migrants from Southeast Asia especially the Tai-khamptis, Tai Phakeys and Khamyangs moved with their own Ramayana while settling in northeast India. There is also a khampti version of the Ramayana. The Khamptis are a Buddhist tribe of the Tai Group. The Khampti Ramayana is in manuscript form. It is a Buddhist version, being a part of the Mahayana Buddhist monastic order to which the people belong.

Indians were sailing to Southeast Asia and trading there. Hindu and Muslim ships sailed from India all the way to Manila. Thus the ships bearing Hindu names like Balagopal, Sargragerly, shankerakkary, suburama found their way to Manila 1730s on word upto 1760. With the spread of Buddhism and Islam, Hinduism was declined in several parts of southeast Asia and it now seems to play a secondary role. Significant Hindu enclaves remain, however Islam now predominates in Indonesia, some 20,000 Hindu temples can be found in Java and Bali alone. Moreover Balinese

Hinduism known as Agama Hindu Dharma retains a theological foundation derived from Indian philosophy of worship in shrines where agricultural goods are offered on a regular basis.

In Thailand Buddhist continues to draw upon and make use of earlier Hindu practices patronized by local elites. The Hindu priests officiate at royal rites, state ceremonies and national festivals. Temples dedicated to Brahma, Siva and Vishnu can also be found around the country. Indeed virtually every market in Bangkok has its own Hindu shrine to guarantee the prosperity and wellbeing of local merchants.

Throughout Southeast Asia, large number of Hindus continues to practice their faith. In Indonesia as many as 20 million believers can be found, particularly concentrated in Bali, central Java, east Java and Lampung province. In Malaysia and Singapore Hinduism remains the principal religion of ethnic Indian minorities, constitute 6.3 percent and 4 percent of the total local population respectively. In Thailand, the number of believers is estimated to be in the hundreds of thousands. An equally large number can also be found in Myanmar, with official estimates at around 900 thousand. Indeed small but significant Hindu communities are tallied in every country of the Southeast Asia. Vietnam has some 50 thousand and Philippines 175 thousand, Timore 5000 and Brunei only 272.

As a result of the cultural interaction of India with the Southeast Asia Indian mythology law, philosophy, religion, language, literature, folk lore, paleography, art and architecture are followed in Southeast Asia. The Indian custom of naming a town after a deity or a king or its builder adopted in the countries of Southeast Asia. In some cases as in Champa and Kabuja Indian names appear to have been selected because the sound of indig-

enous names suggested them.

In the first century marked a great age of Buddhism in south-east Asia. Its spread during this time was tied to the evolution of the new Mahayana Buddhist School in northern India under the patronage of rich merchants. Buddhist monks instructed the lay community split with the monks of the Theravada school. The worship of Mahayana sect was practiced in great public shrines rather than in the seclusion of monasteries. Mahayana developed the concept of compassion and of assisting others to salvation as symbolized the Bodhisattva, as “Buddha to be” and his ultimate salvation to remain among mortals as a spiritual guide. The Mahayana school can be viewed as a response to the dynamics and expanding world. Buddhist tales (Jatakas) thus came to deal extensively with the activities of common men, including their economic activities normally ignored in Hindu literature. In these tales the pursuit of wealth was not seen as evil but was considered natural to man. Indian Ocean seamen were particularly coveted to Buddha Dipamkara, the “Cater of the Wales” significantly a number of outstanding Dipanmkara statues associated with this era are distributed throughout the Southeast Asia.

By the sixth century Buddhism became important to the Chinese. Southeast Asia played a key role between south Asia as the source of Buddhism, and china. Buddhist monks passed along the international sea routes and by a land route through Burma. Chinese monks travelled to India for understanding of their faith. Indian monks travelled to china to share their knowledge with Chinese patrons. It was a Centre of Buddhism, with twenty temples and over five hundred monks as residents. In the seventh century the Chinese pilgrim I-Ching thought it to be an important stopping point prior to enter in china because it was a

commercial Centre port and it had become an important religious Centre for Buddhist pilgrims.

The Sumatran State of Srivijaya was also considered a famous stop for pilgrim. Srivijaya like Vietnam, I Ching reported about an international community of monks studied at the capital of the Srivijaya Monarch in 671. Mahayana Buddhist in South-east Asian was followed in Vietnam and Srivijaya is an example of prestige in the channels of religious communications, raising their status above the “barbarian” image.

Another Indian Monk reported that the winds were unfavorable, however and the merchant ship on which he had taken passage sailed nonstop for china. Kyanzitha (1077-1112) in his story of the Bodhgaya Shrines in Bengal wrote that an inscription from Bodhgaya (1101-1106) recorded that ships laden with large quantities of jewels was sent to the Buddhist monuments. A network of Buddhist religious diplomacy had actually proceeded with the efforts of Kyanzitha.

An inscription of Buddha recovered from the Botang Hari River near Plembang proclaims the installation of the Buddha by four Javanese officials under the authority of Kertangara “for the joy of all the subjects of the country of Malayu”<sup>45</sup> By A.D 700 state development intensified, numerous archaeological sites on the mainland and Java produce sophisticated Buddhist and Hindu statues and reliefs.

In the seventh century, Buddhism was grafted in the traditional Sumatran terminology. Traditions such as references to mountains, oaths and a cult of dead chiefs were mingled with Buddhist symbols. The adoption of Buddhism was useful in international relations but Buddhism also allowed the Srivijaya monarch to establish and enhance his legitimacy within his own

system. The inscriptions testify the ability of the Srivijaya kings to synthesise indigenous cultural symbols with new systems of legitimacy derived from Indian and Buddhist sources. Buddhist downfall is reflected in the seventh century Talang Tua inscription record of the public park.

Srivijaya in its patronage of Buddhism imposed a new religious system that was primarily intended to impress upon the hinterland population that the royal ideology was superior to traditional system of belief. Buddhism, then, became a useful means to awe the hinterland population into submission. Indigenous symbols such as water, snakes and mountains were incorporated into the oath taking ceremony which ended with the sharing of a Buddhist tantra mala guaranteeing prosperity and security as long as the participant adhered to the terms of the oath.

Local adoption of Indian religious art is evident in the sculpture and stone architecture found in different areas of Southeast Asia. While Indian stone carvers in this early era normally sculpted statues that were part of wall relief or were backed or enclosed by steel or a wall in Southeast Asia. In Funan city sculptors developed their own free standing style that is first evinced in two wooden standing Buddhism, believed to date to the fifth century, that were miraculously preserved in the mud near Binh-hoa. This sculptural expression reached its height in the early sixth century when several stone Vishnu and Buddhist statues discovered at Phnon Da and many other places of Southeast Asia.

The Indian monk Nagasena brought several stone Buddhist statues from Funan in the late fifth century. In 503 a Funan monarch sent a coral statue of the Buddha and an ivory stupa to the Monarch of China. From this era onwards Sanskrit came into widespread of Indian deities especially worship of the Siva Linga

Mahasvara and icon of the Mahayana Buddhisattva Lokeshvara. The Sanskrit title Varman was attached with the names of the rulers.

## **Decline**

The Hinduism started declining since the 13th century and the popularity of Buddhism was increasing. There was no significant difference between these two religions in the beginning. Buddhism was practiced in the Hindu temples. Successively, the expansion of Buddhism became apparent over time. Buddhists are number one in population, on second number Muslims and Hindus decreased a lot in Southeast Asia.

Buddhism faced problems after the colonial powers entered in Southeast Asia. Since 1830, Christian missionaries started arriving and preaching Christianity in Southeast Asia. The western modernism became a big challenge to the conservative Buddhist culture. The Buddhism started declining. Buddhism has great influence on the lives of the people of Southeast Asia in social to political sphere.

In Maldives, royal patronage to Islam, adherence to basic Islamic tenets, encouragements to Koranic schools, the constitutional position of state religion conferred on Islam only Muslims can be citizens, non-Muslims can only be permanent residents-also underline the overreaching influence of Islam in contemporary Maldives on the other hand in Java, the virile animist-Hindu-Buddhist traditions continued even from Islamization.

The conversion to Islam is an important chapter in the history and culture evolution of Maldives. According to Maldivian Tarikh, a historical chronicle, the last Buddhist monarch Siri Bavanaditta was converted to Islam by a Muslim visitor in 1153.



From a comparative perspective, it would be of great interest to study the response of Indonesia, more specifically Java to the process of Islamization and contrast it with Maldivian experience.

### **As Clifford Greetz has rightly put it as**

Islam came to Indonesia from India, brought by merchants, its mid-eastern sense the external condition of life having been blunted and turned inward by Indian mysticism. It provided a minimal contrast to the *mélange* of Hinduism, Buddhism and animism which had held the Indonesian earth called for almost fifteen centuries. Indonesian Islam cut off from its centers of orthodoxy at Mecca and Cairo vegetated, another meandering tropical growth on an already overcrowded religious landscape. Buddhist mystic practices got Arabic names, Hindu Rajas suffered a change of titles to become Moslem sultans and the common people called some of their wood spirit jinn but little else changed.

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# Public Response to Political Prisoners during the British Repression

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The present study is primarily based on the primary sources such as Government Reports, *Home Department, Political* (National Archives, Delhi), *Indian Annual Registers* (Dwarka Das Library, Chandigarh), *Oral History Cell*, (Department of Punjab Historical Studies Library, Patiala), *Princely State Records*, (Punjab State Archives, Patiala), Report of Native Newspapers such as *The People* (Lahore), *The Loyal Gazette*, (Lahore), *Jat Gazette* (Rohtak), (National Archives, Delhi), Punjabi Native Newspapers such as *Fateh* (Amritsar), *Akali* (Lahore), *Kaumi Dard* (Amritsar), *Asli Kaumi Dard* (Amritsar), *Bir Akali* (Amritsar), *Nawan Yug* (Lahore), *Punjab Darpan* (Amritsar), *Akali Patrika* (Amritsar), (Bhai Kahn Nabha Library, Punjabi University, Patiala). *The Tribune* (National Archives, Delhi and Haryana) are State Archives, Panchkula). Contemporary writings and other source material such as literature available in various libraries and archives. These sources have been examined keeping in view strictly the topic of this research. The secondary sources and research articles have also been consulted in the present research.

The objective of this paper is to highlight the public opinion towards the condition of political prisoners and repression of the British Government. To arouse public opinion, the press played a very vital role by publishing heroic deeds of the Akalis, revolutionaries and *Satyagrahis* without any fear of the government repression. The local press of the Punjab as well the press of other states, too published news in their newspapers to create a stir among the public and to build public opinion. As a result the common people of the Punjab also became aware of the repressive policies of the British Government. They also came out to oppose the government and to support their nationalist leaders. People organized meetings and processions to highlight the achievements of their leaders

and sometimes delivered lectures to narrate their lives in jails. The public used to congratulate the leaders at their arrests and welcomed with flowers at their releases from the prisons. The people not only support the political prisoners, but also at that time criticized the government and made demands to release the political prisoners.

## Introduction

At Gujranwala, a meeting was held on 4<sup>th</sup> August 1907 by the Arya Samaj at Enainabad. Hari Kishan Narain, Master of Arya School delivered a lecture and spoke of Pindi Das, editor of the newspaper *India* and Dina Nath, editor of the newspaper *Hindustan* as two innocent men who were convicted and sent to jail. He also stated that an appeal was filed and that a subscription list was opened to assist them.<sup>1</sup> After the prosecutions against the editors of the *India* and *Hindustan* the government was denounced although due to strict police precautions it was not open. Yet a meeting of Hindu ladies was held in the house of a Lachhman Singh on the same day of the sentence elsewhere also meeting of men and women were held to criticize the oppressive policy of the British.<sup>2</sup> Similarly at Ferozepur a meeting was held on 4<sup>th</sup> August 1907 by the Arya Samaj Devi Dial, Head Master of Arya School spoke against the action of government in deporting Lala Lajpat Rai. The meeting was attended by sixty persons.<sup>3</sup>

When the Ghadari Baba Bhakna was detained in Yerwada Jail Poona, there he was not permitted to wear turban and *kachhera* by the jail authorities. The news of this misbehavior of jail officials reached to Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Com-

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1 *Government of India, Home Department, Political-B*, August 1907, File No-88/79, p.69, National Archives of India, Delhi.

2 *Ibid*, p.8, N.A.I.

3 *Ibid*, p.69, N.A.I.

mittee Amritsar. In response to it the committee wrote a protest letter to the Government of Bombay that *kachhera* and turban were permitted for the Sikh prisoners. As a result of this protest letter the Bombay Government gave *kachhera* and turban to the Sikh prisoners.<sup>4</sup> The Sikh political prisoners were not allowed to use five *kakas* in the jail. Secondly they were given caps to cover their heads instead of turbans. This drew the attention of Gurdwara Committees is to make the government aware of all these grievances. The *Khalsa Diwan* of Delhi invited the attention of government to this point and it was hoped that the government would take steps to remove these Sikh grievances.<sup>5</sup>

Harnam Singh was not given permission to answer the call of nature. The Shormani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee asked in the Punjab council whether it was the law passed by the government not to permit the political prisoners to answer the calls of nature and keep them naked in the jails.<sup>6</sup> Baba Jawala Singh a political prisoner of 1914-1915 after an unconditional release from the jail reached his home town. The congregation of the Beas area under, Jagjit Singh *Jathedar* of Amritsar and Akali *jatha* under the leadership of Santha Singh Feruman organized a procession to welcome Jawala Singh. He was presented a *siropa*. A *diwan* was also organized where sacrifices of Jawala Singh were admired. The government was also made aware of the release of political prisoners of 1914-1915, who were still undergoing imprisonment.<sup>7</sup>

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4 Bachint Singh Dhillon, Punjab De Ughe Shaheed, New Book Company, Jalandhar, 1991, pp.61-62.

5 The Loyal Gazette, Lahore, 14 May 1916, National Archives of India, Delhi.

6 Punjab Darpan, (Monthly), Amritsar, 25 May 1923, Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha Library, Punjabi University Patiala.

7 Nawan Yug (Weekly), Lahore, 16 June 1933, Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha Library, Punjabi University Patiala.

Many Sikhs were given death punishment and life imprisonment who returned from Canada in 1914-1915. They were accused of overthrowing the British Empire.<sup>8</sup> Some of them were released but there were some prisoners who were in jails in spite of the completion of their terms of imprisonment from ten to fifteen years. There were nineteen political prisoners of 1914-1915 in Kale Pani Jail. Out of them many were about sixty five years of age, some were of fifty two years.<sup>9</sup> This means, they had spent their youth in the jails and had developed diseases in the jail and yet the British Government was not ready to release them.

Although the people tried to remind the government of no use,<sup>10</sup> one Kaidi Chhudao Board was formed at Amritsar to get the release of political prisoners who were undergoing imprisonment for a long time. These prisoners spent whole of their youth in the prisons.<sup>11</sup> Desh Bhagat Kaidi Pariwar Sahwaik Committee under Baba Wasakha Singh appealed the British Government to release the prisoners of 1914-1915. Those prisoners whose property was confiscated by the government were supported by this committee.<sup>12</sup>

Public processions were organized to demonstrate for the collection of funds for the defense of the First Lahore Conspiracy Case prisoners. The procession passed through main bazars asking the people to donate money liberally. On the other hand the policemen tried to stop the people not to give any money to the processionists. The people threw coins on the piece of cloth carried

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8 Fateh, (Annual), Lahore, 28 February 1933, Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha Library, Punjabi University Patiala

9 Fateh, 31 March 1931, B.K.S. N. L. PUP.

10 Fateh, 13 March 1935, B. K. S. N. L.

11 Fateh, 27 February 1933, B. K. S. N. L.

12 Asli Kaumi Dard, (Daily), Amritsar, 13 February 1931, Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha Library, Punjabi University Patiala

by the volunteers.<sup>13</sup> Sardar Ekam Singh who was the leader of Sikh League and organized *diwan* of Tarn Taran made a list of those Sikhs who were arrested in connection with the Ghadar and still were undergoing in the jails.

The Bengal Government released even big criminals but the Punjab Government did not release the political prisoners who were in the jails for a long time. The following was the list of those who were in jails; Soan Singh (Amritsar), Chattar Singh (Gujrawala), Nidhan Singh (Ferozepore), Jawala Singh (Amritsar), Kesar Singh (Amritsar), Kusal Singh (Amritsar), Madan Singh (Lahore), Udham Singh (Lahore), Sher Singh (Lahore), Kapoor Singh (Ludhiana), Sohan Singh Bhakana (Amritsar), Nand Singh (Ludhiana), Chur Singh (Ludhiana), Rur Singh (Ferozepore), Gurmukh Singh (Ludhiana), Harnam Singh (Hoshiarpur), Bishan Singh (Amritsar), Kehar Singh (Amritsar) and Bir Singh (Amritsar).<sup>14</sup>

The national movement made the people of the province bold enough and shed their fear for imprisonment. Earlier going to jail and spending time inside the jail was considered an insult and looked down upon with hatred. The feeling of nationalism, patriotism and sacrifice for the nation changed the outlook of the people. Whenever any political prisoner was released, he was welcomed outside the jail or a special meeting was organized to honor him. When Doctor Saif-Ud-Din Kitchlew was released from the jail on 26<sup>th</sup> December 1919 the people of Lahore gave him a warm welcome and beat the drums.<sup>15</sup> Public meetings were organized in Bradlaugh Hall Lahore to request the government to

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13 The Tribune, Lahore, 18 July 1929, National Archives of India, Delhi and State Archives Haryana, Panchkula.

14 Punjab Darpan, 29 July 1920, B. K. S. N. L.

15 Jail Ke Yatri, Vishva Mitter Parkashan, Calcutta, 1922, p.187.

release all the interned and political prisoners who were in the jail in connection with the disturbances of April 1919.<sup>16</sup> Dr. Satyapal passed a resolution regarding the release of Martial Law prisoners who were convicted on tainted evidence during the reign of terror. He encouraged the public to launch an intense opinion regarding the release of political prisoners.<sup>17</sup>

Arjan Singh Gargaj resident of Tarn Taran District Amritsar played a vital role in Akali Movement and in connection with Key Affair. He recited stirring poems and delivered provocative lectures. He was given six months rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. fifty was imposed. In January 1923, he was released from Montgomery Jail. At Tarn Taran, he was given a warm welcome and garlanded. He was taken in a procession in all the main bazars of the town. Again Arjun Singh Gargaj was arrested on 6<sup>th</sup> December 1923 and given rigorous imprisonment with a fine of Rs. fifty. He was released on 13<sup>th</sup> January 1926. In 1929, again he was arrested for publishing an article about 1914-1915 Shaheed Bhai Jawand Singh and detained in Lahore Central Jail. In November 1929, when he was released he was given a warm welcome at Tarn Taran. A grand party was organized for him. At his release hundreds of people came to greet him outside the jail.<sup>18</sup>

In 1923, the Akali *jatha Riyasat* Patiala decided to observe, Sunday a day of sympathy in the favour of Akali prisoners undergoing imprisonment and suffering in the Narnaul Jail. According to this it was declared that in all districts, tehsils and villages and in every house people should observe hunger strike for full day and to organize *diwan* and processions. People should pray and

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16 The Tribune, 18 February 1920, N.A.I & S.A.H.

17 The Tribune, 5 May 1928, N.A.I & S.A.H.

18 Oral History Cell, Statement of Arjan Singh Gargaj, File No-9, pp.4-5, Department of Punjab Historical Studies, Library, Punjabi University, Patiala.



hold *Akhand Paths* and pass the *Gurmata*s in sympathy of national heroes. It was also decided to send the past *Gurmata*s to the Maharaja Patiala, Government of India, Shiromani Akali Dal, Central Sikh League, All India Congress and all the newspapers of the country. The maharaja may be warned that if something happened to the national heroes for it he would be held responsible.<sup>19</sup> The Punjab Council passed resolution that the political prisoners should be kept separate from criminal prisoners and jail arrangement should be given to non-government committees. The political prisoners should not be given hard labor and they should be allowed to celebrate the festival.<sup>20</sup> The Legislative Council made a demand to release the Akali political prisoners. But the government wanted to release the prisoners on condition.<sup>21</sup>

In June 1925, a huge crowd of Akali *jatha* gathered at Akalian Wala Bagh Amritsar and held a *diwan* under the president ship of Sardar Basawa Singh ji, Sardar Raja Singh, Mangal Singh, Professor Ganga Singh, Santokh Singh Vidyarthi, Bhai Nirankar Singh, Sardar Lal Singh and Giani Natha Singh all spoke about Gurdwara Bill and passed a resolution that till the political prisoners who were ongoing imprisonment for the sake of the religion particularly Sardar Kharak Singh were not released unconditionally till than the Gurdwara Bill would not be accepted. They also resolved that the Sikhs would always be ready to shed the last drop of their blood for the sake of the *panth* and the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee.<sup>22</sup> On 10<sup>th</sup> August 1925, a public meeting was organized in the Jallianwala Bagh to welcome the

19 Punjab Riyasati Praja Mandal, Basta-5, Case No-4, p.207, Punjab State Archives, Patiala

20 Punjab Darpan, 9 March 1923, B.K.S.N.L.

21 Government of India, Home Department, Political, 1923, File No-112/1923, p.112. N.A.I

22 Kaumi Dard, (Daily), Amritsar, 26 June 1925, B.K.S.N.L.

return of the victorious *shabidi jathas*. In a big public meeting at Jallianwala Bagh on 10<sup>th</sup> August 1925 a resolution was adopted largely attended by the representatives of the Sikhs, the Hindus and the Muslims who regarded the conditions imposed on the release of the Gurdwara prisoners unnecessary humiliating, unjust and trusts that no self-respecting Sikh would care to seek release by agreeing to them. The *diwan* announced that so long as Sikh prisoners were not released unconditionally, the Sikhs were prepared to make further sacrifice for this purpose.<sup>23</sup> The Akali Dal and the *Jathedars* organized meetings to mobilize public opinion in the favor of those Akali prisoners who were still in the jails of the Punjab in spite of the enactment of Gurdwara Reform Act of 1925. Baba Kharak Singh one of the prominent leaders of the Akalis was still in the jail. The Akali Dal in its meetings passed resolutions to secure the unconditional release of the Akali leader Baba Kharak Singh and other Akalis. In the meetings the leaders asked the Akalis to visit Sikh Riyasats like Patiala, Nabha, Jind and Kapurthala to mobilize public opinion in favour of the release of Baba Kharak Singh and other Akalis.<sup>24</sup>

In October 1927, a joint meeting of the representative of the Gurdwara Committees of Nankana Sahib Amritsar, Tarn Taran, Anandpur Sahib, Panja Sahib, Muktsar and Lahore presided over by Sardar Kharak Singh. In which vigorous speeches were made by Sardar Kharak Singh, Mangal Singh, Buta Singh and Tara Singh on the question of release of remaining Gurdwara prisoners.<sup>25</sup> Under the leadership of Bhai Hardit Singh ji a huge *diwan* was organized in Ludhiana where they passed a resolu-

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23 Public Opinion on the Question of the Release of Akali Prisoners, 1925, National Publicity bureau, Lahore, 1925, pp.27-28

24 Bir Akali (Weekly), Amritsar, 10 December 1926, B.K.S.N.L.

25 The Tribune, 5 October 1927, N.A.I.

tion that they severely criticized the British policy for detaining the Akali prisoners on pretext of dacoits. Secondly, demanded the release of Bhai Randhir Singh, Master Mota Singh and other political prisoners detained in the jails.<sup>26</sup> All most all the nationalist leaders of the country irrespective of any political party requested and supported the unconditional release of the Akalis prisoners.

Many prominent leaders of the public had sympathy with Babbars. Many of them were arrested for showing sympathy with the Babbers. The Canada residents sent money to raise a memorial in the Anandpur Sahib in the form of a Bunga. There was a list of about 100 who had sympathy with the Babbars. In 1927, the deportation to Kale Pani was stopped. And the Babbars all were brought to the Punjab. Another memorial of Babbars had been erected in Damdama Sahib Gurdwara in the Shivalik hills.<sup>27</sup> At the arrest of Master Mota Singh a number of Akali Women (*Akali jatha bibian*) bearing *kirpan* passed through the city streets to protest against the arrest of Master Mota Singh. They delivered speeches at different places.<sup>28</sup> The working committee of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee passed a resolution extending cordial welcome to Master Mota Singh at his release after several years of his imprisonment. He was congratulated for his contribution in the freedom of the country and expressed their confidence that he would continue to promote the cause of nationalism and amongst the Sikhs as before.<sup>29</sup>

The Lahore citizens supported Swami Govindanand who chaired the 'All India Political Prisoners Conference in Lahore'. Dr. Gopi Chand told the people that they were ill-treated in the

26 Asli Kaumi Dard, (Daily), Amritsar, 18 August 1927, B.K.S.N.L.

27 Gyani Nahar Singh, *Azadi De Lehran*, Giani Harbhajan Publisher, Amritsar, 1960, pp.330-331

28 The Tribune, 26 July 1929, N.A.I

29 The Tribune, 2 July 1929, N.A.I

jails. In spite of that they were ready to sacrifice all. A resolution was passed in which Parvati Devi asked the people to donate money for the relief of political prisoners.<sup>30</sup> At Dinanagar 'Political Prisoner's Day' was celebrated on 4<sup>th</sup> May 1929, in a largely attended meeting. Lala Bishambar Dass Aggarwal president for the meeting appreciated Bhagat Singh and B.K. Dutt for their noble sacrifices.<sup>31</sup> On 30<sup>th</sup> June 1929, Bhagat Singh Day was celebrated in Amritsar and Lahore. Ajit Singh General Secretary of 'Naujawan Bharat Sabha' spoke to the audience that many more young men would be produced like Bhagat Singh and B.K. Dutt who would destroy the British Government.<sup>32</sup>

On 20<sup>th</sup> July 1929 women of Lahore organized a procession under the leadership of Parvati Devi in spite of prohibitory orders under Section 144, Criminal Procedure Code the procession began from Pari Mahal Lahore and passing through main routes of Lahore reached back shouting slogans 'Long Live Revolution', 'Down with imperialism' and 'Long Live Bhagat Singh and B.K. Dutt'.<sup>33</sup> In July 1929, Bhagat Singh and Dutt Day was celebrated at various places of the Punjab. Huge meeting and processions were taken amidst shouts of Long Live Revolution, Down with Imperialism, Long Live Bhagat Singh and Long Live Dutt. Bhagat Singh and Dutt were congratulated for the hunger strike and sacrifices. The Government was warned for serious consequences.<sup>34</sup> In October 1930, seventeen women were arrested at Lahore for picketing colleges. They were placed under trail. These women

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30 The Tribune, 2 October 1929, N.A.I

31 The Tribune, 9 August 1929, N.A.I

32 Government of India, Home Department, Political (Report on the Political Situation in the Punjab for the fortnight ending, 30 June 1929), File No-17/29, p.1, N.A.I.

33 The Tribune, 16 July 1929, N.A.I.

34 The Tribune, 23 July 1929, N.A.I.

went on hunger strike for a day as a protest against the convictions of Second Conspiracy Case prisoners.<sup>35</sup> Bibi Atma Devi and Bibi Kartar Kaur had resolved to observe fast for five days in sympathy with Bhagat Singh and other prisoners in the Lahore Conspiracy Case. Lady volunteers will also observed fast for two days.<sup>36</sup>

The last date of meeting with Bhagat Singh was fixed for 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1931. Telegrams were sent to Mahatma Gandhi for to stop the death sentence of Bhagat Singh. The released Congress workers from Nabha organized a huge procession on 17<sup>th</sup> March 1931.<sup>37</sup> On 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1931 the three martyrs were executed at seven o' clock in the evening in the Lahore Central Jail. As the news of the execution reached out of the jail next day about one lakh people came out to organize a procession bare headed in condolence of the three martyrs. The public organized a procession carrying half burnt pieces of flesh of the three martyrs on a pyre. Sardar Kishen Singh father of Bhagat Singh told the people that the dead bodies were burnt with kerosin oil and coal. The people assembled cried with grief and women were crying with shock.<sup>38</sup> After the execution of Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev the people organized protest meeting and procession to criticize the attitude of the government. They carried burnt dead bodies in the public people cried with sorrow and women with loud voice wept to express their grief.<sup>39</sup> A number of *Akband Pathbs* were performed in various Gurdwaras of the country, at Delhi Sis Ganj Gurdwara, Gurdwara Janam Asthan of Guru Nanak Dev Ji in connection with the execution of Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and

35 The Indian Annual Register, July to December, 1930, The Indian Annual Register Office, Calcutta, 1930, p.37, Dwarka Dass Library, Chandigarh and P.S.A.

36 The Tribune, 14 October 1930, N.A.I.

37 Asli Kaumi Dard, 23 March 1931, B.K.S.N.L

38 Asli Kaumi Dard, 27 March 1931, B.K.S.N.L.

39 Ibid

Sukhdev. In Amritsar *Akhand Path* of Guru Granth Sahib was performed in connection with Bhagat Singh on 30<sup>th</sup> March 1931. The Ferozepore public decided to perform *havan*.<sup>40</sup>

*The Tribune* 21<sup>st</sup> April 1931 published under caption 'one prisoner still in jail', while all others were released after the withdrawal of Civil Disobedience Movement in March 1931 after the signing of the Gandhi Irwin Pact on 5<sup>th</sup> March 1931. All the prisoners convicted in connection with the Civil Disobedience Movement at Multan were released except Lala Lok Nath who was serving his sentence under Section 108 Criminal Procedure Code in Rawalpindi Jail. The delay caused in his release caused great resentment amongst the people at Multan. The people of Multan organized various meetings to express their resentment for not releasing Lala Lok Nath. The evidence was produced in his case which was produced in the case of Lala Sham Dass who was also convicted under Section 108 Criminal Procedure Code along with him by the same magistrate. But Lala Sham Dass was released under the terms of amnesty. The people of Multan were at a loss to understand why Lala Lok Nath was not released.<sup>41</sup>

The religious bodies of the Punjab organized meetings, held *diwans* and sent memorandums to the government to release the political prisoners who were undergoing imprisonments for a long time and suffering with the harsh treatment of the jail officials. At Amritsar, the local Congress Committee organized a procession to condemn the attitude of the jail officials towards the political prisoners. The ladies shouted slogans condemning the alleged mal treatment meted to the under trial prisoners who were on hunger strike. The procession passed through the main bazars.<sup>42</sup>

40 *The Tribune*, 9 April 1931, N.A.I

41 *The Tribune*, 21 April 1931, N.A.I.

42 *The Tribune*, 6 April 1931, N.A.I

The release of *Satyagrahis* from Lahore Jail reached Amritsar where a huge crowd welcomed them and carried a procession with national flags. The released included Dr. Kitchlew, Husumu Din, Dr. Sant Ram Arora, Sant Ram Seth and Master Tara Singh. The released included six ladies, prominent among them was Shrimati Prem Kaur mother of Diwan Chand barrister and Municipal Commissioner.<sup>43</sup> At Gujrawala, Dr. Alam delivered a speech in which he spoke about the condition of the prisoners in the jail. He asked the government to release all the political prisoners who were still in the jail saying 'No peace without release of all political prisoners'.<sup>44</sup>

Sewa Singh Thikariwala was arrested and sentenced to five years rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 5000 by the court at Barnala in 1933. To secure the release of Sewa Singh a conference of the All India Praja Mandal was held at Delhi. Two resolutions were passed one was for the release of Sewa Singh Thikariwala and the other was for the dethronement of the maharaja. The Patiala Praja Mandal also presented a memorandum to the Viceroy but the maharaja bribed the editors of newspapers. The newspapers always published report in favor of the maharaja. All kinds of acts of cruelty were perpetuated to Sardar Sewa Singh. At last he died on 20<sup>th</sup> January 1935 at one thirty a.m. in Central Jail Patiala. Thus he became a martyr for the cause of the political freedom in the Punjab States.<sup>45</sup> The sudden death of Sewa Singh filled the entire Sikh community with grief. At places, *diwans* were organized, at the call of Shiromani Akali Dal at various places Sewa Singh day was celebrated.

His life and sacrifices were narrated to the people. Besides

43 The Tribune, 10 March 1931, N.A.I.

44 The Tribune, Lahore, 17 March 1931, N.A.I.

45 State- Patiala, Basta No-1, File-21, p.125, Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

it an independent enquiry was demanded to probe the death of Sewa Singh.<sup>46</sup> In February 1935, at Lahore Daddi Bazar, Gurdwara Baoli Sahib, Sardar Sewa Singh Day was celebrated under the patronage of Shiromani Akali Dal. Khalsa Diwan was organized where after the *kirtan*, Sardar Ishar Singh Majhail spoke about the life, contribution and sacrifices of Sewa Singh and later on a resolution was passed expressing sympathy with the family of Sewa Singh ji. The resolution also demanded an independent enquiry of Sewa Singh's death from the Government of India. Gopal Singh, Gyani Kartar Singh ji Lyallpuri, *Jathedar* Achhar Singh and Sardar Harbhajan Singh supported the resolution. The resolution was passed with the loud slogans of *Sat Shri Akal* and with the *Ardas* (prayer) the *diwan* was concluded.<sup>47</sup>

In March 1937, All India Political Prisoners Relief Conference was held at Delhi to discuss the grievances of political prisoners. They made demands that; (1) release of all political prisoners irrespective of class and creed, detents and internees. (2) Withdrawal of all orders of restraint on internees and others. (3) Repeal of all repressive law. (4) All political prisoners of all classes creed in one jail. (5) All political prisoners be in one class. (6) All the political prisoners are given medical treatment, better food, clothes, right to interviewed and letters fortnightly. (7) Return of all political prisoners confined in the Cellular Jail at Port Blair to Indian jails.<sup>48</sup> Agitations for the release of political prisoners continued.

In February 1942, about 700 *Satyagrahis* prisoners were released from the Lahore Central Jail and the Borstal Jail. Huge

46 Akali Patrika, (Daily), Amritsar, 22 February 1935, B.K.S.N.L., See also, Hindustan Times, 6 March 1935, N.A.I.

47 Akali Patrika, 20 February 1935, B.K.S.N.L.

48 The Indian Annual Register, January to June 1937, The Annual Register Office, Calcutta, 1938, p.284, D.D.L. & B.K.S.N.L.



crowded came to welcome the *Satyagrahis* outside the jail gate.<sup>49</sup> Sardar Mangal Singh a Congress member of Punjab asked for the revision of government policy with regard to the treatment of political prisoners. He described the treatment of political prisoners of 1942, which he alleged was worse than that of prisoners of war in India.<sup>50</sup> The question of withdrawal of restrictions imposed upon a large number of Congress workers of the Punjab and the release of political prisoners was taken in the Simla Conference. The condition in which the Congress political prisoners were kept agitated the Congress leaders who were present in Simla Conference. As a result, the Punjab Government took a decision to release the prisoners.<sup>51</sup> In March 1945, it was discussed in the assembly the failure of the government to look into the grievances amenities failure to release political prisoners.<sup>52</sup>

Press had a very significant role in infusing anti-British hatred among the people. Moreover time and again publication of various articles, news of British policies and tortures of political prisoners aroused public opinion. The publications of the anti-British activities and their harsh treatment towards the political prisoners by the Indian press of the Punjab had a great influence. It stirred and awakened the masses from time to time which resulted in the organization of huge meetings and processions. The public was also motivated to come forward to hold meetings, pass resolutions and hold procession to raise the moral of the nationalists. The public gathered to bid send off to the nationalist while they were given sentences. They followed them to the gates of

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49 The Tribune, 28 February 1942, N.A.I.

50 The Indian Annual Register, July to December 1943, The Annual Register Office, Calcutta, 1944, p.89, D.D.L. & B.K.S.N.L.

51 The Tribune, 24 July 1945, N.A.I.

52 The Indian Annual Register, January to June 1945, The Annual Register Office, Calcutta, 1946, p.194, D.D.L. & B.K.S.N.L.

jails. When the political prisoners were released, they were received by the public at jail gates and railway stations. *Diwans* were organized to garland them. All these warm receptions motivated the political prisoners and the honors showered on them always made them strong and fearless.

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# Role of Bangkok Conference in freedom Movement of India

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The proposed study is explore to the Role of Bangkok Conference in freedom movement of India. The paper is based on the primary sources like files of foreign department, Indian independence league papers, speeches of Rash Behari Bose, Proceedings of the Bangkok conference, Indian National Army papers and K. P. K. Menon papers.

## **Introduction:**

One of the most important features of the Indian freedom movement for the duration of the first two decades of the 20th century was the occurrence and incidents of activist conspiracies aimed at the remove from power of the British Government in India through use of violence. The movement was not restricted to the Indian Territory only. The struggle for Indian independence found a resonance in other regions of the world. With time the overseas campaigns for freedom became an essential part of the project of Indian independence struggle. The revolutionary association basically implies that particular movement which aimed at the defeat of the British administration in India through the use violent means especially by engineering an armed revolution in the country as well as through mobilization of resources and help of external sources from abroad.

In the past of the struggle for Indian freedom, Bengal oc-

cupies a unique and singular position. Bengal played an essential role in strengthening the foundations of the Indian National Congress. Besides this the state spearheaded the fight for the emancipation of the country. The people of this province pioneered the national movement in India. The Bengali character is perceived to be refined, intellectual and erudite but their patriotism as it unfolded in their pursuit of political freedom gives the impression of redoubtable characteristics. They demonstrated commitment and perseverance and never baulked from making sacrifices toward the cause of their motherland. Sir John Anderson, the governor of Bengal had conceded that what was described as terrorism was actually the expression of the extreme love of the Bengali race for their motherland. The nation stands beholden to this province because it produced stalwarts like Rash Behari Bose and Subhas Chandra Bose. On the other hand, Muhammad Barkatullah, Captain Mohan Singh and Lala Lajpat Rai also played very crucial role in India's struggle for independence.

## **Discussion**

The Bangkok conference was the first real step towards the consolidation of the Indian freedom movement in East Asia. Besides the official support of many countries, the conference encouraged the political consciousness of Indians throughout the region. It was at the Bangkok conference that "Indians realized their strength which would be used for the benefit of the nation or for their individual interest. The journey to *Imphal*, though delayed began here at Bangkok."

Contrary to the British expectation that Japan was planning for a full-scale invasion of India, Japan was still advising the

Indians to get rid of the pitiless authoritarianism of Britain and take part in the creation of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. Indians were asked to take advantage of the present Golden opportunity to realize their long-cherished goal of “India for the Indians”. Japanese policy was fully explained by Raghavan when he came back after attending the Tokyo Conference. He said, “we found there Japanese statesman sincerely convinced that not only in the interest of India and Japan, not only in the interest of Asia but in the interests of the whole world, India should soon be free”.

This explanation of Japanese policy was perhaps not shared by other Indians, especially those who were duped by the British propaganda. They started distrusting the Japanese intentions. So long as Fujiwara was the head of the Japanese connection agency, there was no friction between the Indians and the Japanese Army. The Fujiwara Kikan had won the goodwill of Indians and was trusted by them. The assurance given to the delegates at the Tokyo Conference that Japan had no political or territorial ambition in India, she was only anxious to see a free and independent India and was prepared to give all such assistance and cooperation as the Indians needed to free their country from the British Imperialism.

On the other hand, after the Tokyo conference, the Indian nationalist were expecting a formal endorsement of their proposals by Japan. The prisoners of war were given the choice to join the INA voluntarily. Not all prisoners were willing to join and were divided into two categories- volunteers, who trusted the Japanese and were prepared to join the INA and non-volunteers, who were hesitate to join the INA because of a variety of reasons. In all about 15,000 prisoners of war kept away from the INA, while about 40,000 offered to join it.

It was not an easy task to raise a patriotic army keen to fight for the freedom of its country, but Mohan Singh succeeded remarkably in his efforts to bring even the non-volunteers gradually into the fold of the INA. In the meantime Rash Behari Bose was affirming the sincerity of Japan to India in a series of broadcasts from Tokyo.<sup>5</sup> The burden of his propaganda was “Japan is our best and strongest ally in the fight for our freedom “. It was agreed that the Questionnaire along with the resolutions to be passed at the Bangkok conference would be placed at a Joint conference between the Indian Nationalist and *Iwakuro Kikan*.

The propose was encouraged the energetic help from the Japanese Government to Indian Revolutionaries, the two conferences at Tokyo and Bangkok of Indians in South-East Asia and formulated a programmed of achievement by Ras Behari Bose. On 15 June, 1942, a new and significant step was taken by the Indians residing in the Far East, the British Intelligence reported when they held at Bangkok the first general conference of the Indian Independence League at which Rash Behari Bose, head of the Asiatic Section presided. The Indian Independence League was restructured to perform the Indian Independence Movement from outer India and a Council of Action was created under the presidentship of Ras Behari Bose.

It was the most representative conference of the Indians outside India, and was attended more than 3,000 people. The conference continued for nine days, from 15 to 23 June, 1942, and one hundred and ten delegates representing 2 million Indians in Japan, Indonesia, Hong Kong, Shanghai, Sumatra, Burma, Java, Malaya and Thailand attended it. Besides this the INA was especially prominent by the presence of General Mohan Singh and his members, who played a prominent role in the deliberation of



the conference. According to a British report, the Bangkok conference was very significant in that the ambassadors and ministers of the Axis powers, including Japan, attended it and promised help to India in its Independence struggle. They also made a joint declaration to the effect that they had no territorial or other interests of any kind in India.

The main aim of the conference were to consolidate the Indian Independence association in the various parts of South East Asia which were in Japanese power and to explain India's place in relation to the Greater East Asia; to identify the purposes for which the *Indian National Army* could be used; and to determine the nature of Japanese assistance of India without making the latter subservient to Japan.

This Conference endorses the observation of the Tokyo Conference held in March 1942 that the absolute sovereignty of free India from any foreign power and is emphatically of attitude that the time had arrived to obtain essential steps for the achievement of that objective. Patriotic speeches were delivered by Rash Behari Bose and Mohan Singh and messages were received from Premier Tojo, Foreign Minister of Japan. The representatives of the German and the Italian Governments also spoke, and Subhas Bose sent a goodwill message from Berlin. Premier Tojo reiterating his promise of support to the Independence Movement said "Japan is firmly determined decisively to destroy Britain and she will be compelled to take action so long as British Military strength remains in India".

Various resolutions were passed and those connecting to the Indian National Army especially outlined its future function in India's struggle for independence. According to the resolutions, the Indian Independence League and the Indian National Army

were to have an absolute control of all the Indian prisoners of war, and the Indian National Army was to have the position of a united army in relation to its Japanese counterpart. The INA was reorganized at the Bangkok Conference and Rash Behari played a great role in its initial stages. It was the serious aspiration of this Conference that the Indian National Army be granted the power and position of a liberated National Army of an Independent India at a par with the army of Japan and further allied powers. The creation, authority, power and organization of the Indian National Army are in the hands of Indians. The Indian National Army should be made operational opposite the British and further overseas powers in India for the principle of securing and protection Indian National sovereignty.

The Council of Action might be free to put the armed resources obtainable to it under the integrated control of Indian and Japanese military Officers in the event of launching a military action against the British and its associates in India. The Council of action should formulate all out efforts to generate an atmosphere in India which would guide to rebellion in the Indian Army there. It should also arouse feelings of patriotism among the masses. And it should be done before taking any armed forces action. The Council of Action should first promise itself whether or not such an environment existed in India.

This Conference also resolved to take direct steps to carry on energetic and dynamic propaganda by way of broadcasts, leaflets, and lectures and by such additional means as may be originate possible and practicable from time to time to convince masses about the necessity to wage a war against the colonial power. The Bangkok Conference placed on record its obliged appreciation of the support and encouragement given to this movement by the

Imperial Government of Japan. It also decided to seek monetary help from Japan as and when required for the successful carrying out of the objective of this movement. And such financial help was to be treated as a loan repayable to the Imperial Government of Japan by the National Government of India.

The Imperial Government of Japan is requested to be superior enough to give all facilities for propaganda, travel, transportation and communications within the area under the power of the Imperial Government of Japan in the manner and to the extent requested by the Council of Action. The INA was to be placed under the straight control of the Council of Action of the League, and every military operation contemplated by the army against the British in India was to conform to the wishes expressed of the Indian National Congress.

This Conference conveys to the entire powers struggle against British. The Conference places on record its intellect of deep appreciation for the most determined method in which the Nationalist Leaders at home have been trying to reject to be drawn into this war on the side of the British and their associates, and for the honest and definite demand for the removal of the British from India. In the outlook of this Conference, unless the British remove from India and the Allies Forces stop to make use of India as a base for war operations, unbelievable and inestimable sufferings will be the lot of the people of India.

The conference also reiterated the demand for bringing S. C. Bose to lead the movement. Besides, it decided that it should be allowed to manage, control and make use of the income from the properties left by the Indians in Burma. At the close of the conference, the President handed over a letter containing the Bangkok resolutions to Colonel Iwakuro. The letter said, "the future of

our country depends entirely on the success of this movement and such success in its turn is entirely dependent on the support and co-operation that the Imperial Government may extend towards it. The conference further request the Imperial Japanese Government to make official announcement to the effect that Japan was willing and ready to give all possible help to India to break its connection from the British Empire to attain complete independence. The delegates wanted to have an assurance that Japan would recognize the full sovereignty of India on attaining independence. Rash Behari Bose took over as President and the four members who constituted the Council of Action were: Mohan Singh (incharge of the army), K. P. K. Menon (Public relations and Propaganda), N. Raghavan (Organization) and Lt. Col. G. A. Gilani (Military Training).

The Indian freedom Movement sponsored by this Conference shall be guided by the principles indicated that Unity, Faith and Sacrifice shall be the motto of the Indian Independence Movement and India be considered as One and indivisible. The Indian National Congress is the only political organization which could claim to represent the genuine interests of the people of India. This Conference is of the judgment that the programmed and plan of action of this Movement should be so guided, controlled and directed as to bring them in line with the aims and intentions of the Indian National Congress. The kindness, collaboration and support of Japan is precious in securing the object of this Movement.

The Conference adopted the following formation:

- (i) The Indian Independence League shall consist of:
  - (A) A Council of Action
  - (B) A Committee of Representatives

(C) Territorial Committees

(D) Local Branches.

- (ii) (a) The Branches of the Indian Independence League created a public meeting of Indians in any region and the purpose of the meeting should be elected the Committee and a President.
- (b) The committee may be filled the Vacancy on such Committee or in the office of the President.
- (c) The Indians who were over the age of 18 shall be allowed to be the members of such Branch on fulfillment with the all rules.
- (iii) The Committees nominated the representatives of local Branches in every territory shall from a Territorial Committee and the Territorial Committee shall compose such rules as it may consider compulsory for the effecting working of the movement within the territory.
- (iv) The Committee in every territory shall guide, manage and control the work of the movements within its territory and shall also choose representatives as constituted hereinafter.
- (v) The Council of Action shall be at independence to include in the list of territories any other territory, and fix the member of representatives from such territory to the Committee of Representatives, providing the increase in the representatives from the Indian National Army, equals to Two-thirds of the number fixed for such territory.
- (vi) Without the sanction from conference Committee of Representatives the Council of Action shall have no authority to alter and revise the policy.
- (vii) Before takes seat, every member of the Committee of representatives shall sign the Oath of confidentiality approved from the Committee.

- (viii) The Committee of Representatives shall be answerable for the general policy and programme of the Indian Independence movements and its resolution shall in every case be final and necessary on each and every member of this movement.
- (ix) The quorum of the meetings of committee shall be two-thirds in number of members of the Committee are present.
- (x) The Council of Action shall have common superintendent and control over all branches of the Indian Independence League in all territories and over the Indian National Army.
- (xi) The Committee of representatives or the Council of Action shall be decided the headquarters of the movement.
- (xii) The discussions of the Committee of representatives and the Council of Action shall be confidential and no action of disciplinary character be taken against any member in consequence thereof by any branch or by the Indian National Army.
- (xiii) The vote of the three- fourths of the members of the committee of Representatives shall be Changes in the Constitution of the Indian Independence League.
- (xiv) This Conference determined that it was the deep desire of the Conference that the Indian National Army from its beginning be accorded the powers and status of a free National Army of an Independent India on a footing of equality with the armies of Japan and other friendly powers.
- (xv) The National flag of India adopted by this conference and requested the Imperial Government of Japan and the Governments of all other friendly powers to recognize the flag in all territories beneath their authority.
- (xvi) This Conference requested Subhash Chandra Bose to be kind sufficient to come to East Asia and appealed to be Imperial Government of Japan to use its superior offices to achieve

the essential permission and conveniences from the Government of Germany to enable Subhash Chandra Bose to reach East Asia safe.

The conference marked the end of the first phase of the anti-British activities in the region and the beginning of the second. The Indian independence movement had gone beyond the stage of underground organization and had accepted the policy of open and positive action. The only way in which the movement started at Bangkok conference could effectively make itself felt in India was by trying its actions with a Japanese move into India.

For this reason, it would appear that the conference was in some way connected with Japan's next phase of operation, namely an advance into India. Japan was simply a sympathetic onlooker and was ready to give to the Indians all the help they needed in reaching their long-awaited goal. Japan was repeating what she had declared at the outbreak of the war, that she would destroy British domination of India.

The conditions in India and East Asia were very favorable to a Japanese advance into India. The agitations in India were at their peak and Gandhi's call for non-cooperation with the government was not confined within the borders of India but was talked about all over East Asia. These events had definitely given encouragement to the Indian nationalists in east Asia to expend the Indian National Army and to intensify their propaganda to create disaffection in the British Army. A report of the Army Headquarters admitted that "a double attack" was being made on "the morale and loyalty of Indian troops, one directed from without India by the Japanese, assisted by renegade Indians, and other directed from within India by the Congress inspired organizations.

Undoubtedly, different Indian organizations had been successful in causing desertion from the army units at a number of places. In view of these desertions, the Army Department underlined the need for precautionary measures and laid down that “efforts should be made continuously to impress on man, especially of the recently introduced classes”, that they were fighting for India’s interest.

### **Conclusion**

At the end, we can say that the Bangkok conference was very important step which was give the new strength to the Indian freedom movement in abroad. For the achievement of India’s freedom, the most effective instrument was the Indian National Army, and it was decided after the Bangkok Conference to organize and expend it. Fujiwara was frank enough to tell Tokyo to extend complete and unreserved support to the Indian freedom movement. From Indian point of view, the Bangkok conference was the first real consolidation of the Indian freedom movement from abroad.

The official support of Germany, Burma and Japan which the conference received added to the awakening of the political consciousness of Indians throughout East Asia. The congress at Bangkok in the words of *The Japan Times* and *Advertiser* pointed out the proper direction for India’s course of action. The direction was made clear by Raghavan, when he explained that the movement started at Bangkok was part of the movement carried on by the Indian National Congress. They would supplement the efforts of the Indian National Leaders with all their powers and with the fullest cooperation from Japan.



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Books Chapter  
**ON ASIAN NETWORK  
AND SOCIAL CHANGE**

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# Mobilizing Foreign Direct Investment through Competitiveness, Regulatory Quality and Political Stability in ASEAN Countries

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## Abstract

It is known that competitiveness, regulatory quality and political stability are very important aspects and can be effectively used for increasing the attraction of FDI from other countries. This study is aimed for studying the impact of the above-mentioned variables on FDI in ASEAN countries. This aim has been achieved by collecting data for 30 years from these countries through accurate resources and has been scrutinized through various tests and approaches used for different purposes. In this regard, the tests used by the author include IPS unit root test, Pedroni's cointegration test, FMOLS coefficient estimation and multiple collinearity tests.

After identifying the order of integration and cointegration, the coefficients of the variables having long run equilibrium relationships were found. These coefficients cleared that the impact of competitiveness is not significant in this study. However, the impacts of regulatory quality and political stability have significant roles in the enhancement of FDI.

On the contrary, the impact of ease of doing business has also been identified as significant in the study. This study may be very helpful in using competitiveness, regulatory quality and political stability as important tools for increased attraction of FDI from other countries. This study has certain limitations and loopholes.

**Keywords: Foreign Direct Investment, Competitiveness, Regulatory Quality, Political Stability, ASEAN Countries.**

## **Introduction**

The slow state of development in the developing countries, like the ASEAN countries, can be linked with the inadequate and insufficient amount of resources that are needed for a speedy economic growth and development. In the face of this issue, most countries revert to borrowing money through foreign agencies and government aids, while other prefer to put an effort into attracting foreign contributions and investments to help in simulating development (OlugBenga & Grace, 2015). Therefore, the role of foreign investments in development and growth cannot be ignored. Foreign direct investment (FDI) is defined as an investment that involves a long-term relationship and reflects an interest and control in the economy of a foreign country by a resident entity in the economy of another country (Ali & Malik, 2017). FDI is a major component for the flow of international capital (Dechprom & Jermisittiparsert, 2018).

Udeh and Odo (2017) Mention in their research that FDI refers to investment by multinational companies (MNCs) that have headquarters in developed countries. This international capital may be in the form of funds, physical capital, technical, managerial and marketing expertise and business practices for the maximization of profits. FDI can also be described as a situation in which the investing country exercises control over the assets that have created capital in the importing countries by means of investments. ASEAN, association of Southeast Asian Nations, was founded in Thailand on the 8th of August in the year 1967 with a total of five countries at that time but later five more joined in and ASEAN today is a body of ten member states that aim to strive for economic growth and socio-cultural development in the region by joined efforts and endeavors. Their aims

are governed by a spirit of equality and deep partnership bonds. John, Duangekanog, Wichayachakorn, and Vikitset (2017) mention that the ASEAN community is made up of three pillars; the ASEAN economic community, ASEAN political-security community and the ASEAN socio-cultural community.

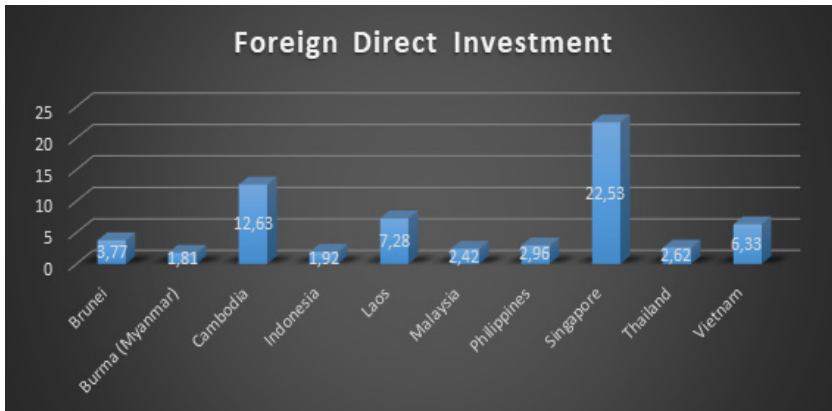


Fig. 1 Current FDI levels in ASEAN countries

The FDI flow in ASEAN countries between the years of 1995 till 2017 saw continuous rising trend, minus a few unexpected lows, and the FDI reached highest ratios in 2017 because of the increase in foreign investments in most of the members of ASEAN (ASEAN & UNCTAD, 2018). The investments made by FDI in different ASEAN countries in the year 2017 are shown in the figure no.1. Singapore is the country that has seen the highest foreign investments as can easily be seen. In addition, according to Tan and Goh (2018), intra-ASEAN investment, especially investment from Singapore, also increased continuously in the last decade.

The major factors that have played a role in this economic growth and investment attraction are proposed to be competitiveness, political stability and the regulatory qualities in the ASEAN

countries. These countries have proven to be of a highly competitive nature and show high ranking in the global competitiveness index (GCI), shown in the figure no.2, which is defined by the institutions and the policies that are used to determine the productivity and economic prosperity of a country in comparison to others (John et al., 2017).

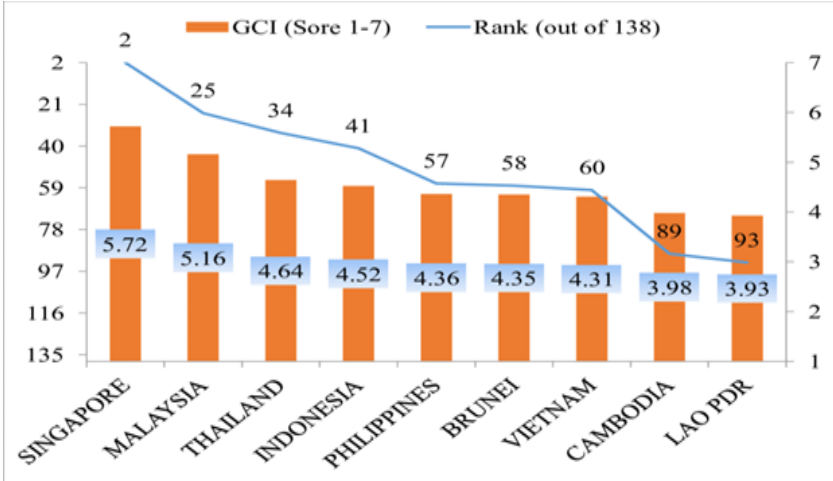


Figure 2: GCI and competitiveness ranking of ASEAN countries for 2016-2017

Source: John et al. (2017)

However, the FDI is again dwindling currently in the ASEAN countries, especially the more underdeveloped ones like Vietnam, Brunei etc. whereas it should be increasing day and night in an ideal scenario. The FDI needs to be improved for these countries for them to match the development levels of the developed countries (Khan, & Nawaz, 2010). The FDI can be improved by identifying the determiners that affect its levels. This is an issue in all the developing states in the world, not just the ASEAN countries. Many recent studies have tried to figure out the con-

nection of various economic and socio-political factors on the FDI growth (Abdul Hadi, Zafar, Iqbal, Zafar, & Iqbal Hussain, 2018; Dong, 2019; Jeong, Lee, & Pek, 2018; Karim, Karim, & Nasharuddin, 2019; Zheng & Ismail, 2019), but none of these studies have used panel data for their calculations as the author of this paper has. Moreover, no researcher has used competitiveness, political stability and regulatory qualities of ASEAN countries as the mobilizing factors for studying FDI as the author of this paper has. The major objectives of this paper are given below:

1. To analyze the effects of competitiveness on the FDI of ASEAN countries.
2. To determine the relationship between the regulatory qualities and FDI in ASEAN countries.
3. To check the influence of political stability on FDI in ASEAN countries.

In ASEAN countries, FDI for economic growth is a hot topic of discussion with the increase in demand for development and growth. The scope of this study revolves around the impact on FDI of factors like stability on political front, laws and regulations and the degree to which these countries are willing to work for maintaining their competitiveness ratios as compared to the developed states of the world. Rauf, Mehmood, Rauf, and Mehmood (2016) Conducted a study in Pakistan revolving around political stability and suggested such a study should be conducted in other developing countries as well. The significance of this study is that it will provide abundant literature to support the claims made by the author and will also provide the governments of ASEAN countries with assistance about how to improve their policies for keeping the margin of FDI on the rise.

## Literature Review

### Theories and Models to Support FDI: The Investment Development Path Theory

The investment development path theory (Fonseca, Mendonça, & Passos, 2016) is used to explain how investment in a country and the development in that country are interlinked. Both the foreign and local investments are considered as driving factors of development according to this theory. Many studies used this theory to explain effects of various factors on FDI. The IDP theory is based on two assumptions; first that there is a relation among the type of FDI activities and the economic structure of a country and second that the ownership advantages of a local company and that of a MNC have interactive relationship (Mohapatra & Gopalaswamy, 2016). This theory studies impacts of FDI in five stages. First stage is when a developing country is assessed for FDI level of outflow and inflow while trying to promote better governmental policies and infrastructure.

The second stage is the resultant stage of governmental reforms with an increased level of inflow of FDI; however, there is still a lack of advantage of ownership to foreign investors. The third stage focuses on increasing these levels of benefits of ownership and thus increasing inflow of FDI. In the fourth stage, the competitiveness of the firms increases and in the last stage, which ends in a developed country, a strong economic policy and technical, technological and governance infrastructure is seen in addition to being strong in economic terms (Stoian, 2013).

### Mean-Group and Pooled-Mean group Estimators using Panel Data

Panel models which are using fixed traditional effect tech-



niques or random data are usually focused on T and N panels to assume the slope coefficient of homogeneity. However, the time constraints in panel data induce a level of dynamism in the data and render the stationary methods inefficient. Therefore, there is a need to consider integration in the panel models. Mean-Group (MG) and Pooled Mean-Group (PMG) are two such models that can study the non-stationary effects of dynamic panel data. MG is used to estimate the equation of N time series and find the average of the effecting coefficients and PMG is used to find results by using a combination of average and pooling techniques.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to go into the mathematical details of this econometric model, however, the model used by Sisay (2015) will be used in this research to study the effects of the three indirect variables discussed in this paper on the levels of FDI in the ASEAN countries using the Panel data. Many recent researchers have used the similar models by taking different coefficient variables for FDI (Baek, 2016; Rafiq, Salim, & Nielsen, 2016; Tan, Goh, & Wong, 2016). PMG is the favored estimation mechanism in recent studies since it allows for the short-term adjustments for country specific data and the speed of convergence all the while including the homogeneity of cross-country restrictions on the long run coefficient.

### **Political Stability and Foreign Direct Investment**

The ASEAN countries are a mix of some economically strong and some very poor countries. Singapore is one of the strongest economic country in Asia (Tremewan, 2016), while Brunei, Vietnam and few other countries fall far behind in this race. Felker (2017) gives credit to the ambiguity in their political stability levels. According to him, even though the region has ex-

perienced rapid economic investments, both from inter-ASEAN and intra-ASEAN aspects, the countries are on two verges of development, some vaulted the highest GDI in the region, while others show middle-income ratios. This is due to the regions uneven political stability and strange governance trends (Hussain et al., 2012).

In general, the countries that have low levels of political stability, which can be defined as not having stable political structure in the government, are the ones that lack in the economic development as well. The effects of political stability on economy have been studied for long in literature. Although these studies (Çalışkan, 2019; Diken, Parlakkaya, Kara, & Kodalak, 2018; M. A. Uddin, Ali, & Masih, 2017) give varying definitions for political stability, they all deduce that political stability has a positive long term affect over economic growth in the developing countries. Thus, it can be said that if a host country shows a trend of instability in the political grounds, the economic growth may be rendered. In this paper, we are discussing economic growth in terms of forgiven direct investments, so it can be interpreted that political stability plays a role on the degree of investments that the foreign multinationals commit to make in the ASEAN countries. The anti-government protests in Thailand, for instance, discouraged the MNCs (multinational companies) to make investments which disrupted Thailand's economic growth due to smaller profits (Tan & Goh, 2018). Wolf (2019) discusses that Philippines has shown an unstable political environment in the ASEAN region and thus suffers the lower FDI inflows as compared to its other partners. Thus, it can be deduced from this discussion that political stability encourages while instability discourages the foreign companies to take risk of investing in the ASEAN or any

other developing countries. In this paper, we are discussing economic growth in terms of forgiven direct investments, so it can be interpreted that political stability plays a role on the degree of investments that the foreign multinationals commit to make in the ASEAN countries. The anti-government protests in Thailand, for instance, discouraged the MNCs (multinational companies) to make investments which disrupted Thailand's economic growth due to smaller profits (Hussain, Musa, & Omran, 2018).

The IDP theory also suggests that political stability is required to generate an economically strong and developed country scenario. Abundance of literature studies how instability of politics affects the host countries business trends with foreign investors and the inflow of FDI. Corruption and low moral values are a cause of discouraging the foreign investors. A study conducted in Malaysia (Nazeer & Masih, 2017) deduced that the policy makers must ensure that economic growth benefits must be translated into reduction in instability on political fronts to increase the levels of foreign direct investments made in ASEAN countries. The following hypothesis is thus generated: **H1:** The political stability of the ASEAN countries has a direct impact on the levels of Foreign Direct Investment in the region.

### **Regulatory Qualities and Foreign Direct Investment**

Regulation in the context of this paper means the formation of policies and laws and the use of government and non-government agencies to see to the fact that these rules are being followed by the public institutions. In other words, the level of rule of law and the quality of governance are the factors that determine the level of regulatory quality. Koop and Hanretty (2018) discuss that the independence of political bodies and the level

of accountability in the governance system are the factors that affect the quality of regulatory decisions made in a country. Nis-totskaya and Cingolani (2016) studied how the regulation quality affects the levels of economic growth and entrepreneurship levels in a country. The ASEAN countries have had recent reforms in their regulatory laws and they can be classified as the starters, practitioners or countries with embedded regulatory quality laws (Carroll, Gill, & Intal, 2017). The domestic and international economic factors are the driving forces that are helping to improve regulatory performances and vary across the ASEAN countries. The economic crisis in Korea, and the competitive rise of wages in Singapore and Malaysia are examples of varying drivers of regulation in the region.

The quality of regulatory laws and practices has a direct impact on the levels of foreign direct investments in the region of ASEAN countries. The regulatory decision-making bodies are seeking cross-border collaborations for helping in maintain the political and economic stabilities in the countries like Indonesia and Philippines. The regulatory qualities reform focuses on creating an environment of ideal stability in terms of law and order so that the foreign investors do not feel any hindrances in making funding in the business in ASEAN regions. Maria, Urata, and Intal (2017) studied how FDI is affected by regulatory inflows. M. Uddin, Chowdhury, Zafar, Shafique, and Liu (2019) found in their study that the decision of MNCs about the investment in a nation is highly governed by the quality of governance laws of that country. The countries like Singapore and Malaysia, that show a greater level of foreign direct investments, are also well-known for their stability and strictness in terms of law regulations and the effectiveness of the accountability institutions. The theory

mentioned above, IDP theory, also proposes that a country that is in stage five of the development path, i.e. is a developed country, and must have a well-organized infrastructure of regulation and governance in addition to law obedience. There has also been improvement in the development path in the lower FDI countries by improving the regulatory conditions due to introduction of the regulatory reforms of 2017 in ASEAN region. It can, therefore, be deduced that regulatory quality of a country and its FDI levels of inflow and outflow are directly related. The following hypothesis is generated: **H2:** The quality of law and regulation in the ASEAN countries has a direct impact on the levels of Foreign Direct Investment in the region

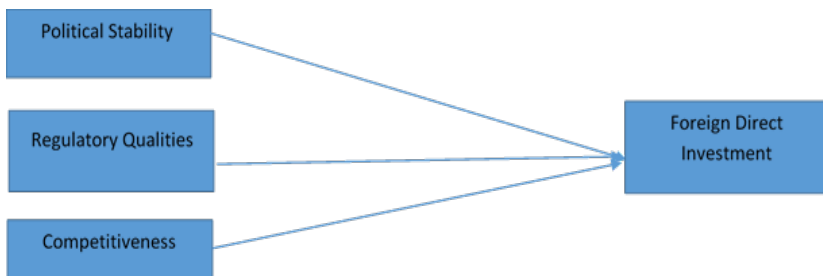
### **Competitiveness and Foreign Direct Investment**

The global competitiveness index measures the competitiveness of a country in terms like infrastructure strength, education, economic trends, and labor market and investment advantage levels. Nguyen and Van Tra (2017) claim that the global competitiveness index is a most reliable measure of competency and development in terms of innovation and economy. In the first to stages of development, according to the IDP theory, the countries must develop well developed public and private institutions and must work for the development of economy and a governance infrastructure for being competitively valued. In the next two stages the competitiveness of the countries increases due to having become productive in terms of laws and regulations as well as the investment advantage values to the foreign investors. In the last stage, a developed country, the country is thought to be highly competitive in the world due to having a well-functioning infrastructure for education, industrial and agricultural investments,

finances, market goods and a developed labor market. These developed countries are also competitive because they are innovation driven and allow for a better living standard with high wages and a corporate environment.

The increase in competitiveness in a country improves its stability of infrastructure. A competitively strong country will have strong economy and thus will have an improved value of trade (Bohari, Hin, & Fuad, 2017; Jagdambe, 2016). The ASEAN countries show various trends of competitiveness. The countries that rank higher in the GCI are Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand. These countries, as seen in the figure no.1 are also the ones that show highest ranges of FDI investments. Singapore is a country booming with technological advancements and development of corporate industry. Malaysia is well developed in terms of education and economy and Thailand is developed in terms of technology as well as agricultural grounds. It can be therefore deduced that if a country is competitive in terms of education, technology and economic infrastructure, as well as security and governance bodies are well developed, then it will attract a higher level of FDI. The following hypothesis is developed: **H3:** The level of competitiveness shown by the ASEAN countries has a direct impact on the levels of Foreign Direct Investment in the region

### Research Model



## **Methodology**

### **Data**

The importance of data collection process cannot be denied in any way as it is the base on which the whole research process is anchored. To ensure the accuracy and reliability of data in any research process, the author has made sure that data for research in this particular study should be collected from good and trustworthy sources such as World Development Bank Indicators of World Bank and Global Economy. The data that has been collected for 30 years is basically about different variables involved in this study. These variables include not only independent and dependent variables but also two control variables are present.

The independent variables include competitiveness, regulatory quality and political stability while the only dependent variable is foreign direct investment. The control variables taken into account for this study are corruption and ease of doing business. The 30 years data about these above-mentioned variables has been collected from the countries that are included in ASEAN region.

### **Model Specification**

In this section, the author has defined the terms and measurement units of all the variables of this particular study. This step is also very important in the research process. It is very clear that the author has to test the impact of three independent variables i.e. competitiveness, regulatory quality and political stability on the dependent variable, FDI. This impact has to be studied and evaluated along with the two control variables i.e. corruption and ease of doing business. For the purpose of checking impact according to the conditions given above, a regression equation must be constructed. This regression equation can be made after the

measurement units of variables of the study have been declared in the table 1.

Table 1. Measurement Units of Variables

Variables		Representations	Measurement Units
Foreign Investment	Direct	FDI	Billion US dollars
Competitiveness		COM	World economic forum index (0-7)
Regulatory Quality		REG	Regulatory quality index (-2.5-2.5)
Political Stability		POL	Political stability index (-2.5-2.5)
Corruption		COR	Corruption perception index
Ease of Doing Business		EDB	Ease of doing business index

In this way all the variables have been measured and by using them, the following equation has come into existence,

In the above equation, FDI represents foreign direct investment, COM represents competitiveness, REG shows regulatory quality, POL denotes political stability, COR shows corruption, EDB represents ease of doing business while is the tern that shows any error.



Table 2. Evidence from Past Studies

Authors	Period	Countries/Groups	Variables	Methodology	Results
Erdal & Göçer (2015)	1996-2013	10 developing countries	FDI, innovations, R&D	ADF and PP tests, Granger causality tests	Long run relationship and cointegration between variables
Lalinsky (2013)	2001-2009	90 Slovak companies	Determinants of firm competitiveness	IPS unit root, Kao cointegration, FMOLS and DOLS estimation	Impact of profitability, productivity, export performance and market share on competitiveness was significant
Konings (2001)	1993-1997	Firms of Central and Eastern Europe, Bulgaria, Romania and Poland	Foreign direct investment, performance	LLC, DOLS estimation, Pedroni cointegration	Long run relationship and cointegration exists among variables
Loewendahl (2001)	1993-1997	882 Hungarian Firms	FDI, investment promotion	Unit root tests, panel cointegration tests, causality tests	FDI and investment promotion are in cointegration, significant impact of investment promotion on FDI
Stankov, Damjanović & Roganović (2018)	2007-2015	Developing European countries	Competitiveness, FDI determinants	Fixed effects panel estimation	Direct influence of goods market efficiency and Negative influence of infrastructure, technological readiness on FDI

## Estimation Procedure

This section discusses the properties and specifications of various techniques employed by the author in order to test or estimate and analyze the data that has already been collected effectively. It is a fact that all tests have their own properties and usage and it depends upon the type of the study. In this case, the author is doing a panel study due to which relevant tests such as IPS unit root test, Pedroni cointegration test and FMOLS coefficient estimation test have been employed. All these tests are specifically used for the study of panel data and analyzing it. The detailed discussion and argument about the above-mentioned tests are given as follows:

## Panel Unit Root Test

Two types of panel unit root tests are generally used in this regard, which include LLC and IPS. These are the respective abbreviations of Levin Lin Chu and Im Pesaran Shin. These tests are originally derived from the augmented Dickey Fuller ADF tests that are usually used for the time series data. The basic difference between these two tests is based on the type of autoregressive process they provide for the data analysis purpose. This fact can be explained by the fact that LLC provides same autoregressive process while IPS provides different autoregressive process in the research process. A crucial thing to be noted in this case is that the test that author is willing to adopt in a specific research process must be relative to the kind of data available for research. The major benefits or advantages are effectively overviewed here (Im, Pesaran, & Shin, 2003).

The first thing in this regard is that these tests provide information about integration of various variables. In addition, they also provide enough information about the stationary or non-stationary state of the variables. The preference of these tests over the old and conventional tests is based on the fact that they can resolve the problems of power and size that arise due to the use of old unit root tests. In addition, these tests are preferred because, unlike the old tests, provide a standard normal distribution of collected data. The last thing while discussing the panel unit root tests is the hypothesis (null and alternate) made for the research purpose. The null hypothesis represents that the unit root is present and the data are non-stationary. Contrarily, the alternate hypothesis shows that the unit root is not present and the data is stationary. According to the type of data collected, the author has decided to use IPS unit root tests, whose general equation is

presented below:

$$\Delta y_{i,t} = a_i + \rho y_{i,t-1} + \sum_{j=1}^{pi} a_j \Delta y_{i,t-j} + \varepsilon_{i,t}$$

In this equation,  $\Delta y_{i,t}$  represents the difference of the term  $\Delta y_{i,t}$  specific for  $i^{\text{th}}$  country and the time period of  $t$ .

### Panel Cointegration Test

Panel cointegration tests are of two types that are generally used by the researchers. These types include Kao and Pedroni tests. These tests are further divided into two categories that are actually two approaches used in this regard. These approaches include within dimension and between dimension approaches. These two approaches can be discriminated on the basis of the fact that the first approach provides homogeneous panel cointegration statistics. On the contrary, the other approach provides heterogeneous group mean statistics (Levin & Lin, 1993). In addition, these approaches can also be differentiated on the basis of the statistics used in these particular approaches. This point can be explained in such a way that the within approach contains four types of statistics. These include “panel  $v$  statistic, panel rho statistic, panel PP statistic (non-parametric) and panel ADF statistic (parametric)”.

On the other hand, between dimension approach involves only three statistic tests. These include “group rho statistic, group PP statistic (non-parametric) and group ADF statistic (parametric)”. It must be noted here that the PP statistics are non-parametric in nature while the ADF statistics are parametric in nature. When these tests are run, all these statistics obtain some specific values based on which the null hypothesis may be rejected or accepted consequently. Based on the type of research and data,

the author is to adopt Pedroni cointegration test. This can be presented by using a form of general equation that is given below:

$$y_{i,t} = \alpha_i + \delta_{i,t} + \beta_1 X_{1,i,t} + \beta_2 X_{2,i,t} + \dots + \beta_n X_{n,i,t} + \varepsilon_{i,t}$$

### Coefficient Estimation Test

The integration and cointegration confirmation of the variables of any study lead towards the verification of the presence of any long-term relationship between variables for which the study has been conducted. In the past, simple OLS tests were used for this purpose but the problem that rose due to OLS was the presence of serial correlation and endogenous variable due to which the accuracy of the results was affected. With the motive to solve these issues, two new tests FMOLS and DOLS were introduced that are actually the modified forms of original OLS (Pedroni, 2001). These modified forms can be effectively employed to solve the above-mentioned problems and result in more accuracy and reliability. Presence of single cointegrating vector in integrated variables and the absence of any cointegrating vector in explanatory variable are two most important conditions for the adoption of FMOLS and DOLS coefficient estimation tests. The coefficient values that come as a result of applying the tests indicate the long run relationships between the variables. The researcher has applied FMOLS test in this study having the following general equation:

$$\hat{\beta}_{FM} = \left( \sum_{i=1}^N \sum_{t=1}^T (x_{i,t} - \bar{x}_i)^2 \right)^{-1} \sum_{i=1}^N \left( \sum_{t=1}^T (x_{i,t} - \bar{x}_i) F\widehat{D}I_{i,t} - T\delta_{\varepsilon u} \right)$$

In this equation, is the transformed variable of foreign direct investment due to endogeneity while is used to represent the serial correlation correction by FMOLS.

## **Empirical Analysis**

### **Results of Panel Unit Root Test**

During the initial phase of research process of panel data, it is a must thing to identify any integration of order one in the variables included in the study. For this motive, the researcher in this study has used a unit root test called as Im Pesaran Shin IPS test, which not only investigates the integrated relationships of variables but also investigate the stochastic or stationary properties of variables. The detailed results of this particular approach have been exhibited in table 2. It can be clearly witnessed in the table that the test has been performed for two major series i.e. level and first difference. The series are further classified as intercept and intercept plus trend and the significance levels of all these values declare the presence or absence of integration. In the table, the level series indicates that most of the values of this section have accepted the null hypothesis that unit root is present ensuring the non-stationery of data. When the same test or technique was applied to the first difference series of the table, it was found that most of the values have effectively rejected the null hypothesis of presence of unit root test which consequently shows that the data has become stationary in this series. When the result of both the series is compiled, it come out that all the variables are having the integration of order of one among them due to which the collected data further leads towards the next set of tests. The outline of the results shown by this test is that the data is non-stationary at level series while when it is first differenced; it ultimately becomes stationary indicating the existence of cointegration.

Table 3. Panel Unit Root Test – Im, Pesaran and Shin (IPS)

Variable	Level	1 <sup>st</sup> difference		
		Intercept t	Intercept + Trend	Intercept t
COM	-1.1260	-2.4319	4.6397* *	9.69291** *
REG	-0.1741	-3.1470	-5.5208*	-6.5697**
POL	-1.4795*	- 3.4579* *	-3.2345*	-8.8763**
COR	-2.2740	- 4.4789* *	- 2.5301* *	- 10.238***
EODB	-2.0472	-3.4288*	-4.9748*	-9.5821**
FDI	-1.3644	- 5.3661* *	-7.3611*	- 14.3610**

In this table, \* represents that the rejection is one percent significant, \*\* shows that rejection is five percent significant, \*\*\* shows that rejection is ten percent significant

### Results of Panel Cointegration Test

After the confirmation of existence of integration, the research process enters the next phase that is to investigate the presence of cointegration between variables or in other words, the long run relationship between them. With the motive of achieving this particular objective, the researcher in study has applied Pedroni's cointegration tests that gives the result about two major

approaches named as within dimension and between dimension. Studies have shown that these approaches further consist of four and three test statistics respectively, the significance levels are very crucial to identify the existence of cointegration. The Results of Pedroni's test have been declared in the table 3, which shows that out of four statistics, two have rejected the null hypothesis in the significance levels of five and ten percent respectively that were generated in the cointegration test, resulting in the fact that there is proper cointegration among the variables.

The results of same test on the between dimension section of the table show that two out of the total three test statistic values have also rejected the same null hypothesis with one and five significance levels respectively resulting in the fact that there exists proper cointegration and long run equilibrium relationship among the variables. When the cointegration of a data set has been confirmed, it is completely ready to enter into the next phase of the research process and for the estimation of coefficient of the long run relationships. The overall results show that four test statistics, both from within and between approaches have declared the existence of cointegrated relationships among variables.

Table 4. The Pedroni Panel Cointegration Test

Test	Statistics	p-values
(Within Dimension)		
Panel $\nu$ -Statistic	-0.0482	-4.4787
Panel $\rho$ -Statistic	-0.2941	-5.4871
Panel $t$ -Statistic: (non-parametric)	-1.6926***	-6.7634*
Panel $t$ -Statistic ( <i>adf</i> ): (parametric)	-4.1394**	-4.4523**

Test	Statistics	p-values
(Between Dimension)		
Group $\rho$ -Statistic	-1.9421**	-10.9756**
Group $t$ -Statistic: (non-parametric)	-0.0372	-9.2654*
Group $t$ -Statistic ( <i>adf</i> ): (parametric)	-2.4587*	-13.4877*

In this table, \* represents that the rejection is one percent significant, \*\* shows that rejection is five percent significant, \*\*\* shows that rejection is ten percent significant

### Results of Coefficient Estimation Test

Finally, after the confirmation of integrated and cointegrated relationships of variables, the next phase in the research process of panel data set is to measure the coefficients that are related to each of the variables and can be used to identify the volume or strength of that particular relationship. In other words, the percentage of change in one variable due to one percent change in the other variable is the key finding of this process. In regard of coefficient estimation, usually two approaches are commonly used i.e. FMOLS and DOLS, from which, for this study, the author has chosen FMOLS approach. The results obtained by the performance of this test have been shown in the table 4 given along. It is clear that this study has used three independent and two control variables for research purpose. The first one, competitiveness has been found with no significance in having any impact on FDI.

The next variable is found to have ten percent significance in have an impact on FDI and the coefficient value declares that one percent change in regulatory quality brings 18.4% change in



FDI. Similarly, the next variable, political stability has also shown the consistent results of having significant impact on FDI with significance level of one percent. Its coefficient value declares that one percent increase in political stability will bring 20.1% increase in FDI. The result of first control variable, corruption is found to have zero significant impact while the other one, ease of doing business is significant in this regard. To be very specific, with one unit increase in ease of doing business, there will be 37.6% increase in FDI in a country. It can be concluded that, three out of the five variables have significant impacts on FDI.

Table 5. FMOLS Estimation

Estimator	Coefficient	Standard Error	Probability
<b>COM</b>	0.210	0.317	0.000
<b>REG</b>	0.184**	0.638	0.017
<b>POL</b>	0.201*	0.811	0.041
<b>COR</b>	0.091	0.983	0.077
<b>EODB</b>	0.376**	0.796	0.000
<b>Adj. R Square</b>	<b>0.832</b>	<b>0.992</b>	<b>0.000</b>
<b>F-Value</b>	<b>89.180</b>	-	-
<b>D.W. Stat</b>	<b>2.37</b>	-	-

In this table, \* represents one percent significance level, \*\* shows five percent significance level.

### Multicollinearity Test

Another important step in the research process is to estimate and investigate the presence of any correlation among the variables. If there is any correlation among these variables, it will affect the effectiveness of the results of research. Therefore, it is really important to perform this test. The author has got the follow-

ing results by applying this test, presented in table 5. According to these results, it is evident that there is zero correlation among the variables. This is because of the satisfaction of two conditions of this test i.e. VIF must be less than 5 and tolerance must be greater than 0.1.

Table 6. Multicollinearity Test

	VIF	1/VIF
COM	2.037	.492
REG	1.371	.491
POL	1.696	.768
COR	1.498	.348
EODB	2.477	.683
FDI	2.571	.583
Mean VIF	1.477	-

## Discussion and Conclusions

### Discussion

In this study, the author is to identify and investigate the impact of competitiveness, regulatory quality and political stability on FDI. In the section of literature review, hypotheses were made for all these variables. These hypotheses were tested and evaluated by using several kinds of test and approaches. The first hypothesis of this study is that competitiveness has significant impact on FDI. This impact when evaluated by certain tests was rejected based on their results. The same was the case in past studies (Fagerberg, 1988). The next hypothesis was that regulatory quality has significant impact on FDI. This hypothesis was ac-

cepted after the application of different approaches. This result is consistent with a past study (Radaelli & De Francesco, 2013). The last hypothesis was that political stability has significant impact on FDI, which also has been accepted as a result of adoption of various tests related to the panel data. In the last, two control variables were also included in this study including corruption and ease of doing business. The impact of corruption has been denied but that of ease of doing business has been accepted by the tests. These results are same as those of the studies conducted in the past (Feng, 1997).

## **Conclusion**

Competitiveness, regulatory quality and political stability are essential tools for increasing the attraction for FDI. This study is based on the purpose of checking the impact of these three independent variables on FDI. In this regard, to perform several tests, data was collected from ASEAN countries consisting of 30 years. This data was then tested and evaluated by applying different tests and approaches such as IPS unit root test, Pedroni cointegration test, FMOLS test etc. The results of these tests have shown that the impact of competitiveness has been rejected but the impact of regulatory quality and political stability has been accepted. On the other hand, the impact of one control variable i.e. ease of doing business has been accepted but the impact of corruption has been rejected. This study has various implications as well as limitations.

## **Implications**

The benefits of this particular study can be divided into three categories i.e. theoretical, practical and policy making. In the first

category, this study has provided a great amount of literature on the variables included in the topic i.e. competitiveness, regulatory quality and political stability as well as their impact on a very popular concept, foreign direct investment. This literature might help the researchers and authors in several ways. Other than that, the other category, practical benefits include the assistance that this study will provide to the businesses and government of a country with the motive of increasing competitiveness, regulatory quality and political stability so that more and more investors can be attracted. The last category, policy making refers to the concept that this study will provide aid to the government of ASEAN countries in the context of devising policies and regulations in favor of the variables included in this study so that the attraction of FDI can be increased.

### **Limitations and Future Recommendations**

There is a list of disadvantages or limitations of this study, the most important of which are given here. First of all, the sample size of the data is very limited to be used for analysis. The study revolves around only some specific concepts and techniques for the analysis of collected data. In addition, the geographical circle is also very small and is limited to only ASEAN countries. Another point in this regard is that the study is based on a few variables. The future researchers may take care of some points for conducting an effective research. They may look for other geographical areas as well and use tests and approaches other than the ones that are used in this study. In addition to that, they may also increase the data sample size and may move to some other variables to increase the scope of their study.

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# **Changes in Police Administration and Other Arrangements by British under the Board of Administration after Annexation of the Punjab**

**Dr. Mandeep Kaur**

## **Abstract**

The State emerges to ensure security and peace to the individual. In order to realize these objectives, the State created an administrative system of which the police seem to be an important component. The system of policing in India had been there since ancient period but it was the British who established the modern Police system.

Immediately after the annexation of Punjab for the consolidation of British hold in newly conquered territory and to reconcile the violent Sikhs to the British rule, the Board of Administration was established for the Punjab on 29th March, 1849, to set in motion the machinery of Government by this Board. The Board was entrusted with vast civil, criminal, military and other administrative powers.

It worked for four years i.e. till 4th February 1853, when Governor-General, Dalhousie abolished the Board. Whatever might have been the reasons for its abolition but within these four years its minimum essential task had been fulfilled i.e. the pacification and consolidation of the Punjab. The initial changes made by the Board of Administration in the Police administration and other administrative arrangements immediately after the annexation of the Punjab have been discussed in the present work.

**Key words: Police, Annexation of Punjab, Criminal, Administration, Board.**

## Discussion

The policing in any country in any system of governance have always been a responsibility of the rulers. The State emerges to ensure security and peace to the individual. In order to realize these objectives, the State created an administrative system of which the police seem to be an important component. Police administration is very important in every democratic society because in very country peace, law, order and society depend upon it.

The term “Police” in its origin is very old. The widely accepted view is that it is derived from the Greek word “Polis” which means City and is defined in the Greek tradition as an organized civil force in a town or a city for the preservation of the life, property and health of the community and for the enforcement of law. The Latin root of the term police is “Politia” which literally stands for the condition of a “Polis” or “State”. It is believed that the word police was imported from France and England in the early eighteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The ancient law giver, Manu, referred to the police functions during his time for the prevention and detection of crime. There are also some references of police in Rig Veda.<sup>2</sup> The Oxford dictionary defines ‘Police’ as an official organization whose job is to make people obey the law and to prevent and solve crime. The term ‘Police’ means a body of people organized to maintain law and order to investigate breaches of law.<sup>3</sup>

The system of policing in India was well-organized and had its basis on the land tenure system during Mughal period. *Jamadar*s (armed officers of *zamindars*) were made bereft of their

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1 Giriraj Shah, *Image Makers: An Attitudinal Study of Indian Police*, Abhinav Publication, New Delhi, 1993, p.7.

2 S.K. Chatterjee, *The Police in Ancient India*, *The Indian Police Journal* (Century Issue 1861-1961), SVP Police Academy, Hyderabad, 1961, p.11.

3 *The New Encyclopedia Britannica: Vol. 18*, Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc., 1985, p.158.

power and authority or administer justice as a consequence of the assumption of authority. They were responsible for apprehending disturbers of the public peace and performing other policing duties. At the level of village, these functions were performed by the headman of the village. In large towns, administration of police was entrusted to functionaries called *Kotwals*.<sup>4</sup>

Police administration under Akbar was fairly efficient and well organized, which was maintained with high standards of public order and tranquillity. The Police administration was divided into three categories: Urban Police (cities and towns), District Police and Village Police.<sup>5</sup> The maintenance of law and order and the administration of justice at each district remained in the hands of *zamindars* (landlords), many of whom become *faujdar*s of the empire and the office was more formal than real because they functioned as contractors of general administration. The duty of the *faujdar* was to maintain law and order and thereby protect life and property of the people under his district. *Kotwal* was the head of the city police in the urban area. The *kotwal* who exercised all kind of powers acted as the administrator, had to be very vigilant. If he was not able to recover the stolen property, he had to make good the loss. He kept an eye on the currency. He fixed local prices. He checked weights and measures. He was required to maintain an inventory of the properties of the persons dying intestate.<sup>6</sup>

The province was sub-divided into suitable districts which were further divided into *parganas* which we called "*Thanas*" (po-

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4 Saima Manzoor, Akif Manzoor, Engr. Asif Manzoor, *Police in Pakistan*, Lulu.com, Latifabad Sindh, 2014, p. 79.

5 Ashirbadi Lal Srivastva, *The Mughal Empire (1526-1803)*, Shivalal Aggarwal & Co., Agra, 1976, p. 301.

6 Vincent A. Smith, *Akbar (The Great Mogul) 1542-1605*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1917, p. 382.

lice stations), sometimes there were more than one *thana* in a *pargana*. Each *thana* was placed under a 'Thanedar' (Station Head Officer) for proper policing of the rural area. It was also a usual practice to establish *chowkies* (posts) in different strategic areas for the maintenance of internal order in the conquered territory. The village headman was required to discover the thieves and robbers within a specified time. In the event of his failure he had to pay for the loss from his own pocket. If the crime occurred on the boundary of more than one village, the headmen of each village concerned were held responsible for it, usually the entire village was answerable for every crime.<sup>7</sup>

Before the annexation of Punjab by the British, there was no independent Police department in the *Sikh* rule under *Maharaja Ranjit Singh* and his successors. The monarch was the highest authority of all branches of the administration including police. At that time in the province, the police functions were performed by the *nazims*, *sardars*, *lambardars* and *chowkidars* hierarchically and in the capital city i.e. in the city of *Lahore*, the head of the police was *Kotwal*.<sup>8</sup>

There were no special officers for dispensing civil and criminal justice separately except in the city of *Lahore*. In the city of *Lahore* an *Adaalati* (judicial officer) was stationed and there were no special officers for the dispensing of civil justice or the execution of criminal law. The *thanedars* (police officers) were rather political and military than civil officers. Their business was to check disturbances and to arrange for the marching troops.<sup>9</sup> It was the British who established the modern Police system.

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7 Ashirbadi Lal Srivastva, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

8 Bhagat Singh, *Sikh Polity in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century*, Orient Publishers New Delhi, 1978, pp. 247-256.

9 *Report of the Committee appointed by Government to consider certain questions connected with Police Administration of the Punjab, November 1899 to February 1900*, Punjab Government Press, Lahore, 1900, p. 1, para 1. (hereinafter referred as *RCGCPAP, 1899-1900*)

It was 'an alien institution created by the English by slow degrees. It separated the preventive and investigating agency from the authority which tries and punishes the criminals.'<sup>10</sup> Immediately after the annexation of Punjab, Lord Dalhousie was very much concerned about the consolidation of British hold in newly conquered territory and to reconcile the violent Sikhs to the British rule. He established a Board of Administration for the Punjab on 29th March, 1849 to set in motion the machinery of Government by appointing this Board. It consisted of one President and two members.<sup>11</sup>

Henry Lawrence, the British Resident at Lahore, was appointed as the President of the Board and was entrusted with matters connected with defense and relations with the *Sardars* while his brother, John Lawrence, was put in charge of land settlement as a member. Charles Grenville Mansel, a covenanted civilian was entrusted as another member with the administration of justice. He was replaced by Robert Montgomery after a year.<sup>12</sup>

This Board was made the final appellate Court and was vested with the powers of life and death. The Board had the power to communicate directly with the Governor General. At the same time, the main principles were described, on which the administration was to be conducted.<sup>13</sup> The two regions, the *cis-Sutlej* and the *Trans-Sutlej*, were reunited under the Board and the Punjab, along with the trans-Indus territories, comprised an area of about 73,000 square miles. Its population was roughly estimated at ten

10 J.C. Curry, *The Indian Police*, London, 1932, reprint Manu Publications, New Delhi, 1977, p.18.

11 *General Report upon the Administration of Punjab Proper for the years, 1849-50 & 1850-51*, Chronicle Press, Lahore, 1854, p. 29. (hereinafter referred as *GARPP, 1849-51*)

12 Kushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs* Vol. 2: 1839-2004, Second edition, Oxford University Press, 2004, p. 89.

13 *Ibid.*

million.<sup>14</sup>

The Board split the entire newly annexed territory into four circles or divisions each under a Commissioner. These divisions were Lahore, Jhelum, Multan, and Leh. These divisions were further divided into districts. Lahore division had five districts, Lahore, Batala and Amritsar in Bari doab (area between River Beas and Ravi) and Wazirabad and Sheikhpura in Rachna doab (area between River Ravi and Chenab). Jhelum division had Chaj doab (area between River Chenab and Jhelum) and the area in south of Hazara in Sindh Sagar doab (area between River Chenab and Indus). Multan had three districts, Multan and Pakpattan in Bari doab and Jhang in Rachna doab. Leh had four districts, Leh and Khangarh in Sindh Sagar doab and Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Ismail Khan including Bannu on the right bank of Indus River. Initially, the provinces of Hazara (with its dependency of Kohat) and Peshawar constituted two separate districts, were put immediately under the Board but later these three districts Peshawar, Kohat and Hazara were joined together to form the separate division.<sup>15</sup>

In this whole set up, the Divisional Commissioners were next to the Board. Below them there were Deputy Commissioners, and then Assistant Commissioners and Extra Assistant Commissioners. The Commissioners, Deputy Commissioners, Assistant Commissioners and Extra Assistant Commissioners were paid the salaries of Rs. 2750/-, Rs. 1000/- to Rs. 1600/-, Rs. 500/- to Rs. 700/- and Rs. 250/- to Rs. 500/- per month respectively.<sup>16</sup>

The first three grades of Commissioners were of commissioned officers and the fourth was Europeans and Indians, espe-

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*, p. 90.

<sup>15</sup> *GRAPP, 1849-51*, p. 31.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.



cially such Indians who were trustworthy officers in the *Khalsa Durbar*. All the officers were vested with criminal, civil and fiscal powers. The Board was entrusted with plenary authority to control and supervise all departments. The Commissioners were ex-officio Superintendents of revenue and police. They also had the civil and the criminal powers of a Session Judge and were vested with the appellate powers. The Deputy Commissioners were to be Magistrates and Collectors of revenue. They had power to try all civil suits exceeding the value of Rs. 1000/-. Assistant Commissioners, who were subordinate to the Deputy Commissioners, were to exercise power according to their designation and office. They might try civil suits up to Rs. 1,000/-. Apart from this, they were vested with such powers to dispose of any portion of the fiscal or criminal work, which the Deputy Commissioners might think proper of entrust to them.<sup>17</sup>

The Board of Administration had to deal with a disgruntled aristocracy and with the masses, which had a strong feeling of antipathy towards their conquerors. The Punjab's cities and villages were placarded with notices demanding the surrender of arms. In a short while, 1, 19,796 arms swords and matchlocks, a few pieces of cannon, rifles and other weapons were recovered. All military grants of Sikh times were abolished.<sup>18</sup>

As per the directions of the Government of India the Board was bound to maintain the internal peace of the province, and to guard the western frontier, from the northern borders of Sindh to Attock and also the whole of Hazara territory. Soon after the annexation, ten regiments, five cavalries and five infantries, were raised for the protection of the whole western frontier line with the exception of Peshawar, which important position was to be

17 *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

18 *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33, 56.

held by the regular Army. The infantry regiments were to consist of 04 European officers, 16 native officers, 96 non-commissioned officers and 800 privates. The cavalry regiments of 588 sabre each, with the same proportion of European and native officers.<sup>19</sup>

Table 1: Disposition of Frontier Force

Stations and Districts	Infantry		Cavalry		Artillery		Total Men
	Regts.	Men	Regts.	Men	Guns	Men	
<i>Peshawar (Eusufzve)</i>	0.5	576	1/2	306	0	0	882
<i>Hazara</i>	1	910	0	0	6	72	982
<i>Kohat</i>	3 & 1 Co. Sappers	2872	1	584	15	212	3638
<i>Bannoo</i>	1	928	1	584	26	195	1707
<i>Dera Ismael Khan</i>	1	1072	1	584	9	33	1689
<i>Dera Gazi Khan &amp; Asni</i>	1 & 1 Co. Sappers	1016	2	1168	8	116	2300
<b>Total</b>	<b>7.5 &amp; 2 Comps.</b>	<b>7374</b>	<b>5.5</b>	<b>3226</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>628</b>	<b>11228</b>

*Source: General Report on the Administration of the Punjab proper, for the years 1849-50 & 1850-51, p.48.*

For the protection of the Frontier and for the preservation of internal peace an armed Police Force, foot and horse, was raised, and partially organized. The village Police was too appointed. The civil and criminal Courts were established and about 8000 convicts were put behind bars in the very first year after annexation.<sup>20</sup> A secret intelligence *khuffia* service consisting of informers and detectives was attached to the police to alert the government of the prevailing temper of the people. The old village watches and ward system was revived. Village watchmen, *chaukidars* were expected to keep police informed of the movement of any strangers. Special precautions were taken in the *majha* area where the rebel Sikh Bhai Maharaj Singh and his associates were reported to be

19 *Ibid.*, p. 35; also see Kushwant Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 33.

active.<sup>21</sup>

The penal code of the presidency was to guide the administration of criminal justice, subject to such deviations as experience of the people and country might from time to time dictate. Preventive measures of police were to be adopted. The wooded wilds of the central *doabs*, the haunts of thieves and plunderers, were to be intersected by roads. The people were to be disarmed. The forts and strongholds were to be dismantled.<sup>22</sup>

In the starting of year 1850, reforms regarding the currency were initiated as a great variety of coinage had prevailed in Punjab, producing mercantile confusion, disadvantageous exchanges and facilitating fraud. These dead currencies were gradually withdrawn and large billion remittances of the old coin, aggregating about fifty *lakhs* were transmitted to Calcutta and also down the Indus, to be returned from the Bombay Mint with the British stamp.<sup>23</sup>

After annexation of Punjab, the police faced a number of problems. The crimes such as thug, dacoit, infanticide, murder, adultery, cattle-lifting etc., were on peak and uncontrolled and the life and property of the people were not at all secure. Due to this reason the government, to put an end to these criminal practices with an iron hand, made it a part of their policy. For the maintenance of law and order, need of a strong police force was first felt. Under the Board of Administration the police was divided into two wings, viz., the preventive police which was a military organization and the detective police which was a civil organization.<sup>24</sup>

The preventive police comprised of six regiments of foot

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21 Khushwant Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

22 *GRAPP, 1849-51*, p. 30.

23 *Ibid.* p. 34.

24 *RCGCPAP, 1899-1900*, p. 1.

and twenty-seven troops of horses. Four out of these six battalions were regiments who remained faithful to East India Company during war. Each regiment had its own native Commandant. The troopers were selected from amongst the horse-men of former Sikh *Durbar*, the Sikhs predominated in one infantry regiment, and the Muslims predominated in the other three and also among the horse. The whole force was superintended by four British officers as Police Captains. Its numerical strength was 8100 men, 5400 infantry, 2700 cavalry.<sup>25</sup>

The Detective Civil Police was organized similar to as in the Bengal and North Western Provinces. It was divided in three classes, i.e., Regular Police which was paid by the State; the city watchmen & the rural constabulary which were paid by the people. The whole territory of Punjab was divided into 228 *thanas* which were put under the control of a *thanedar* who was assisted by two or three assistants of various grades. There were about 30 policemen on an average in each *thana*.<sup>26</sup>

To reduce the temptations, to accept bribe, the salary of the police officer was fixed at Rs. 50/-. In cities and other central localities, the Chief Inspector of police was well paid up from Rs. 80/- to Rs. 100/- per month. The total strength of this police force was 6900 men of all grades. The total cost of this establishment was about Rs. 5,89,014/- per annum.<sup>27</sup> The numerical strength and annual cost of these various bodies in the territories west of the Sutlej and its feeder, the Beas, during the first two years after annexation were as follows:

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25 *GRAPP, 1849-51*, p. 49.

26 *Ibid.*

27 *Ibid.*; *Dispatch from the Government of India to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, dated 14<sup>th</sup> May, 1857.*

Table 2: The Numerical Strength and Annual Cost of Police in 1851

		<i>Strength of Police</i>	<i>Annual Cost (Rs.)</i>
<i>Military Preventive Police</i>	<i>Infantry</i>	5400	7,97,040
	<i>Cavalry</i>	2700	6,10,416
<i>Civil Detective Police</i>	<i>All Grades</i>	6900	5,89,014
<b>Total</b>		<b>15000</b>	<b>19,96,470</b>

*Source: Report of the committee appointed by Government in connection with Police Administration of the Punjab, Lahore, November 1899 to February 1900, p.1.*

The government took the help of *tehsildars* or the native land revenue collectors to control these establishments. The *tehsildar* was vested with the police powers within his jurisdiction accordingly. Such a mechanism was provided that the police were subordinate to him, but he was not to supersede them. He was to animate them when negligent, to overawe them when corrupt. He was responsible that they are faithful to the state. The Board promulgated a code, defining the mutual relations of the *tehsildars* and the police, and distinguishing the *tehsildar's* police capacity from his other capacities, fiscal and judicial. The police and revenue jurisdictions were so arranged with respect to each other, that two or more divisions fell within one police fiscal division and within one *tehsildar*.<sup>28</sup>

There were 75 fiscal divisions in the whole province which were sub-divided into 228 subordinate divisions. Apart from the general duties of police regarding reporting of crimes, tracking and arrest of criminals, the serving of processes it also included the collection of supplies for troops and boats for the passage of rivers. They guarded ferries and escorted prisoners. A complete

<sup>28</sup> GRAPP, 1849-51, p. 50.

system of records and diaries was maintained rigidly.<sup>29</sup>

Village police was also organized. In every village, a watchman was appointed to look after the welfare of the village community. The number may be increased when the size of the village was required to do so. The salary was paid in cash to that watchman but if the villages desired it was also paid in kind. The watchman was paid adequate remuneration to support them, without recourse to any other mode of livelihood and it was not less than Rs. 3/- per month. In case of any vacancies, the landholders used to nominate the name of the person and the Magistrate used to confirm it. The watchmen were kept sufficiently under the control of the Police and the landholders. The important link between the government and the people was formed by the city and the village police.<sup>30</sup>

The city police, regular police, and village watchmen had to wear prescribed uniform and equipment. The watchmen were given a staff and spear and the regular police were armed with sword and carbine. The watchmen were periodically inspected by the Magistrate and the regular police were subjected to drill. This was done to check their physical efficiency.<sup>31</sup>

*Khoj* (tracking) System was followed in Punjab even before annexation. The new Government recognized it and continued to follow it. Under this system, if the foot-steps of any thief were traced in the domain of a particular village, the people of the village were held accountable for the amount of stolen property. It was a good system as the people were attached and well versed to this system. Moreover, under this system there was an obliga-

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29 *Ibid.*

30 Y.B. Mathur, *British Administration of Punjab (1849-75)*, Surjeet Book Depot, Delhi, 1973, p. 43.

31 *Ibid.* p. 44.

tion over the village peoples in preventing and detecting the crime and criminal which assisted the village people to trace and arrest the criminals. It also had a deterrent effect on the villagers and they avoided to harboring or concealing the criminals as well as the stolen property under the fear of penalty. This system was applicable especially in case of crimes such as cattle theft or house breaking etc. To control cattle stealing it was directed that the grazers must report such crime in the presence of village *lumberdars* and *chawkidars*. This was felt necessary because often these grazers had the knowledge and connivance with the thieves and they pleaded ignorance of the property stolen.<sup>32</sup>

In this way the Board enjoyed wide powers and unrestricted control over all matters like executive, magisterial and judicial even to the extent of awarding Capital punishment. This new administration was not encumbered with any regulations which might be too intricate for the common people of Punjab. Each member of the Board was assigned a different responsibility, keeping in view their aptitudes and inborn capabilities. The all three members, although had to work in their own individual spheres yet they were jointly responsible for the formulation and implementation of the policies. Kay remarked that the system was of divided labor and common responsibility. In this collaborative arrangement each was responsible for the acts of the other two also.<sup>33</sup> The procedure was that, all official papers, were circulated to the three members of the Board and each member, recorded his opinion on every question that came up for consideration. Subsequently the matter was put before the Board and the decision was taken collectively.<sup>34</sup>

32 D.G. Barkely, *The Non Regulation Law of the Punjab*, Punjab Printing Co., Lahore, 1871, p.70.

33 John William Kaye, *History of the Sepoy War*, Smith Elder & Co., London, 1870, p. 52.

34 John William Kaye, *The Administration of East India Company*, Richard Bentley,

The system was commendable to the extent till there was consensus on all matters. But actually it was designed only to increase the ordinary faults of divided councils and resulted in compromises where action was required.<sup>35</sup> Unfortunately, due to some troubles the whole administrative mechanism broke down after four years. The working of the Board was affected by the differences between Henry Lawrence and his brother, John Lawrence. In these mutual disputes, Lord Dalhousie openly sided with the latter. The conflict came to a head when both brothers put in their resignation at the beginning of 1853. Governor-General, Dalhousie abolished the Board on 4th February 1853, transferred Henry Lawrence to *Rajputana* and appointed John Lawrence Chief Commissioner of the Punjab.<sup>36</sup> But within this period its minimum essential task had been fulfilled i.e. the pacification and consolidation of the Punjab.

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35 Herbert Benjamin, *Life of Henry Lawrence*, Edwards and Harman Merivale, London, 1872, p.138.

36 In 1852, both the brothers applied for the Residency of Hyderabad when it fell vacant. Henry was removed from Punjab by Lord Dalhousie and was given the Residency of Rajputana. To make his blow bitter he was told that the post of Residency at Hyderabad required trained civilians so he, therefore, was not given that posting; Charles Gough and Arthur D. Innes. *The Sikhs and Sikh Wars*, A.D. Innes & Co., London, 1897, p. 280.



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# **Discourse on Ethnic, Indigeneity and the Nation: Narrative Bangsa Malaysia**

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## **Introduction**

All nation-state shares the same basis of identifying and defining their citizen and country. But migration, trade, colonialism, capitalism, globalization and the digital revolution play a great part in molding the dynamism and reconstructing the modern and contemporary nation-state. Whatever forms of nation-state being maintained and reconstructed, the cores of the nation are ethnic origin, indignity and ethno-symbols that prevailed long before the modern states gained their independence.

However, the discourses on nation-state are often not simplistic but complex and its citizens not necessarily remained racially and ethnically homogeneous. Under such changing scenario of the understanding of the nation-state and, especially the nation, will continuously generate various contestation of the 'imagined community' and 'nation-of-intent'. Thus, the agenda of national unity and nation-building will always be a perpetual work in progress. The failure to manage the diverse contending groups will destabilize the country politically that would lead to inter-group conflict, civil war and, inevitably, separation of the territorial border of the nation-state. Studying nation-state and its dynamism should be of concerned to Asian and Southeast Asian scholars as

political stability is a pre-conditioned to economic progress of the country and the region.

### **Ethnic Group, Indignity, Nationalism and Nation**

Any discourse of the nation predates modernity. A nation may be a recent making but in the popular perception of the members, it is 'eternal', 'beyond time', 'timeless', and a 'symbolic immortality'. Members of a nation experience their ethnic as 'the fully extended family', not through time but beyond time. This place the nature of ethno national bond as lies 'beyond reason'. Connor dispels the homo economics imagery of humans as motivated by material cost-benefit calculation. When it comes to nationalism, its ethno not economics is the dominant force. Economic variables are apt to serve as catalyst agent, exacerbate or choice of where the conflicts to take place. Catalysts and indirect forces should not be confused as the cause. Ethno-nationalism appears to operate remarkably independent from the economic variables.

However, modern states are powerful. In the process of independence, decolonization, communism and liberalism among the African and Asian independence movements saw the nationalist agenda as the rallying calls but once in power the nationalist elite shirked its national creed, the communists placed the interests of the state and class, the liberal states even failed their democratic principles when they become less democratic in response to the growing threats of nationalistic movements in their own country. The state prefers their territorial integrity to self-determination and the soul of the nation as a national agenda becomes a lip service and political rhetoric in nature.

However, history shows that the refusal to grant self-deter-

mination does not eradicate the problem. The political potency of self-determination is to stay and the efforts of the national elite at assimilation with the market demands often observed to be failing even in states being led by powerful authoritarian regimes. Collapse and regime change of USSR, Yugoslavia, Indonesia and Spain succumbing to the force of ethno-nationalism, is far from spent and eroded. For most people, ethnic consciousness still lies in the future, and following their ethnic awakening they will 'further acquire national consciousness'. The self-determination impulse has not proven responsive to the will of the political leaders, the ruminations of academicians, or status in the international laws of the days who thinks ethno-nationalism was of the past.

National self-determination grows out of a human aversion to domination by 'others' that can be detected through-out history. Ethno nationalism's political potency becomes most manifest in making people kill, and die, for their ethnic: people do not voluntarily die for things that are rational. Examining modern state legitimacy meets self-determination as a concept of political legitimacy that makes ethnicity as the ultimate standard for judging legitimacy. It holds that a national group, has the rights, if it so desires, to its own state.

Thus, notion of common descent and symbolism which are the cornerstone of nationalist imagery emerged and developed from pre-existing pre-modern idioms such as flag, coat of arms, patriotic songs. In pre-modern era, these cultural symbols differentiate the aristocrats from the common people. In the modern era, these cultural symbols differentiate one nation from the other. The nation-state as a social organization derives much of its legitimacy from the claim that it represents something that most of its citizen cherishes: the sense of emotional and moral attachment

with the people that matter.

We cannot study nation and nationalism like the modernists that overemphasize on recent social changes of capitalism, media, industrialization, migration, secularization and urbanization over long term factors of nation-formation processes. The study of nation and nationalism requires a long term approach, seeking to trace the patterns of development and change over a longue due in the contemporary world. Scholars observe majority of the people see the state as the legitimate form of territorial rule and their nationhood as the mode of collective identity in defining the nation-state. Nation, nationalism and nationhood is profoundly modern while some of the ideas and practices underpinning these phenomena have developed long before modernity (Sinisa).

### **Colonialism and Colonial Knowledge Split the Nation-State**

Conceptual and theoretical discussions of nation-state in social reality and a changing human geo-politics of contemporary society could be more complex than scholars of nationalism and nation have been portraying it to be. In order to understand the dynamism of the modern nation-states as some being categorized as a full-fledged nation-state but others might be able to nurture the nation but without a state and others are successful in developing the state but with no nation. Among others, Germany, France, Indonesia is a full-fledged nation-states, the Kurdish, Patani, Moros may have a nation but not a state, and Fiji, Malaysia where state are observed to prevail but the nation being contested. However, what forms of nation-state, with development, globalization, migration and digital revolution, even a classical nation-state will be facing an internal contestation with new discourses of the nation of intent or imagined communities.

Foremost in understanding the dynamism of the modern nation-state and, especially the post-colonial plural society of Asia, Africa and Latin America, among the forces of redefining and reconstructing the modern nation-state is colonialism. The impacts of colonialism on the colonized countries need to be studied as they did not share the same experience of nation-building as in the west. The understanding of the post-colonial society and their histories would highlight and explain the form and direction of the nation-building of the in these post-colonial plural societies.

From the 16th to the 20th centuries, the major European powers split old empires and established dozens of new states over vast territory under their influenced and political controlled. Arbitrary borders were created during the colonial time typically contained a myriad of different peoples and autonomous societies. Colonial states were by definition non-democratic entities and structured primarily to promote the political and economic interests of the metropolitan powers rather than the advancement of colonial subjects. Thus, the colonial knowledge of the separation of politics from religion, state development from nation-building and state from nation were instilled and institutionalized in the colonial government. In this process London, Lisbon, Madrid, Paris, The Hague etc., enriched themselves and left underdeveloped and marginalized continents exploited by them and without concerned for the soul of the nation.

Even on attaining independence by these new states, their economies remained controlled in the interests of the departing colonialists, physical infrastructure of communication and public needs were minimal, and even worst the myriad cultural and religious groups were left divided, separated and with little shared identity except as seller-buyer in the marketplace. While

the periphery and rural areas, away from the economic centers, are associated with the pre-colonial indigenous political polity of kingdom and sultanate and are the reference of their daily life. In these colonialized plural society, nationalism is not restricted to their own national and national ethos but often of nationalistic consciousness and activity taking place in the country of other freedom movements of other motherlands.

Thus, the wave of de-colonialization in the post-Second World War created not like nation-state as in Europe but a modern state that proceeded nation-building. The nation-state created with other plural civilizations within it through migration to suit the economic interest of the colonial power was imposed by the state as the character of the nation. The formation of nation in the post-colonial society in Africa and Asia generally preceded the establishment of states. Under such discourse of the nation, Geertz observes “the transfer of sovereignty from a colonial regime to an independent one is more than a mere shift of power from foreign hands to native ones; it is a transformation of the whole pattern of political life, a metamorphosis of subjects into citizens” (1993). Building a sense of common identity among the indigenous subjects of these territories was not part of the colonial agenda. Thus, the national ethos of the newly gained independence post-colonial plural society prevails but are politically contested by other nations—of intent of other motherlands and the colonial interest within their midst.

Indeed, many colonial regimes used divide and rule tactics to maintain their domination and, in the process, accentuated divisions among their subjects. With the state-building being given the priority, the discourses of the nation go even way beyond the day of independence of the country with varied nation of intent,



imagined communities and are still being contested. The unfinished and on-going project of fostering nation-building have accounted for the many problems in this new nation-state. British colonialism, just as in Malaysia, has ended with independence but the culture of the separation of politics and religion, state development and nation-building and state and nation are still embedded and institutionalized in the country. Debunking colonial knowledge that produced a captive mind about the differences of ethnic relations, religion, culture, language and nation-of-intent in our society should be grappled to produce citizens that transcended these differences and bonded them to the nation and the citizens.

Most of today's 'failed' states are a product of the vicissitudes of colonial history. The absence of a coherent civil society capable of exercising some degree of accountability towards weak post-colonial states in poly-ethnic societies continues to be one of the greatest obstacles to the stability of the emergence nation-states. The political discourse was propagated by nationalist leaders and aping the west at the time was that each nation, embodying a shared community of culture and blood, and was entitled to its own state. However, when nationalist movements arose, these were often in the form of independence movements directed at the overthrow of colonial rule. Thus, nationalist-based rulers and intellectuals were often confronted with the task of trying to de-colonializing knowledge and to cultivate a sense of nation to legitimate their new states.

### **De-colonializing Knowledge and the Rise of the Politics of Recognition**

Irrespective of the forms of nation, be it a settler society or host society, the dimensions of indignity, ethnic origin and nation-

alism are the bases of defining the nation in the world. Colonial knowledge that has split the nation from the state and devoid soul of the country has been increasingly being questioned. Where indignity is recognized and accepted as the definer of the nation in the host society such as in Germany, France, Fiji, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, among others, with influx of international migration from ex-colonies, the masses are rejecting the political elite's interpretation of the nation that are concerned with development and territorial integrity. While in United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand where the indignity is rejected and denied as migrants developed a settler society, calls for the de-colonializing knowledge and accepting publicly the politics of recognition of the indignity as the basis of the nation as practiced in Canada where 'the First Nation', New Zealand with the Maori, Australian with 'the stolen generation' of the Australian Aborigines can be observed taking place.

### **Malaysian Social History Embedded with Plural Civilization**

Malaysia today is formed by Malaya on the Malay Peninsula and Sabah and Sarawak on North Borneo. However, studying Malaysian social history must be framed in a *longue due* perspective beginning with the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial period.

In the pre-colonial era, the Malay Peninsula, the land of the Malays, were practicing the indigenous political system, religion, language and culture are embedded in the society. In relations to the Malay Archipelago or the Nusantara, the inhabitants had been plying the seas to trade, migrate, conquest and flee their local chieftains to the other myriad of islands from the west through Sumatera, Malay Peninsula, Java, Celebes, down south to Austra-

lia and beyond, from the north with China, Thailand, Cambodia to Kalimantan, the Sulu, Philippines and the Pacific Islands. The populace of this region had been plying by sea and crossing these major sea lanes and vice versa. The Champa Sea, the Java Sea, and the Celebes Sea and the Malacca Strait are the sea lanes that connect and unite the populace of the Malay Archipelago. Malacca Strait, especially, and up till today is the not only the pathway of trade and migration but the platform of civilizational sharing from within the region and beyond where they meet, interact, culturally and embrace the civilizations of one another. Under this regional connectivity with other civilizations, the Malay Archipelago and the Malay Peninsula gained recognition with the rise of Malacca Empire as an entrepote.

With such geo-physical location, the Malay Archipelago had long been exposed and come under the Asian civilizational influences such as Chinese since 140 B.C, Indian 2 A.D, Arab 840 A.D and the western civilization 1400 A.D. Explorer, trader, king and others converged in the region searching for gold and spices as well as the products from the various civilizations to be exchanged. These civilizations had brought tremendous influences on the local empires as can be observed in the culture, religion, political system and the worldview of the populace. Under such civilizational influences, the major empires of the region from Funan, Srivijaya, Majapahit, Malacca and the others shared the same cultural heritage and, especially Malay language as the *lingua franca*.

The modern nation-state of Southeast Asia begins with western colonialization as they broke-up the region into political spheres with the British taking the Malay Peninsula and North Borneo, the Dutch with Sumatera, Southern part of Kaliman-

tan, Java and the Celebes, the French in the Indo-China and the Spanish in the Philippines. These colonial powers came to exploit the resources and make profits from their economic ventures and backed by the administrative and the security forces.

The political spheres of the region being divided redistributed and reconstructed by the western powers, splitting its pre-existing empire, kingdom, cultural and the ethnic groups' boundaries that defined the nation-state then. Thus, within the modern nation-states of Southeast Asian, independence gained give them political sovereignty, but political legitimacy might be problematic as ethnic groups are persistently contesting the notion of the nation with the rise of the indigenous resistance movements fighting the states as PULO in Pattani, Thailand, MORO in Mindanao, Philippines, Aceh Freedom Fighter, Indonesia, Tamil Elan in Sri Lanka, among others, that calls their nationalistic struggles based on the politics of identity and recognition. In some of this nation-state, political instability, ethnic and religious conflicts as well as civil wars do flare such as in Sri Lanka, Philippines, Thailand and Myanmar, among others. To manage the conflict arising out of the contestation of the nation of intents and the politics of recognition by the indigenous ethnic groups, the longue due perspective of history of the country should be studied in order to understand and manage the present-day notion of the nation.

### **From Civilization Diversity to a Post-colonial Plural Society**

The sea lanes of the Malay Archipelago and, especially the Malacca Strait, are the super-diversity civilizational platform of the region. To understand the making of Malaysia as a nation-state, the Malay society on the Malay Peninsula, the Iban in Sarawak and Bajau, Kadazan-Dusun in Sabah as part of the Northern

Kalimantan have been meeting and interacting with other civilizations from within and outside of the region. These exposures to the diverse civilizations had enriched the life of the local inhabitants as toleration and non-violence are the values that strengthen their relationship. Among the Malays, culturally and their way of life are influenced by Indianite culture and Islam. As Iban dan Kadazan-Dusun are located in the upper reaches of the rivers and the highland, they do not experience likes the Malays and mainly remain pagan in belief. While the Malays from Johore and Brunei and the Bajau from the Sulu Islands settle in the coastal areas of North Borneo and practiced Islam as their religion.

With the downfall of Malacca Empire in 1511 and before the coming of the British, the political mantle of the Malays moved to Johore-Riau, Aceh, Pattani, Pahang, Terengganu, Perak, Kedah and others. With such political fragmentation of the Malay polity, the British makes in-roads into the Malay Peninsula and North Borneo through treaty and purchase with the Sultans, beginning with Penang in 1786, Singapore 1819, Malacca 1824, Sarawak 1829, Perak 1874, Sabah 1875 and other states followed too. These discrete states were organized and reorganized into clusters of federated units to later become part of the Federation of Malaya 1957 and Malaysia 1963.

The increasing security from piracy in the Strait of Malacca and the Chinese inter-clan fighting which were supported by the Malay Chieftains in the tin mining areas of Perak and Selangor, allowed the exploitation of the natural resources optimally and to generate profit to the British owners of capital. Economic development in the Malay Peninsula, especially attracted Chinese laborers from China to man the tin mining and the expanding businesses in the emerging township. Indians were brought in

from Tamil Naidu, Sri Lanka and others to be clerical staff and manual laborers in the construction of the road and railway line. With the introduction and demand for rubber, Indians were further brought in to be rubber tappers on estates. While in Sabah, Chinese immigration was organized by the British to open up agricultural land, business and spurred development as in Singapore and the Malay Peninsula. In Sarawak, apart from tie with Chinese businessmen in Singapore, Chinese from Pontianak and China migrated here in search for gold, planting *gambir*, pepper and rubber tree. The Chinese population in the business world was the linked and played the middlemen role to the British economic interests with the Malay, Kadazan, Bajau, Iban, Melanau etc. with businessmen from Singapore and the Malay Peninsula.

Early waves of Chinese and Indian laborers migrating to the Malay Peninsula during the Malacca Empire were small and, mainly the male. They married local women and later on established the Baba Nyonya and the Chinese *Peranakan* communities in Malacca, Penang and in the other states of Terengganu, Kelantan and Kedah. But later waves of Chinese miners, peasants, laborers and businessmen and Indian laborers and low-level administrative staff were brought in on a big scale. The Census of 1931 showed Malaya had a population of 4,385,300 and increased to 5,551,100 in 1941. The ethnic distribution of the population in 1931 with Malays 49.2 percent, Chinese 39.0 percent, India 14.0 percent, British 0.4 percent, Eurasian 0.4 percent and others 1.3 percent. However, in 1941 the Chinese exceeded the Malays at 43.0 percent, Malays down to 41.0 percent, India 14.0 percent, British 0.6 percent, Eurasian 0.4 percent and 1.0 percent.

During the Second World War, the British in protecting their economic interests were involved in providing gun and giv-

ing military exercises to the various groups from the Malayan Communist Party, the radical Malay groups, AMPJA and others to oppose the Japanese Occupation. As the war end, the Malayan Communist Party led a reign of terror and when the British returned, they rebel against the state till 1968. The British on returning to Malaya, wanted to introduce a modern centralized state and provide citizenship to all groups, irrespective of ethnic and national origins. The Malays protested and formed United Malay National Organization (UMNO) as they desired a Malay nation-state that forced the British to withdraw the signed Malayan Union Proposal.

The Southeast Asian countries such as Philippines 1898, Afghanistan 1919, India 1947, Pakistan 1947, Indonesia 1949 and others were given their independence from their colonial powers. In Malaya, the rejection of the Malayan Union was the beginning of the political process of negotiation and consultation between the ethnic elite and the Sultan over the various forms of citizenship, national symbol, governance and development of the country. The British established a Community Liaison Committee in 1947 that brought all the various ethnic elite to discuss, negotiate and bargain their ethnic group interests in building the country. These political collective and democratic consensus practices led to the culture of power-sharing practiced in Malaysian politics, especially when faced with economic, political and ethnic conflicts in a post-colonial plural society.

### **From the Failed Malayan Union to Federation**

Political collective and democratic consensus cultures brought together the multi-ethnic elite to forge a coalition of political party called Alliance Party (UMNO, MIC and MIC) led

by a dominant Malay political party to win 79.6% of share of the vote in the First General National Election 1955 of the pre-independence era. The Alliance government led the discussions with the Sultan on the Malayan part and the Queen with the British counter-part to obtain independence in 1957.

Gaining independence and governing the country saw development taking place. However, independence gave political power to the Malays but economic development based on a colonial free market economy benefitted foreign companies and Chinese businesses in the urban areas. Thus, the Malays saw their economic position lagged behind and the Chinese were raising issues pertaining to education, culture and economy as not being recognized. Under such political contestation, the General National Elections of 1959, 1964 and 1969, saw the Malay-led Alliance Party increasingly lost their share of votes to the Opposition 48.3%, 41.5% and 50.7%, respectively. The Chinese-based political party, MCA was the biggest loser in the General National Election 1969. Before a newly elected government could be formed, ethnic riots erupted in Kuala Lumpur and spread to the other major towns in the country. Often the 1969 ethnic riots were interpreted as rooted in the social inequality that overlapped between urban versus rural, non-Malay versus Malay and non-Islam versus Islam.

The NEP implemented saw managing social inequality in the development of the country with two objectives to eradicate poverty, irrespective of ethnic origins, and restructure the society based on economic vocation by ethnic origins. A national ideology of Rukun Negara was also launched with the aspiration of achieving national unity, a democratic society, a just society, sharing prosperity equitably, recognizing the diverse cultural tradi-



tions and a progressive society that embraced science and modern technology.

The ethnic riots of 1969 signaled the breakdown of a political arrangement in attaining independence based on 'a union of the ethnic groups in the plural society' as the citizens of the nation. From 1970s onward marked a change in governance and development policy where the overriding objectives of fostering national unity and nation-building of the country are stipulated in the Second Malaysian Plan and NEP.

### **Social Differentiation and Social Cohesion in a Diverse Society**

Development, migration and technological changes taking place with the implementation of NEP from the 1970s saw not only a continuous growth and bordering a two-digit growth rate attained but brought social changes and transformation taking place in the country. The social landscapes saw an agricultural society being transformed into an industrial, rural-based into urbanized and poverty replaced with a middle class society. Under such social changes, the plural society of ethnic differences gave way to inter-ethnic group co-existence that bonded them together by the sharing of universalistic norms, greater similarities rather than differences of public opinion based on justice, inclusivity and democracy.

This social transformation indicates that the cultures of modernity and acceptance of diversity pervade the diverse population. Their cross-cutting social ties and relationship transcend the ethnic and religious origins. Ethnic and religious boundaries of the Malays, Chinese, Bumiputera Sabah and Sarawak are thinned and secondary as determinants of their social actions as they re-

late to the other groups. Thus, the ethnic individuals do prevail in the society but is dominated by a horizontal rather than a vertical relationship among them. Under such cross-cutting social relations Malaysian experiences show that the relationship of good governance and just development with social differentiation in the society has strengthened social cohesion among the diverse population.

Research data show that ethnic boundary is thinned, social tension is low, national ethos developed and the national cohesion index of Malaysia is moderately high. Data from the Ministry of National Unity also show that the Index of Social Tension are low from 2007 to 2019 recording two (2) percentage of incidents of skirmish, protest, demonstration, media bashing and others between groups. The Global Peace Index of 2020 ranks Malaysia to be peaceful at 20 out of 163 countries. These data are supported with the ethnic relations situation in the country where ethnic riot is a history.

However, ethnic skirmishes in the major towns such as Kampung Rawa, Kampung Medan, Lawas, Sungai Petani, Low Yat and Plaza Kota Raya did take place, the cause not driven by the ethnic differences but rather by bad governance and unjust development of the marginalized and the poor. Ethnic tension in the society is also observed when issues pertaining to education, places of worship, religious conversion and the rights to children and property are raised and unresolved. The Christian, Hindu, Buddha, Sikh, Bahai, Tao, Confucius and pagan groups are the recognized religions in Malaysia with Islam as the official religion of the Federation. These non-Muslim religious groups feel that their religious needs are not inclusively and justly managed by the government.

It is observed that the issues of governance, development and the interests of the ethnic and religious groups are often mobilized during the political campaigning that in the process manipulate ethnic and religious dimensions to influence and gain votes from the potential voters. The political and the NGO elites thus, are caught resorting to discourses of hate speeches between ethnic and religious groups in the society so as to ensure their short-term political agenda.

Under such ethnic tension and ethnic skirmishes, data do show that good ethnic relations in Malaysia would spiral downward with the ethnic boundary increasingly thickened as ethnic risks are calculated to prevail. Thus, ethnic dimension is not the cause but most often in Malaysia is an effect of bad governance, unjust development and the ethicizing of public issues along ethnic and religious lines that failed to be managed by the government.

### **The New Political Culture of Democratic Behavior in Malaysia**

Developments not only bring prosperity but also build a socially cohesive society. The societal change and transformation usher into the society the cultures of modernity and acceptance of diversity that influence a new political culture and the maturing of democratic practice in Malaysia. The incident of Anwar Ibrahim's blue-eye of 1997 triggered the new political culture that demands accountability, transparency and good governance. Compounded by global economic downturn, the reformation movement established PKR and formed coalition with other oppositions such PAS, PSRM and DAP as well as NGOs such as SUARAM etc. not only rallying around their reformation slogans but the marginalization of B40, the urban poor, the Generation Y as their

political campaigning due to bad governance, corruption and development failures of the BN government.

The coalition of *Barisan Alternatif* and, later *Pakatan Harapan* increasingly garnered votes and strengthened their political position beginning with the General Election of 1990 with 46.6% of the votes. State Legislative Assemblies of Penang, Selangor, Perak and Kelantan fell to the BA. However, in the General National Election of 2018, PH wrested the Federal Government from BN marking a new political threshold in the country with 50.14 % popular votes. Further inroad in the State Legislative Assemblies of Penang, Kedah, Perak, Selangor, Kuala Lumpur, Negeri Sembilan, Johore and Sabah fell to PH too. The urban, middle classes and the Generation Y voters, irrespective of ethnic and religious origins, gave the votes to PH and BN remained influential in the rural areas.

However, PH lost political power as Mahathir Mohammed resigned as the seventh Prime Minister after 22 months governing the country. In the political crisis faced and compounded by economic downturn plus the Pandemic Covid-19, the Yang di-Pertuan Agung announced that Muhyiddin Yassin as having the majority support from the sitting Parliamentarians on 29th February 2020 and appointed as the Prime Minister of Malaysia on 1st March 2020. The new coalition of Perikatan Nasional comprise Bersatu, splinter PKR-Azmin, PAS, BN-UMNO, MCA, MIC, PAS, GPS, PBS and STAR gained a simple majority of two parliamentary votes in the first test to replace the Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the Parliament with their candidates.

### **Analyzing the Root Causes of the Malaysian Ethnic Relations**

Malaysia has experienced good ethnic relations record as

the diverse society is socially cohesive and peace prevails over a long period of timeline since the last ethnic riots of 1969. Ethnic, linguistic, cultural and religious differences are recognized, accepted, shared, and celebrated by Malaysians. These cultural and religious diversities are national assets. Malaysians are observed to have enjoyed moments of unity together when they celebrate their group cultural festivals together such as *Kongsi Raya* and *Ramadhan Buffet* do provide gathering spaces for all ethnic groups, they patron the best food shop in town to enjoy the big screen of their football clubs clashes, watch their sportsman and sportswoman become world champions, their children excel in the world prestigious learning institutions, their prominent businessman and company are ranked globally and when disasters strike the society like motorcar accident, fire, flood etc., they will voluntarily come together to give assistance to the victims. These moments of unity reflect national unity have pervaded the society.

Thus, during the latest political, economic and the Pandemic Covid-19 crises of 2020, political differences are traded off for stability, economic programs to ease the B40 groups are applauded and the Standard Operating Procedure of lockdown and restriction of movement to stop the spread the virus are complied.

Ethnic identity is an accepted norm and practiced in Malaysia. Ethnic identities in Malaysia are categorized by language, culture and religion. In terms of phenotypes, Malays, Bumiputera and Chinese are group as mongoloid and Indian as Caucasian. Skin-complexion among Malaysians ranges from dark to yellow and white. Generally, it would not be a clear-cut exercise to pigeon-hole Malaysians by skin-complexion. This indicates that inter-marriages among groups do take place community that practiced a segmented assimilation toward the Malay community

culturally except with Islam as the religion. While inter-marriages between Malays and the other ethnic group is conventionally involved a conversion to Islam.

Institutionalizing of ethnic origins is officially practiced. Information on ethnic background is requested to be filled in dealing with the government departments. Even the Federal Constitution too stipulates the significance of ethnic group and certain privileges to Malay, Orang Asli, Bumiputera Sabah and Sarawak as well as guarantees the interests of the minority. Public policy and development programs are market-based, profit is the bottom line and equal access to the opportunity and resources are upheld. Malaysian government will intervene with a need-based public policy and development programs in the society where market failures generate social inequality affecting the M40, B40, poor and the depressed regional areas, irrespective of ethnic and religious origins. However, an ethnic-based affirmative action is also practiced to fulfill those privileges as stipulated in the Constitution such as Malay Land Reservation, scholarship, quota for public services, business licenses and permits are spelt out.

From the daily life to the institutional level, ethnic origins defined Malaysians and an ethnicized society prevails. Even the political parties are ethnic and religious-based membership. However, since 2000, once ethnic-based political such as DAP, PKR and PAS are agreeing to form political coalition among them and are aggressively opening their doors to other ethnic and religious groups. Despite, the ethnicized politics, no single ethnic-based political party can rule the state and federal levels if they do establish a united front with other ethnic-based political parties. Malaysian history has shown since independence that not a single ethnic-based political party can form State or Federal Government on

their own strength except in the States of Kelantan and Terengganu where the Malays are 90 percentages of the voters. Thus, the ability of Alliance, BN, PH and PN to form the government of the day is dependent on their acceptance of power-sharing and collective-based democratic consensus as their political cultures.

Trying to understand and explain the form and intensity of ethnic relations in Malaysia can be problematic as analyst, spokesman and political statement made may not be able to differentiate between popular usage versus technical term, folklore versus scientific inquiry and between emic versus etic of the terms of ethnic and race, ethnicized and racism, ethnic problem and sociological problem, plural society and diverse society, and etc. in their discussions. Through an untrained eye, ethnic relations in Malaysia are fragile and the society is racist. Such terms are used, especially by the social media and in the political campaigns to describe Malaysian diverse society as institutionalized racism, cultural cleansing, ethnic cleansing etc. may not be sufficient to explain the social cohesion observed and peace that prevail in the society that have ensured stability and progress of the country to be sustainable. An ethnicized society of Malaysia that tolerates and celebrates diversity as a national asset should be studied from a proper scientific context.

However, looking at the misunderstanding, social tension and skirmish between ethnic and religious groups where the moments of differences indicate that harmony and peace should not be taken for granted but be managed. In managing ethnic competition and inter-group contestation among Malaysians in the society, identifying the root causes of their ethnic problems must be identified in managing good ethnic relations and fostering national unity as a national agenda.

The root causes of Malaysian ethnic relations can be located within three levels of analysis, firstly the needs to recognize and manage the varied linguistic, cultural and religious of groups in the society, secondly to ensure good governance and just as well as inclusive development to benefit all Malaysians, irrespective of ethnic, religious and regional differences, and lastly when the various political and NGO organizations, be it ethnic, religious or ideological-based, highlighting their political preferences and contestation in defining the nation and the nation-state of Malaysia from their own nations of intent.

In the first level of the root causes to the ethnic relations in Malaysia, the concern is not the differences of ethnic groups in terms of language, culture and religion but how to provide access to services and facilities to the studying, practicing and taking care of cultural needs such as school, place of worship, cemetery, crematorium and others. The Indian community often faces physical dislocation of the settlement and place of worship as the rubber estate they worked on is converted into new township, housing and industrial park. The Chinese community who have been living in the urban and town areas are less affected in comparison to the Indian community as they have been building their Buddhist and Taoist temples, school, cemetery and other facilities voluntarily and legally.

Among the Christians, building new churches may be costly and been resorting to having the church activity by converting shop houses into their place of worship. The Local Authorities being tasked in governing municipality and town areas are also given the responsibility to provide standard operating procedure in building places of worship, cemetery, crematorium and others. In Malaysia, often Hindu temples compare to other non-Muslim



places of worship encounter brushes with the law as to the legality of the building. Through negotiation and consultation, the Hindu Temples, such as Kampung Rawa Temple, are moved to new places or the illegal temples bulldozed down. Failures to manage the relocation of the temple raised could lead to skirmishes and death as in the case of the Sea field Seri Mariamman Temple in 2019.

However, ethnic and religious differences could aggravate the social tension in the society. When conversion from one religion to another take place, especially a family member converted but the other members do not and when this inter-religious marriage breakdown ending with a divorce. Under such situations, the positions of the spouse, children, property and burial ground of the decease will be contested. In the Constitution, non-Muslim cannot proselytize their religion to the Muslim people and the ground rule of inter-marriage between non-Muslim with Muslim is the conversion of the former to Islam.

In a changing society, the globalized and the digital world, ethnic and religious compartmentalization cannot be maintained as increasing horizontal relationship among the diverse Malaysians have brought new values and preferences that may vary to the religious tradition, the rule of law and the Constitutional practices. Thus, the issues of using Allah by non-Muslim, Lina Joy, Malay, conversion from Islam to Christianity, tussle over children by a wife, Indra Ghandi whose husband converted to Islam as well as their underage children and etc. become issues.

The court is the avenue for justice but in Malaysia the Civil Court may not have the jurisdiction in matter involving Syariah Court. Unlike in Sabah and Sarawak, where inter-ethnic and religious issues do happen but in comparison to the Peninsular, any breakdown of the couples involved are settled within the family

and the Native Customary Court. In the Peninsular, ethnic and religious issues as discussed are often politicized and mobilized along ethnic and religious lines with hate speeches being viral on the social media do traumatize and increase the social tension in the society. Thus, ethnic, cultural and religious issues need to be administratively managed with a clear-cut SOP for actions at solving them.

The second level of the root causes to the ethnic relations in Malaysia is related to development performance that has upgraded Malaysia from a developing country to a middle-income country. The last national bloody ethnic riot was in 1969 and since 1998 the ethnic riot was replaced with inter-ethnic skirmishes in the urban areas in Kampung Rawa 1998, Kampung Medan 2000, Lawas 2012, Sungai Petani 2012, Plaza Low Yat 2015, Komplek Kota Raya 2015, among others, are signed of ethnic and religious differences are being mobilized. However, the root causes are not the ethnic, linguistic, cultural and religious differences but the effect of bad governance and development that failed to manage development losers who are trapped in inter-generational poverty, the expanding vulnerable group, increasing social inequality, social disparity, marginalization and social exclusion in the society. The urban areas often become hotspot for crimes and inter-group skirmishes, as development takes place dislocated the poor and marginalized them. Good governance and development successes have been the Malaysian formula in generating nationally cohesive and progressive diverse society.

The third level of the root causes to the ethnic relations in Malaysia are often avoided but raised and discussed during political campaigns prior to every General National Election held. The discussions did not raise the subject matter holistically but

issues of dissatisfaction pertaining to religion, vernacular school, religious freedom, cultural, the Yang di-Pertuan Agung and others. However, history shows that the subject matters of the nation and nation-state were raised in rejecting the British's Malayan Proposal in 1946, the amendment to the Federal Constitution and the introduction of Rukun Negara as the ideology of the nation following May 13 and the latest heated political discourses of a Malaysia Malaysian narrative led to the downfall of the *Pakatan Harapan* Government in March 2020 as a Malay-led dominant coalition of political parties from Bersatu, PKR- Azmin faction, PAS, BN and GPS supported Muhyiddin Yassin as the Eighth Prime Minister of Malaysia.

In rejecting the Malayan Union, Malay leaders in 1946 wanted a Malay nation. But as the discussions toward gaining independence, Malay hegemony in a multi-ethnic society was accepted as the national ideology to define the nation and the nation-state of Malaysia. This is stipulated in the Federal Constitution with regards to the ethno-symbols that defined the national heritage in terms of the national language is Bahasa Melayu, Islam as the official religion of the Federation, special privileges are given to Malays and natives of Sabah and Sarawak, and among others, Yang di-Pertuan Agung as the constitutional monarch of the country. For the past years, BN ruled before its downfall in 2018 saw the narrative of the nation were based on indignity, Malay-Bumiputera, Islam, managing social inequality, integration and economy with redistribution in a diverse society.

When Malaysia is formed, the Malay hegemony of Bangsa Malaysian is transformed to an indigenous hegemony in a multi-ethnic society. The new national ideology is more inclusive to the natives of Sabah and Sarawak where they are accorded the status

of Bumiputera just as the Malays in the Federal Constitution. However, Sabahan and Sarawakian feel that the Federal Government are Peninsular and Malay-centric in developing the country and the failure to recognizing their indignity as ones of the definer of the nation. In 2016 the emergence of the indigenous resistance movements among the natives of Sabah and Sarawak signaled the need to de-colonialize and defend their politics of recognition.

However, political parties in Malaysia have been debating their own nations of intent and national ideologies. UMNO has consistently holding to the Malay hegemony, PAS with Daulah Islamiah, Socialist Party of Malaya with socialist ideology, PAP while in Malaysia used political slogan of Malaysian Malaysia, Gerakan talks of Bangsa Malaysia, DAP shifts the slogan from Malaysian Malaysia to Middle Malaysia, indigenous resistance movements and political parties in Sabah, Sarawak and Johore talk of a state-based nation.

With the development gained from 1970-2000 and since the *Reformasi* movement, the society was undergoing a process of redefining and reconstructing the national ideology with indignity as the civilizational canopy of a diverse society or with multiculturalism were discussed where greater civic space for justice, inclusivity and democracy are embedded in the polytechnic nation. Mahathir Mohamed who was the fourth Prime Minister then was concerned with the indignity and Islam as the national ideology. In 1992 Mahathir Mohammed saw one of the challenges to create Bangsa Malaysia as part of the Vision 2020. He defined the national ethos of bangsa Malaysia as “Building a nation out of diverse people with differing historical, ethnic, linguistic, religious, cultural and geographical backgrounds is something more than just fostering consensus on the basic character of a state or

nation. It involves the fostering of shared historical experiences, shared values, a feeling of common identity, shared destiny that transcends ethnic bounds without undermining ethnic identity, loyalty, commitment, and an emotional attachment to the nation, and the flowering of distinctly national ethos.” While holding the post of the seventh Prime Minister, Mahathir Mohamed was in line with his interpretation of the national ideology when he rejected ICERD, pull-out the signed Statute Rome, his attendance at the Malay Pride Congress and the launching of the Shared Prosperity Vision.

As part of the institutional and governmental transformation, the multiculturalism thesis of the pro-DAP PH government where human right, equality, multiculturalism and profit-making economy become the unspoken public policy of the government of the day. There were requests for a Tamil language medium university, protest by Indians of the slaughtering of sacrificial cow and goat on the *Eid al Adha*, the Ministry of Finance released an official letter in Mandarin, business ventures in the government-linked company were sold, gathering in memory of the Malayan Communist Party of laying down of arms, giving public fund to Mandarin medium schools, attacks on the Sultans and Islam, the usage of Bahasa Melayu being sideline and, among others, a deliberate act of flying an upside down of the Malaysian flags irked the Malay community.

Nation-building is no longer integration with the core national ideology and national heritage of Malays, Bumiputera, Islam and the Sultan but the defense of ethnic parameters in the country. Malays, Bumiputera Sabah and Sarawak were reacting negatively toward the multiculturalism governing culture and practice of the PH government as such policy was already re-

jected as 'dead' in Australia, Germany, USA and France and led to UMNO and PAS to form a national consensus and Malay voters not voting any DAP candidate or its ally in the by-election ensue.

Malaysia, since the Malacca Empire days, has been practicing a nation-building policy not of assimilation but integration of the diverse ethnic, linguistic, cultural and religious groups in strengthening solidarity, national unity and the nation. The Federal Constitution and the cultures of governance and public policy in Malaysia are the platform of integration of the diverse population in managing ethnic differences, social inequality and the contestation of the nations of intent that arise in the society. Thus, the national ideology has been dynamic where once an *eka*-ethnic nation has today evolved from an ethno-nation has embedded justice and inclusivity in the expanding civic public space through good governance and just and inclusive development where prosperity and the nation are shared.

Yet the discourses of ethnic, religious, nationalism, patriotism, fostering national unity, nation-building, nation and nation-state above are exchanges and being mobilized during times of political campaigns, but not as a concerted national agenda but to buy political influences and votes. Frequently observed, the political coalition party and the component parties on being given the mandate to form the government of the day give top priority on development agenda while fostering national unity, nation-building and the nation-state as the ultimate the national objectives are sidelined.

Ethnic origin, ethno-nationalism, self-determination and political legitimacy are closely linked to the discourses of the nation and nation-state. Failure to manage these concerns may derail the agenda of transforming development and governmental

institutional reformation of governance as aspired by the maturing of democracy in Malaysia marked by the *Reformasi* Movement in 1997.

### **Nation-Building and Nation-State Be Prioritized**

The political crisis faced by the PH government in its 22 months of governing Malaysia ultimately led to its downfall on 24 February 2020 should be located in the attempt to reject the indignity narrative of the nation for multiculturalism. Prior to the downfall of PH, public opinion polls were giving negative perception of PH government and Mahathir Mohammed as the Prime Minister. Spate of by-elections held after the General Election of 2018 also saw voters are returning to voting BN, especially Malays, in Cameron Highland, Semenyeh, Rasah, Tanjung Piai and Tasek Chini. This changing political perception from PH to supporting the new PN government show that state-building and development may not be the only solution that Malaysians embraced. The failures in understanding the nation of Malaysia as a post-colonial plural society and managing her ethno-symbols and national heritage could pose a political legitimacy of the government as rising resistance from the masses demand greater recognition of the nation.

In Malaysia, government documents start using the concept of nation-building in the discourse of the country as spelt out in the Second Malaysian Plan 1971-1975 and become the ultimate objective of NEP. Yet this term 'nation-building' is being used imprecisely and, often, contested. In much of the policy documentation, its meaning is assumed rather than defined. The term 'nation-building' is often being used interchangeably with that of 'state-building'. These two concepts are closely linked but have

distinct processes. 'State-building' is seen as the task of building functioning states capable of fulfilling the essential attributes of modern statehood to ensure governance, development and the societal well-being in the country to take place progressively and sustainably. While 'Nation-building' refers to more abstract process of developing a shared sense of identity or community among the various groups that relates to loyalty, patriotism and nationalism that are internalized in themselves and behavioral-wise among the citizens that constitutes the territory.

Distinguished in this way, 'state-building' focuses on the practical task of building or strengthening state institutions to manage the country, 'Nation-building' is more concerned with the character of relations between citizens and their state to ensure solidarity and stability. 'State-building' has long been a focus of the country concerned but 'nation-building' often been viewed as a more nebulous process. Scholars who work on nationalism see these two as part of the larger concept of the nation-state. The concern for the nation-state is to manage societal resources and build solidarity in the country. Thus, state-building is tasked in governing and developing the societal resources of country. On other hand, nation-building focuses on nurturing and fostering solidarity among its citizens. Thus, building the nation-state should a holistic and national agenda, where scarcity of resources and solidarity among the diverse groups be nurtured and managed by good and integrity governance that plan and deliver development justly and inclusively to benefits the populace, irrespective of differences in social origins.

During the PH government, Mahathir Mohammed launched the Vision of Shared Prosperity 2020-2030 and for the first time in the Malaysian public document a chapter on the



Nation-State is written. However, such inclusion of the narrative of Bangsa Malaysia needs to be defined and refined so that the national vision is not just 'Shared Prosperity' but also 'Sharing the Nation'. The government, corporate and the civil society must uphold the best practices of good and integrity governance as well as just and inclusive development but to embed them within the Malaysian national heritage of the nation to ensure social cohesion, national unity and political stability will continuously spur economic progress and societal well-being.

### **Conclusion**

The nation-states in the contemporary and globalized world are having connectivity within and beyond their political borders, not only the state-building is being ranked of its development success but also the peace attained in its nation-building. Of these two concepts, the success story of progress of state-building could be measured in comparison to national-building which proves to be more fluid, being contested, difficult to be measured and always a work in progress toward achieving national unity.

It is an ongoing process in all countries aimed at establishing and reproducing an integrated national society based on shared values and goals. While there are often prevalence of a functioning state, 'nation-building' can be more complex as it also requires acts of continuously nurturing a sense of community where none previously existed, or shoring up one that was not firmly or properly constructed, or whose existence has been undermined by social changes and social transformation of the country due to the drastic development, technological changes and migration. With such complexity and the challenges faced, Malaysia has to have many conversations with the diverse popu-

lace in de-colonializing knowledge that spilt the understanding of the nation-state. Knowledge on ethnic groups and ethnic relations have to be taught sociologically so as a scientific analysis of the Malaysian social reality and its dynamism can be identified and explained. Discourses on the changing and broadening acceptance of the national ethos albeit its ethnic, ethno-national and ethno-symbols of the national heritage within the expanding civic and public spaces that embraced justice, inclusivity and democracy as the structure of governing and development of the country. Governance evaluation based on economic returns, environmental and social impacts are inadequate to measure the sustainable development goals without measuring the level and the direction of national unity in the nation. At the implementing level, the concerns for development and solidarity as well as the nation-state must be engaged holistically rather than being split in the colonial day.

Malaysia national ethos is an ethno-nation, with the Constitution as the platform of integration of the diverse society and the widening of the civic space with justice, inclusivity and democracy through good governance and development that foster a collective conscience of the nation. Malaysian experiences have proven that governance, development and integration are the pathway to nation-building, social cohesion and stability of the nation-state.

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Books Chapter  
**ON ASIAN NETWORK  
AND SOCIAL CHANGE**

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# The Environment from an indigenous PERSPECTIVE IN Mentawai Indonesia

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**Abstract** This paper investigates the relationship of the Indigenous People and their environment on Siberut Island in the Mentawai archipelago located along the west coast of Sumatra, Indonesia.

According to the Mentawaians the forests (leleu) are considered multi-dimensional spheres that contain more than visible features. Besides being the storage place of food and necessities of life, it includes spiritual values and tales that have captured the passage of time. The historical events cover timeframes of many generations, carefully stored in the minds of elders as points of reference. From time to time the tales of tribulations and blessings are revealed at gatherings. It exposes the remarkable moments of their heartland and the interaction of people with their environment. This paper will draw attention to the oral history underlined in the particular storytelling, containing issues pertaining to the people in the hamlets (pulaggajat) of the Rereiket watershed.

This research used a qualitative approach in which observations, participation and in-depth interviews were recorded. It reveals their oral history, the relationship and values of stewardship on their ancestors' land, other clans as well as the interaction with the outside world. The preliminary research has showed a Mentawaiian desire to know the inner meaning of the stories of their ancestral domain to give meaning to maintain and own their natural resource base. The recognition of indigenous rights has opened up a discourse for securing future avenues of environmental stewardship in Mentawai.

**Keywords and phrases: ancestral land, clan, Mentawai, Indonesia**

## Introduction

From an administrative angle, remote forests are often seen as vast areas of mixed trees, all sorts of plants and animals with no particular need for attention, especially when they are hidden in remote areas. According to an Indonesian legal perspective, Act No. 41 issued in 1999, it states that forest environments are perceived “an ecosystem formation of landscapes that hold biological resources, dominated by dense accumulation of trees and other vegetation in their natural environment”.

At a local level of resource recognition, the forest environment tends to be defined by function as for example noted by *Mahin* on the forest of the *Ngaju Dayak* communities in Central Kalimantan (2009).



Image 1: Location map, from left to right: Siberut Island, Sumatra and Peninsular Malaysia (open source)

This interpretation is similar as the *Dayak* people in Borneo. Forest and environmental management is being carried out from a community perspective with respect to the invisible features of the environment and at a traditional influenced governmental level (Weintré 2015).

Moving to the traditional interpretation of the ethnic *Minangkabau* in the West Sumatran land management system it is carried out from a combined community and traditional governmental level. Firstly at the community level of the matrilineal is extended family (*paruik*), followed by a combination of several extended families or sub-clans (*kaum*). The next level is the matrilineal clan (*suku*) and the *nagari* level (village), as represented by local government (Delfi and Otayanty 2016).

Merely 100 kilometers offshore from the *Minangkabau* mainland in the small archipelago of the *Mentawai* islands management is steered by another set of stewardship principles.



Image 2: The shores of Siberut Island  
(private collection Maskota Delfi)



When compared with *Minangkabau* land and forest management, *Mentawai* is managed by community structures of the patrilineal exogamous clans known as *uma* or *muntohat*. The members of each clan or *uma* control an ancestral domain determined in historical arranged boundaries of forest, set in a landscape of streams, wet lands, and particular vegetation clusters in various undulations (Delfi 2013b).

The word *uma* has absorbed two different significances. Firstly, the kin group, which is an exogamous patrilineal clan formation, perhaps numbering up to a hundred members. Secondly, it is the physical structure of a large community dwelling as noted in the image below. It is a majestic long-house with a large open front veranda to provide space to gather all clan members together for special *uma* rituals.



Image 3: Uma Mentawai (private collection Maskota Delfi)

In general, their forest use of resources follows a set of guidelines as adopted by the clan. Although these directions are transferred through oral narrative, it is known as the *titiboat* on Siberut Island. Those transmissions of the *titiboat* take place in the many clan gatherings. In the gatherings historical stories and



other noteworthy events of their clan life are retold again and again to the young and not so young. The knowledge contained in the *titiboat* of the *pulaggajat* (ancestral land) is conveyed to the young men and women in the *uma* or clan's longhouse in time for when they have to take leadership roles.

Fragments of this knowledge can be found in the contributions of Schefold (1991), Henley (2001), Rudito (2004), Reeves (2004) and Hernawati (2007). In more recently, publications contributions on Mentawai land management were made by Hammons (2010), Tulus (2012), Darmanto (2016) and Delfi (2013a, 2018b). The Mentawaian topography shows no high mountains but hills, with extended wet lands that make up the natural environment of the forest environments or *leleu*.



Image 4: An Uma on the edge of the forest (personal collection Maskota Delfi)

A distinguishing is made between the low hills covered by tree vegetation and the swamp environments where the sago [*Metroxylon* spp.] groves are established. Although perhaps nearly completely covered with sago palms, those swampy areas are not

referred to as sago forests, but as *onaja*. Sago in the Mentawaiian language is called *saghai*, and the area where the sago grows is known as *pusaguat* (Delfi 2018b).

The Mentawaians usually differentiate between the area of the *pusaguat* and *leleu*. *Leleu* means “space”, with a reference “to be undomesticated or anti-social” (Reeves 2004). From that perspective, being an “anti-social” space, the forest appears to be a room full of danger. The *leleu* is anti-socials as it is also inhabited by venomous or blood seeking animals such as snakes and leeches. But the *leleu* also includes the place where pleasant but also unpleasant supernatural beings as the *silakkikiau*, *silakkokoina*, *sabeu talinga*, *tinigeilat*, and *sikatengaloinak* dwell. All of those supra-natural beings in the forest are referred to as the *saikaleleu* according to Schefold (2001, 364).

On the other hand, the forest environment provides also space that will reward the hunter with animal protein. The food gatherer can harvest a variety of fruits and berries in a search for vitamins, or nutrition or carbohydrates in the purposely planted taro. Or the not to forget delicate small edible wood worms (*toek*) that has to be eaten in a particular way otherwise you feel sick. The Mentawai shaman (*kerei*) sees the forest as a living pharmacy and place to harvest colourful plants and flowers among other things. The “anti-social” space is also a source of valuable materials to create multiple things. The timber getter will be rewarded by encountering *loinak simaeruk* or fine timbers for the building of an *uma* or to shape an *abag* or dugout canoe.

Nevertheless for a continuous human-nature-spiritual co-existence and harmony it is of the utmost importance to keep the balance between the visible and the invisible in the surroundings. Balance is needed to be maintained in their human and spir-

it relationship, in order that the spirits do not leave their abode and cause undesirable effect (Scheffold 2002).

In each of the ancestral domain settings are components that provide economic or social resources. Those give a continuation to their exogamous patrilineal clan identity; supply the medicinal plants, the elements of feasting and rituals, as well as the abode of the spirits and the implied forest authority *Saikaleleu* and *Saukkui*.

In this context it is worthwhile to note that various indigenous groups provide an interesting framework for integrating human systems with their biosphere. It is suggested that about half of the global terrestrial environment could be classified as human influenced. From additional estimated geographical scanning it suggests Indigenous People' managed lands could account for about 37 percent of all remaining natural lands across the Earth (Garnett S, et. al. 2018).

In Indonesia, anthropogenic tenure of the biomes and forest management issues are associated with diverse interpretations. Usually they are allied with the classification and forest management from a national government perspective, with a restricted input by the people who are physical the closest (Contreras et al. 2006).

Those limited perspectives urge a wider input to create a classification of forests by local communities. It is needed in a response to a much wider community consultation and interpretation process. To continue their stewardship role, Indigenous People perhaps need national regional and local governments to recognize their legitimate authority and take a greater role in the care of their lands and waters (Samper 2018). Perception and interpretation of those models of do not prevail identically in the

Mentawai Islands. Nevertheless, certain rules or proscriptions apply when traveling into the forest even when it is part of their own clan territory (Dove 2012).

The clan's domain is known as the *pulaggajat* area where the physical original *uma* has been established. Regional clan territories often follow easy recognisable conditions and topography of the local environment. Most naming is derived from the topography of Siberut's creeks fed by many rivers as earlier mentioned. In the beginning of this paper it was mentioned that the forest and land territorial relating to their ancestral clan. For that it is necessary to refer to the historical formation of the *pulaggajat*.

At the commencement of the establishment of each *pulaggajat* only one *uma* or clan was involved who built the longhouse (*uma*). Gradually other *uma* members moved to the main clan territory with the permission of *sikebbukat uma* or the clan elder. With a displacement of the multiple clans in the territory of another major clan, the naming of the main clan is the *sibakkat laggai* group or the principle founder of the settlement. The clans who joined in afterwards are called *sitoi* or *sioyakhbek*, meaning the arriving migrants. These arriving *uma* groups can use the forest and land of *sibakkat laggai* in return of a payable contribution (*saki*) or in other cases without contribution, depending on the situation. The quantity and quality of the contribution is depending on the negotiations between *sibakkat laggai* and the individual *sitoi*. The *sibakkat laggai* as *pulaggajat* owners often allow members of other *uma* to come and cultivate their land as the title of the land and what grows on it are two different types of ownership issues.

In general a migrant is at first given the capacity to grow plants, just by simply asking for permission from the owner. Even-

tually, if a migrant gets on with the community and feels safe in the location they might wish to purchase land. This condition of selling land is driven by the demand of many outsiders (*sasareu*) not born in Mentawai, who by tradition live and purchase land for their dwellings.

According to the tradition of the Mentawai ancestors, if there are other *uma* members who are living on or working the land for their livelihood the *sibakkat laggai* or *pulaggajat* “owner” will automatically give permission to live and plant in the domain. Therefore, after a relatively longer time span the *sioyakbek* or *sitoi* are eager to purchase the land which they have worked on for so long. The purchase is traditionally not by means of exchanging Indonesian currency, but by barter of animals such as boars and chicken or equipment such as axes or cooking pots.

After barter has taken place the land is called *porak sinaki* or *polak sinaki* meaning the purchased land property. The purchase of land in this manner is an exchange of goods although the quantity and the quality is not the same, but the same principles of “exchange” are applied. This is commonly referred to as the “Mentawai way» (barter with goods) to distinguish it with the “*Sasareu way*” or exchange with money (Delfi, 2013, 93).

Since the big wave of outsiders who migrated to Mentawai, and with a change in society from barter to money economy principles, values have changed (Weintré 2006). It has moved from a “Mentawai way” to a force of land obtainment ruled by the “*Sasareu way*”, although a combination of the two systems is still observed. It can be ascertained that the modern settlements of *barasi* absorb members of many clans. Straightforward purchases of land become more and more the norm which allows for a more diverse *uma* and migrant population in the region. It’s just that

each new settlement can still be referenced to being *sibakkat laggai* or *sibakkat pulaggajat*. As a *pulaggajat* there will be several categories based on space division function.

These days there is still a strong desire to build a large communal house as a marker in order to be proud *uma* members. Perhaps also as a show off to other *pulaggajat* as a large building can be seen while people crossing or travel on the river with a canoe. In the development of each and every *pulaggajat* it allows also it to be inhabited by other clan members who have permission and moved from their previous tribal territory. It is different from the typically displacement caused by conflict in the clan itself. Although there are usually several *uma* members who entered into a new *pulaggajat* to become clan members, nevertheless as residents of the *uma*, they know the first group who established (*sibakkat laggai*) their heartland and the boundaries of the *uma*.

The boundary marker is called *sok*. It is also recognized as a boundary post relevant for marking of the hunting grounds in the forest. A *sok* could perhaps be a small stream or a particular type and size of tree. It is to establish a separation point between the *uma* heartland and the domains, but also to recognise the space of the actual forest (*leleu*). It will require a short mantra as a courtesy to receive entry permission from the spirits to hunt. Favourite trees to establish these markers are the *eilagat* [Dipterocarpus spp], *maicemi* [Hopea dryobalanoidea Mig], *kaboi* [Pantace tiptera mast], *katuka* [Shorea spp], *ngirip* [Barringtonia racemosa BI] and *kulip* [Vitex pinnata].

Trees types with broad leaves and which are sturdy or tall are characteristic of good boundary markers. In addition to the trees, small rivers or even *baddoinan* function as territorial boundary signs of the clan land. Rivers of all sizes in Mentawai, includ-

ing the major rives, are territory reference points of the extended clans, or important to provide names to settlements. Some of the settlements, which later became larger hamlets, grew to become urban areas and villages. They followed the city grid of modern urban society. Opening new villages in Mentawai based on mainland grid norms certainly does not function well, as its culture is very different from mainland Minangkabau.

Nevertheless, new villages have been formed by moving *uma* clans from scattered positions in various parts of the river valley to one place, with elementary government services. In one particular *barasi* or government residential relocation village, the boundaries were difficult to designate from an administrative perspective. This was caused by a previously older territorial boundary system of a clan. It became the founding *pulaggajat* of this particular *barasi*. *Pulaggajat* boundaries are very important in establishing the territorial asset of the clan which historically became the *sibakkat laggai*. Clan territorial boundaries concerning residential areas, hunting areas, sago processing, and water sources are an important essential requirement in life. Besides clan naming rights derived from the river, their traditional settlements can also be referred to features in the environment or boundary markers. Related stories are therefore related to *pulaggajat* boundaries become important and repeatedly retold in the oral history of their clan.

## Discussion

Etymologically *Titiboat pulaggajat* or the history of clan and ancestors and land, is derived from the two words; *titibo* (*pa-titibo*) and the prefix “*pa*”. The base word “*patitibo*” in the Rereiket language dialect of South Siberut means; telling stories, while



the prefix “*pa*” indicates a condition or circumstances of the past which might be currently still unfolding (Delfi 2018a). Thus, the *titiboat* is part of the Mentawai oral history paired with the historical significance of their ancestors. It is more or less a narration of their clan land and other noteworthy events that took place in their archipelago.

Reeves (2000) notes that ideally, the *uma* or clan is able to trace their origins from a historical *uma* located in the Simatalu Valley. Schefold (1986, 73) supports this opinion, as he notes that several patrilineal clans originate from the Simatalu area. Also, most of the people of Siberut confirm their *uma* origin is from this area. The historical origins of the Mentawai people are always closely linked to the distribution and history of the *uma* formation. The Mentawai people usually start their story about their ancestor with the opening sentence: “Pulaggajat teteu *siburuk* kai anai ka Simatalu” it means the home land of our ancestor in Simatalu. The Simatalu is not only the name of their first ancestral domain but also the name of the river that flows through the area.

These days, when discussing the *uma* and displacement of the clan in the interest of the indigenous territories, referral to the *titiboat* in the Rereiket area, is crucial. This is especially the case when they are speaking on locations that are away from their original region. A natural indigenous growing population and solid migration to Mentawai from mainly ethnic Minangkabau, Batak and Javanese, with an expanding harvest of natural resources, has made valid territorial claims for Mentawaians important. The myth of origin will often refer to a prior core of a stationary tribal group existence and a current displacement of their, perhaps patrilineal, clan to an area they currently occupy. The areas used as the first point of existence of the establishment of the *uma* are



parallel with the clan's territory in Mentawai.

Over time the land use changed as the number of their clan members grew and by the arrival of other clans who built their clan house of *uma* in an overlapping land use. The main clan's occupying force of a particular indigenous territory is known as the *sibakkat laggai*. In this context it means the "founder of the hamlet" (Delfi 2016, 2). In Mentawai, with a particular reference to Siberut Island, there is a type of vegetation called *sibakkat laggai* [Angiopteris evecta]. Commonly it is known as the giant fern and is mostly encountered in soils with high moist content in the valley, near rivers or in the moist parts of hill slopes. As the ferns are relatively large, the *sibakkat laggai* is very conspicuous and perhaps therefore paired in name with the main claimant of the clan territory and main *uma* in a river basin.

At first, the *uma* longhouse and later on the government village settlements have always been associated with the river valley, where the original *uma* was built (Schefold 1991 and Delfi 2013b). To understand how the river and ancestral land in Siberut Island are closely related, we need to trace it through several markers, especially tattoo and dialect. In Siberut there are several major river basins with its connecting creeks commonly referred to as the *baddoinan*. By reference to those, a group identity and subgroup identities has been formed in those particular valley parts. The names encountered in the landscape or waterways in an *uma* domain have been taken as the cornerstone of their specific origin. With the use of a specific word in their dialect (*nganga*), and a body tattoo design (*titi*), which slightly varies from area to area, a specific *uma* identity has been created.

There are several possibilities that underlie the emergence of the wording *pulaggajat*. Firstly, *pulaggajat* or *pulaggaijat* is ety-

mologically derived from the word *laggai* or stone. This might be derived from the fact that a new *uma* was in the past originally built on the edge of the river. The large stones in the river were used as the base to put the main stilts of the *uma* on. It was practical to live near a major river with a continuous water flow to allow water based travel and travel to the open waters of the sea to catch fish (WWF 1980).

Formerly, the tendency of the Mentawaians to choose a rocky rivers or estuary was not only based on the need to have building material close by, but it was also beneficial for the clan's need for bathing and washing. To keep livestock, especially boars, well above the flood line of the river, made sense. It was good to protect the existence of animal protein stock secure for the clan.

Secondly, the base word *laggai* may also be interpreted, besides being the round river boulders, being the same shape of testicles, with a reference to maleness (Delfi 2013b). Hence the naming of the village establishment is related to the male founding ancestor of the first *uma* or clan origin in the *pulaggajat*. The naming reference of *sibakkat laggai* or *sibakkat pulaggajat* has a clear link to the “establisher” of the hamlet. The foundation stones are the symbols of the patriarch himself. The phrase *pulaggajat*, can therefore be interpreted as the symbols of the male reproductive organs, or the patrilineal clan and the first time founding father of the *uma* grounds.

If the home-land or hamlet is coined with the phrase *bakkat*, the community is not established at an untouched virgin hamlet environment, but was in the past already claimed by an *uma* which has been disbanded since then. *Bakkat* is used in reference to a base or re-established ownership. It is significant in the *titiboat pulaggajat* “to read” who the male ancestor or ancestors

were. The one who opened the clan domain or first to establish the *pulaggajat*.

*Pulaggajat* is the traditional word in Siberut to refer to the place or village of origin. Nevertheless, the *pulaggajat* in Siberut Mentawai is not a political institution that can be equated to the *nagari* or village in the Minangkabau sense of the word or *desa* or village in the Javanese sense in Java (Delfi 2013a).

The Mentawaian *pulaggajat* is related to the oral history as retold in the *titiboat*, being the establishment of the main clan presence in the section of the river basin. Naming the “hamlet” *pulaggajat* reconfirms the importance of the tribal lands that include the *leleu*, *onaja* and *baddoinan* in the formation of a major clan’s first *uma* or communal house. It indicates that the *sibak-kat laggai* or *sibakkat pulaggajat* as the founder of the “hamlet” and recognized by the newly intruding groups or clans as being “outsiders” in the area. Even if the clan foundering fathers of this “hamlet” migrate to other places, even cross migrate to the other islands in the Mentawai archipelago, the name of their clan still referred to the original *uma* domain as the *sibakkat laggai*, or owner of the domain. Gradually clans from outside the river basin identify the people who settled steadily along the river flow as the group of the main river.

The importance of the river for Mentawai people in Siberut can be seen through the way how they identify every group of people who are associated with the river. Through the identification of the river they also categorize the area around the main river as the main *pulaggajat*. One of the main rivers is the Rereiket River or *Bad Rereiket* (sometimes also called *Baddereiket*). The group of people who live in the area of Rereiket River where this research was conducted identify themselves as *Sarereiket*. A

*pulaggajat* is an indigenous territory, characterized with always having access to water resources, in the form of a small river or *bat* which usually flows from *leleu* and the foothills in the vicinity of the *uma* (Delfi 2016, 2).

There is closed relationship between the river in *pulaggajat* and the main exogamous patrilineal clan. To strengthen this reason, we can see the names of the clan that use the river name for their own clan. For example, the Sakuddei means the people who inhabit around the Kuddei River (Schefold 1991), the Saka-lío means the group of people who inhabit around the Kalio River (Hammons 2010). Naming the clan with the name of the main river in the particular area as mentioned above also indicates the territory of the clan.

This paper might be perceived a reference point for Mentawaians as a legacy story for their children and grandchildren. Stories will be possibly associated with the prevailing principle of patrilineal lineage of the Mentawaiian culture, where boys as successor descendants acquired the land from their fathers. Land, including the surrounding forest as clan territory inherited by the male line has the consequence that they also have a responsibility to maintain their parents and their sisters when divorced from her husband and return to their native *uma*.

The story of their fathers is revealed to their boys, are subsequent revealed to their grandson, great-grandson, and so on. Stories about ancestors are constantly linked with the supernatural world, especially the spirits of ancestors. It is the spirits of these ancestors who are asked for permission when entering the hunting forest or other spaces that are required special leave especially in clan territories.

In discussions with several elders it was put forward that in

the *titiboat* a historical reflection of the Mentawaiian relationship is being framed in a relation to their forest and living environment. Indirectly they are urged in to provide a high degree of conservation in current times as the spirits (*saikaleleu*) who dwell in the forest need to be cared for with respect. This means they cannot take whatever they desire as the Mentawaiians have to consider what balance the spirits are longing for in the environment. If the spirits are made angry this will most likely result that the Mentawaiian who misbehavior in the forest might be inflicted with an ailment. In severe digression from a respectful behavior, it might even lead to the loss of life. This indicates that respect of the environment is paramount to ensure a healthy personal life.

Mentawai has attracted many outsiders (*sasareu*) since colonial times stimulated by the creation of government settlements (*barasi*). Their influence has altered many of the customs especially in trading. Previously a lot of barter was carried out and land was not sold by Mentawaiian but exchanged for animals or goods. Currently more and more exchanges are on the basis of currency. It is the dynamic process of cultural development and one of the many changes that have been instigated by the authorities.

The current value changes have urged many Mentawaiians to be interested in tracing their *ranji* or genealogical account of their male ancestors and *retdenan*. Knowing the *retdenan* means for many to know about their ancestors and their continuation of their historical connectivity in Mentawai. The Mentawaiian *keracet* or proscriptions provide guidance to children and adults to encourage behavioral constraints that may be appropriate in the forest environment. In a sense those might be considered as means to advance natural resource preservation, conservation and harmony among of humans and their environment.

## Summary

A large part of the oral history of Siberut Island contains the clan lifecycles and homeland *pulaggajat* specifics that can be found in the indigenous records noted in the *titiboat*. It reveals the setting of the clan communities with its environments, and in particular the details of their ancestral domains that encompass the tropical forest crossed by wetlands sections and streams, also known as *leleu*. In current times it has become significant in the contemporary issues of land management and ownership as customary land tenure shows an enduring relationship of people and environment. There is more awareness among thinkers of the different views of management and the indigenous interpretation of the governance of the surroundings, as well as the capture of public and private space. For many decades the local indigenous voice on this matter has been overlooked as a potential base of governance and land utilization.

By default, for long land use by government decree was regarded as the most appropriate stewardship to provide the community the natural access to land surface requirements. With a growing population of indigenous and non-indigenous community members the division of ownership and use has become an issue in need to be revisited. A re-validation of oral history is being pursued in an open debate, spearheaded by the writings of academics and explorers who have brought the oral revelations of land use to a wider audience through a range of public publications. This paper has revisited the Mentawai homeland and noted locations, which are beyond the visible or the physical material properties in the clan territories. The invisible properties such as the ancestral spirits and spiritual divine actualities have raised a new dimension in the scope of considerations of

proscriptions and limits of behaviour in their homeland. During the research interlocutors used the terms “Mentawai way” and “*Sasareu way*”(outsiders), to distinguish the indigenous and non-indigenous perspectives on a variety of land use perceptions, including land use for food producing purposes, economic dealings or cultural prohibitions.

The essence of land property is noted to have become a scarce commodity, and the government in its approach has not always been perceived as being optimal. The interests in ancestral lines and land use of the Mentawaians have increased. Currently many Mentawaians wish to know how to trace their *ranji* or genealogical account of their male ancestors. In the region of the Reireket water basin, *ranji* is often closely aligned with the specific term *retdenan*. Knowing the *retdenan* means talking about ancestors and their influence.

The research established that the narrative of the ancestral spirits and its existence remains important in Mentawai to this day. It has not only explored the *ranji* specifically, but the connection with the history of the establishment of the *pulaggajat*. With an expanding population the *retdenan* or *ranji* has become important to support a territorial clan claim, based on historical connectivity.

The history and oral knowledge is also significant to the forest or *leleu* which depict the spirits roaming ground of their deceased ancestors and the founding fathers of the settlements and the physical needs that can be derived of the environment. The founding ancestors of the of *pulaggajat*, even though their life has expired, does not mean they no longer play a role in real life. They keep watching and relating to the lives of their grandchildren in the real world, and the opportunities for future, which might take

a turn for better usages. The motivation of this narrative is to open up a shared understanding for an expanded negotiation of land custodianship in a modern setting.

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Books Chapter  
**ON ASIAN NETWORK  
AND SOCIAL CHANGE**

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# The Rise of Nationalism, Conservatism, and Populism in Indonesia and How Social Studies Contribute to keep the Social Integration

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## ABSTRACT

Recently, various anti-globalization phenomena have emerged such as Donald Trump's anti-immigrant policies, shootings of Muslims at the Mosque in Christchurch, New Zealand, and various bomb terrors that is still rife in several countries.

This shows the revival of the symptoms of ethnic nationalism, conservatism, and populism, which endanger the survival of the nation state in a multicultural world order. In Indonesia, the emergence of the phenomenon of ethnic nationalism, conservatism and populism has triggered a resurgence of identity conflicts in the practical politics of the 2019 Presidential Election and the May 22 riots.

This paper aims to analyze how the process of the formation of social conflict that divides the integration of Indonesian society into practical politics which is divided into two bases of supporters of presidential candidates Jokowi and Prabowo. The extent to which social studies are able to contribute is to reduce social conflict, or in reducing the symptoms of identity politics that threaten social integration.

**Keywords: Ethnic Nationalism, Populism, Conservatism, Indonesian Politics, Social Studies Education.**

## Nationalism and Indonesian Identity Discourse

The debate about nationalism and its relation to the nation can be traced to the ideas of enlightenment and the spirit of the French Revolution of 1789. How France was able to transform

the King's unlimited power into a national power controlled by the people, is perhaps the most interesting question in the study of modern history of France. The early conception of French nationalism was inspired by criticism of the old regime which was dominated by the figure of the King, who called the principle of the legitimacy of his power like: "Every single subject represents only a single individual to the king."<sup>1</sup> King's absolutism, sovereignty of the monarchy, and the response to the government's failure to build a just society, administrative organization, and an efficient economy are all factors that shape the conception of revolution. The French Revolution emerged accompanied by the idea of freedom, equality and individual rights with the slogan "*Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite*".

During the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871), French nationalists experienced a shift in orientation in viewing their homeland. They became more exclusive and adopted an anti-German stance, while urging the restoration of territory lost in the war. At the end of the 19th century, most of French nationalism became more ethnocentric and anti-Semitic.<sup>2</sup> This type of nationalism is similar with fascist and anti-communist elements that resembled some nationalist ideologies in Spain, Italy and Germany which were popular in Europe at that time.

Comparing nationalism in European and Asian countries, both have similarities to the principles of freedom and independence, but differ in their historical patterns and processes. Eric Hobsbaw (1991) in his book tetralogy has placed nationalism as one of the very important historical phenomena in each historical

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1 Michel Faucoult, *Society Must Be Defended*, *Lecture At The college De France 1975-1976*, (Allen Lane: Penguin Books, 2003), hlm. 217

2 Cf. Benjamin Constant, *De l'esprit de conquête*, ed. René-Jean Dupuy (Paris : Imprimerie Nationale, 1992), hlm.116

period. He divided nationalism into four stages namely the age of revolution, the age of capital, the age of empire and the age of extremes, in European history.

In contrast to the historiography of European nationalism represented by Hobsbawm's work, national awareness in Asia emerged in the mid-19th and early 20th centuries in line with the increasingly intensive efforts of Western countries in the region. In East Asia, the proto nationalism is formed from a combination of ethnic elements and state traditions. It is very possible if ethnicity and political loyalty are interconnected.

The Meiji Restoration (1868) was not only intended as a reaction to the arrival of Western nations, but also the spirit of revivalism towards Japanese nationalism. It is very clear that nationalism was formed by the ties of ethnicity, culture and traditions of the country and was bound by the symbol of Tenno (emperor), which is still effective in modern times. The Japanese have traditional obedience to leaders, especially to the emperor. Meanwhile, as Hobsbawm said, China and Korea have relatively permanent political unity so that the national movements that are carried are nothing but the formations of imperial conquest.<sup>3</sup>

Like the conception of Furnivall's plural society in the Dutch East Indies, before the end of the 19th century, a typical Dutch East Indies population could live side by side but could not coexist in social units nor have a common will in political unity.<sup>4</sup> Entering the end of the 19th century, conditions began to change when elements of ethnic groups began to be formed as a construction of the nation's state identity. Indonesian intel-

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3 E.J. Hobsbawm. *Nasionalisme Menjelang Abad XXI*. (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 1992), hlm. 73

4 J.S Furnivall, *Hindia-Belanda : Studi Tentang Ekonomi Majemuk*, (Jakarta: Freedom Institute, 2009), hlm. 471

lectuals in the national movement established study groups such as *Algemeene Studieclub* and *Indonesische Studieclub*. This early period of nationalism was seen in their mentality as indigenous intellectual youth in the 1920s, which Elie Kedourie<sup>5</sup> defined as an awareness movement that focused on the fate-determining attitude of social pressures and foreign influences.

The mentality of the indigenous nationalism was triggered by several driving factors such as modernization, Western education and political evolution which gave rise to national organizations. This was represented in the writing on the pages of several newspapers such as *Medan Prijaji*, *Indian Poetri*, and the *Indian Oetoesan* which aroused the nationalism spirit of the natives for reviewing reports that were at odds with the colonial government.<sup>6</sup> Beside Tirta Adisuryo, the first generation of managing the indigenous press, there were names of prominent indigenous figures who were prominent leaders of groups who had the spirit of Indist (Indonesian) nationalism, namely Hatta, Soetomo, Iskaq and Soekarno.

Historically, nationalism is not something static, but something that must be produced dynamically. Not surprisingly, historian Benedict Anderson said: "It is an imagined political community that is imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign"<sup>7</sup> to imagine the formation of national consciousness. The meaning of shaded society is assumed as a member of each ethnic group living from the shadow of their community who do not know each other. Their togetherness in the idea of a nation is formed by the

5 Elie Kedourie, *Politics In The Middle East*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), hlm. 773

6 Takashi Shiraishi, *Zaman Bergerak : Radikalisme Rakyat di Jawa 1912-192*), (Jakarta: Grafiti, 1997), hlm.45

7 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Komunitas-Komunitas Terbayang*. (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2008), hlm. 6



existence of a collective consciousness that is bound by a sense of solidarity.

Indonesian nationalism at the beginning of the 19th century has a distinctive characteristic, which by Hans Kohn,<sup>8</sup> is said to be a condition that encourages the awareness of community members to contribute energy to uphold the sovereignty of the nation state and the process of fostering the nation state to strengthen the existence of the nationalism movement. When the Second World War ended, Indonesian nationalism reached its peak as an ideological movement to achieve independence for a society that regarded itself as a nation,<sup>9</sup> in August 1945, since then all residents in the former Dutch colony called themselves Indonesian.

The 19th-century French philosopher Ernest Renan is famous for his definition of the country, “*Le desir Le viva Ensemble*” (Keinginan hidup bersama). According to him, a nation is basically a group of people who have a legacy of memories of the same past experiences, and the agreement obtained from the desire to live together and continue to respect the inheritance that is shared.”<sup>10</sup> According to Renan, the nation has a lot to do with citizenship in the people countries, which are not bound by the similarity of the language they speak, political beliefs, or the similarity of their ancestors.

The formulation of Indonesian nationalism has a characteristic and is different from the nationalism of other nations, because the aim of nationalism in general is to give an identity label

8 Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism : Study in Its Origins and Background*, (New York: Macmillan, 1944), hlm.19

9 Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism, A Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism*, (London: Taylor & Francis Library, 2003), hlm. 171

10 Renan, Ernest. 1992. “Qu’est-ce qu’une nation? (what is nation)?” retrieved from <http://ucparis.fr/files/9313/6549/9943/>.pdf

to a nation. The discourse on the concept of Staat (conception of the state) of Indonesia can be understood by tracing the thoughts of Sukarno, who first proposed a Geopolitical concept to underlie the idea of a unitary state:

“According to geopolitics, Indonesia is our homeland, Indonesia is a unified whole, not only Java, or Sumatra, or Borneo, or Celebes, or Ambon, or Maluku, but all the islands between two continents and two ocean, being a unity determined by God, that is our homeland, this is where we all have to approach, establish a Nationale Staat.”<sup>11</sup>

In contrast to Sukarno’s conception, Soepomo advocated his ideal state with the term “intergalactic state”. In his speech on May 31, 1945, he pointed out the concept of an integral state in accordance with the style of Indonesian society. For Soepomo, the state is not based on certain individuals or groups but is an integral state that shows organic unity. So there is no need to guarantee the freedom of individuals or groups because the state and individuals or groups are not seen separately but “one” united element.

This conception refers to Hegel’s thought about the power state of everything and individuals do not have power without state representation. On this basis, Soepomo rejected Hatta’s conception of freedom of opinion because it was considered to contain elements of individual freedom. In its development, Soepomo’s ideas began to be abandoned and Hatta’s idea of individual freedom was contained in Article 28 of the 1945 Constitution. According to Hatta, freedom of speech and assembly was not merely seen as individual freedom, but was further interpreted as collective freedom.<sup>12</sup>

\_\_\_\_\_ Along with the development of the nation-state order at

11 Feith and Liddle, 1998, hlm.18

12 Marsillan Simanjuntak, *Pandangan Negara Integralistik*, (Jakarta: Pustaka Utama Grafiti: 1997), hlm. 231-233

the end of the 20th century, several countries underwent a fundamental change (revolution), reform, collapse or new state arises from the results of the referendum. Nationalism also forms its own identity and distinctiveness as if adapting to each region. Nationalism divides and identifies to be religious, others are secular, some are moderate, some are conservative, some are authoritarian and some are democratic. These types of nationalism are very relevant to Eric Hobsbawm's idea in the conclusion of his work "Nations and Nationalism since 1780". He said that the nation and nation at the end of the 20th century were moving backwards, confronted with, defended, adapted to, absorbed or eliminated from, the re-structuring of the world in a supranational way.<sup>13</sup>

### **1. Problems of Conservatism and Populism in the International Conflict Arena**

The views of Smith, the leading British historian, of the role of the nationalist founding fathers in constructing the nation as "political archeologists" is to awaken the power of communal traditions to re-establish communalism.<sup>14</sup> In fact, there is no nationalism without a political element and no nation is born without political interference in it. This view is not much different from the view of G. O. Nodia, who said:

"Nationalism is a currency that has two sides - political and ethnic. The reality is that nationalism always contains political and ethnic aspects. The idea of nationality is a political idea and there is no nationalism without a political element. However, the substance is the same as

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13 Eric Hobsbaw, Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Myth, Program and Reality. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), hlm.191

14 Anthony D Smith. (1994). "Gastronomy or Geology? The Role of Nationalism in the Reconstruction of Nations," dalam Nations and Nationalism, No. 1: 3-23, 1994, hlm. 18

ethnicity. The relationship can be expressed as a unity of a political soul that moves an ethnic body. “<sup>15</sup>

Post World War II, Edward Shils, and United States sociologist in his article “Populism and The Rule of Law (1954) were among the most successful in reviving the discourse of populism among the people of the United States. Shils saw populism as a subversive ideological phenomenon which was dangerous for the survival of the liberal United States of America at that time. He identified populism as a symptom of “hyper democracy” that was born from the aspirations of the people but had equal legitimacy even more than the leaders.<sup>16</sup>

In contrast to Shils, who views populism as a dangerous phenomenon, Nairn argues that populist character has a positive effect when linked to the spirit of nationalism. It is not the result of a popular movement, but an intelligence movement to the people to build a country through the creation of the idea of “romanticism”, meaning that at least nationalism must be populist, and attract people as something considered romantic.<sup>17</sup> However, there are a number of problems with the ideal of romanticism, especially about historical facts. Not all nationalism in various countries is shaped by the romanticism of the past. So that the idea of positive populism tends to be abandoned.

The debate over populism in a political context began when Donald Trump won the election defeating Hillary Clinton. Trump’s victory as President of the United States is considered because it plays the issue of populism in the campaign period. The

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15 G. O. Nodia, G.O “Nationalism and Democracy,” dalam *Journal of Democracy* , Vol. 3, No. 4, 1992, hlm. 2-22

16 Edward Shils, “Populism and The Rule of Law”, dalam *Conference Series*, No. 15, 1954, hlm. 103-105

17 Tom Nairn. *The Break-up of Britain: Crisis and Neonationalism*, (London: : NLB , 1977), hlm. 41

offer of protection policies such as handling immigrant problems with restrictions, as well as the application of “Muslim Travel Band” to 7 Muslim countries are considered very popular by the people of the United States.<sup>18</sup> Trump developed a narrative that he would not allow the immigrant to enter America because it was considered dangerous:

“I don’t want hundreds of thousands of people from Syria to come to America, but we don’t know who they are, do they love this country or not?”<sup>19</sup>

The issue of populism is played in conjunction with the issue of feminism which threatens the masculinity of most White Man if taken over by female leaders like Hillary. Some other factors behind the defeat of Hillary allegedly lost the sympathy of voters when he declared his voice for the Iraq War. A good part of Trump’s excellence in the 2016 elections is the incumbency factor. After eight years as a Democratic president, voters usually want a Republican. Since 1952, only one person has become president of the United States after eight years as president of the same party.<sup>20</sup>

While the symptoms of Ethnic Nationalism that use religious symbols can be seen from the massacre of Muslims in Christchurch, New Zealand,<sup>21</sup> It is imagined as an expression of religious symbols other than routine participation in religious culture or in religious organizations, for the purpose of accentuating religious identity. While the symptoms of Ethnic Nationalism that use religious symbols can be seen from the massacre of Muslims in Christchurch, New Zealand, it is imagined as an expression of religious symbols other than routine participation in

18 *Antara*, 26 Juni 2017

19 *BBC News Indonesia*, 10 Oktober 2016

20 Steven Ratner. “Trump’s Formidable 2020 Tailwind: The economy and incumbency drive presidential election outcomes”, dalam *The New York Times*, 27 May 2019

21 *New Zealand Herald*, 15 Maret 2019

religious culture or in religious organizations, for the purpose of accentuating religious identity.

### **Analyzing the Practice of Populism in Indonesian Political Contestation: From the DKI Election to 2019 Presidential Election**

By the end of the 19th, the principle of nationalism had shifted to a political principle, mainly in Europe. According to David Landes as the face of new imperialism replaces the old imperialism.<sup>22</sup> This change was also felt by the territories of the Western colonies, including in the Dutch East Indies, through ethical politics in 1901. Therefore, even though it was independent from colonial rule and the Indonesian state was officially formed in 1945; national consolidation was in fact not yet complete. This also shows that the process of Indonesia's national development has not yet been completed.

The political years from the DKI elections to the 2019 Presidential Election are considered the year of the rise of populism in Indonesia. Some terms such as populism and identity politics become the material of extensive discussion in reading the current political realities. The conception of populism and identity politics seem to gain momentum when they are strongly intertwined with the issue of electoral democracy, especially in relation to the impact of both on the electability of candidates and political parties in direct and simultaneous election constancy.

The issue of populism in Indonesia is spreading into the realm of exclusivism and racism, as seen in the DKI Jakarta elec-

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22 Landes, David (1998). "The Wealth and Poverty of Nations: Why Some Are So Rich and Some So Poor," dalam Wildan Sena Utama, *Nasionalisme dan Gagasan Kebangsaan Indonesia Awal: Pemikiran Soewardi Suryaningrat, Tjiptomangoenkusumo dan Douwes Dekker 1912-191*, Lembaran Sejarah, Vol. 11, No. 1, April 2014, hlm. 56

tions in 2017 at least showing symptoms of Muslim rejection of ethnic Chinese. Various conservative community organizations insulted the Ahok-Djarot pair through labeling the haram fatwa choosing non-Muslim leaders using state apparatus institutions (MUI) as the basis for legitimacy.<sup>23</sup> The politicization of the MUI fatwa continues with the reduction of the blasphemy case against the Al-Maidah verse 5, when Ahok campaigned in the Seribu Islands. As an individual who also has the concession of Indonesian citizenship, including ethnic Chinese. They have the same rights as citizens to be elected and vote in the elections. However, the identity of Indonesia is starting to be questioned because it is no longer able to guarantee every individual feels safe living in all parts of Indonesia.

According to Henry A. Giroux, campaign tactics used to delegitimize Ahok's position as incumbent, it is more appropriate to say earth scorched politics.<sup>24</sup> As a result, there is a political division that will last for a very long time and is difficult to cure. This fight will bring prolonged social and political impact. This movement also succeeded in lifting organizations that had been considered as fringe organizations to become mainstream power.<sup>25</sup> The Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), for example, was previously considered a marginal organization, now it is considered an established organization.

Although most of the middle class groups took part in the 212 demonstrations, it was very apparent that they were present only as partisan groups. It was very obvious that the demonstration was controlled by the middle class and it was seen that the

23 *Kompas*, 31 Januari 2017

24 Henry, A.Giroux, "The Scorched Earth Politics of America's Fundamentalisms", dalam *Policy Futures in Education*, Vol. 10 No. 6, 2012, hlm. 2-8

25 Christopher A. Bail, "The Fringe Effect", dalam *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 77, No.6, hlm 855-879

demonstration was neatly organized and well planned by the special committee. Anies Baswedan and Sandiaga Uno were then able to co-opt the mass demonstrations of 212 to become militant voters. For this reason, it can be said that the victory of Anies Baswedan-Sandiaga Uno occurred because of the rise of populist politics.

From the successful populist politics in the Special Regional Election of the Capital City, populist sentiments by clashing the narrative of “native vs. Chinese” continued in the 2019 Presidential Election. Prabowo Subianto and Sandiaga Uno, Candidates for incumbent opponents promoted by the Gerindra Party, reproduced identity politics by lifting the 2019 Presidential Election. Campaign issues on the import of Chinese Foreign Workers (TKA) in Morowali, Indonesia.<sup>26</sup> Identifying his coalition party as a populist party, Prabowo Subianto gained a large number of militant masses from the majority of Indonesia’s population of non-Chinese descent.

Opposition figures such as Amien Rais, played the role of populist political activists by using “Indigenous” and non-Indigenous discourses as a trigger for popular anger. For Amin, all assistance from foreigners to Indonesia is a disgrace, so that everything that is foreign, is associated as an opponent that must be hated.<sup>27</sup> The campaign pattern mobilized by the coalition of political parties with this populist issue, as stated by Hofstadler, tends to play a narrative agenda that there is a conspiracy between the government and the ruling elite to enrich themselves.<sup>28</sup> These issues of injustice were raised during the 2019 Presidential Election cam-

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26 *Kompas*, 7 Agustus 2018

27 *Jawa Pos*, 19 Desember 2016

28 Richard Hofstadler, *The Age of Reform : From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York:: Doubleday Publishing Group, 1956), hlm. 74



paign to gain votes.

Jokowi's populist policies such as the production of the national car "Esemka", as well as its already successful political style, was the key strategies for Jokowi's electoral enhancement in the 2014 polls. Deligitimation is done through the creation of competing narratives that are also populist such as the Infrastructure development discourse for the people but contradictory to the reality of project development involving Chinese labor. Thus, it can be said that in attacking pro-people's Jokowi populist policies, political opponents have also produced contradictory populist discourse. This discourse at least succeeded in drawing on the inconsistency of pro-Chinese Jokowi populist policies.

The nationalism movement entered the most important stage when Jokowi dismissed HTI (Hizb ut-Tahrir/arabic: حزب التحرير /Translation: Party of Liberation), as the largest conservative Islamic organization in Indonesia.<sup>29</sup> Political opponents mobilized the HTI masses to become the main base of supporters of Jokowi's political opponents, exchanging promises that if the Prabowo group wins the Presidential Election, HTI are permitted to return to operation. Prabowo also garnered support with conservative Islamic groups and affiliated with the leader of the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) who often criticized Jokowi's policy, Habib Rizieq. The meeting between the HTI masses who were disappointed by Jokowi, and the FPI masses who mobilized other conservative organizations in Indonesia resulted in a large mass base of support represented in the mass wave of action 212.<sup>30</sup>

After the presidential election there was an effort to delegitimize government institutions such as the General Election

<sup>29</sup> *Kompas*, 19 Juli 2017

<sup>30</sup> *Jawa Pos*, 12 Desember 2018

Commission (KPU), the Regulatory Body gave rise to the riots of May 22, 2019, which were referred to as manifestations of the “people power” movement.<sup>31</sup> The tendency of populism and patronage political practices in almost all cities and regencies surveyed, so that both become strong character of Indonesian democracy lately. This is because in that year the world conversation was dominated by political discourse triggered by the increasing significance of social media as a news source and accompanied by growing distrust of the facts and data presented by related institutions and mass media. When viewed from the perspective of Michel Foucault, in the text there is a counter discourse process (struggle for discourse) on everything that is produced by the Jokowi Government and government agencies such as the Election, Election Supervisory Body (Bawaslu), specifically relating to the implementation of the Election.

According to Foucault,<sup>32</sup> there are at least 6 conceptual dimensions involved in the struggle for the discourse, namely: Power, Knowledge, games of truth, discourse, counter history, and episteme. In power, for example, there appears to be an effort to legitimize versus delegitimizes power. When the Jokowi Government explained the handling of the People Power masses as an effort to stabilize the security of the elements who tried to discredit the legitimate government, the discourse produced by the opposition groups, the demonstration was considered as a way to channel people’s aspirations for law enforcement that had been intervened by the government.

After the campaign and the election and the determination of the recapitulation of the winners on May 21, 2019 which

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31 *Kompas*, 15 Mei 2019

32 Michel Foucault. *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings*, (New York: Phanteon Books, 1980), hlm.352

resulted in a victory for the Jokowi-Amin pair,<sup>33</sup> the election process has not been completed, otherwise the dissatisfaction can file a lawsuit in the Constitutional Court. Actually the election process has not been completed, if there is dissatisfaction with the election results, it can file a lawsuit in the Constitutional Court. In addition, expressing aspirations for dissatisfaction is part of political expression which is also legitimate and guaranteed by the constitution. As long as the expression of dissatisfaction does not lead to violence, political movements of the losers who are concentrated into mass movements on the streets cannot be justified. When the legal efforts had been carried out by the Prabowo-Sandi group as the defeated opposition party, there was another group that brought a murky atmosphere and hitched the crowd. The efforts to make the atmosphere worse through the crowd were driven by the political elite. As a result, 6 people died in the May 22, 2019 demonstration which triggered mass riots and looting in the capital.<sup>34</sup>

### **Contribution of Social Studies and Character Education in Reducing Social Conflict**

Advances in science will increase the capacity of the government to make improvements in the field of education in accordance with the wishes of the citizens.<sup>35</sup> The legitimacy of a government is needed, in building nationalism as a culture or discourse understood by the community. This requires certain strategies and communication so that their ideological functions can be formed and maintained. Education directly becomes an

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33 *Kompas*, 21 Mei 2019

34 *Tempo*, 22 Mei 2019

35 Edward Shils, "The Limits on The Capacities of Government" dalam *Government and Oposition*, Vol.4, No. 24, 1989, hlm. 445

important instrument in the process of national dissemination. In this formation process, school textbooks are one of the important media, as an effort to spread the ideology of nationalism to the public.<sup>36</sup> The social conflicts that have arisen in many parts of Indonesia recently have proven the symptoms of unfinished transformation, therefore, the need for education that can bring the spirit of nationalism to the construction of collective identity.

Max Weber in “Bureaucracies in Modern Society (1956),” explained that civil service bureaucracy is a very effective machine for governing because it is able to control activities. According to Weber bureaucratic mastery of factual and legal knowledge is needed to make decisions and see whether a policy is realized efficiently.<sup>37</sup> This is where he saw the role that might be played for social science. The political control of the political elite is very important to reduce conflicts between partisan groups in the grassroots. In the context of social education learning, children are invited to think about the importance of nationalism and integration.

Differences in political orientation are social realities that cannot be avoided. Suppression of differences in political orientation is part of the forms of actions against democracy. Therefore, each party must be able to refrain from committing acts of violence; this is a basic pillar of democracy. The authorities must accommodate the minority mind in the context of democracy, and must not be abandoned. Students are invited to think about respecting differences and respecting election results even if they are not in line with their expectations, so that the democratic process

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36 Bambang Purwanto, “Memahami Kembali Nasionalisme Indonesia”, dalam *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik*, Vol.4, No. 3, 2001, hlm. 249

37 Stanley H. Udy, Jr. “Bureaucracy” and “Rationality in Weber’s Organization Theory: An Empirical Study”, dalam *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 24, No. 6 (Dec., 1959), hlm. 791-795

can proceed. if the losing group does not respect the results of the presidential election, it will interfere with national stability and is not justified in a democracy that upholds the law and the constitution. Historical learning not only learns static by memorizing the facts of the past, but also departs from current problems and reflects on the course of past events to be used as an evaluation of how to address current problems and plan for continued national integration in the future.

### **Conclusion**

Narrative of differences in democracy, although the majority group won the contestation and gained power, the ruling government must accommodate the minority mind. If there is uniformity of votes, it will threaten the sustainability of democracy which leads to totalitarian government. Instead the minority must also be willing to accept the election results and may not force their will through violent and other unconstitutional acts. The continuity of Indonesia in the future as a pluralistic nation is very important to be maintained and sustained.

Therefore, the concept of the Ernest Renant Nation State, or the spirit of nationalism with a multicultural pillar, is a joint project that must always be instilled through social studies education, with a historical approach, so that the current generation is able to take lessons from the past when several countries were destroyed as a result of their souls. Sectarian or ethnicity through social studies students are invited to think about how the process of achieving national integration, through learning from current conflicts, the spirit of the present and future generations of the nation state can be better prepared.

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Books Chapter  
**ON ASIAN NETWORK  
AND SOCIAL CHANGE**

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# **Workers Movement in Asia: With Special Reference of India**

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## **Introduction**

In the twentieth century many movements were aroused in the Asian countries. Many countries started the struggle against the imperialists and capitalists. The working class played a vital role in these movements. Several factors economic, political, national and international stimulated the growth of labor movement in India as well as in Asia. The epoch-making event in the working class movement was the Russian Revolution. The Russian Revolution made a tremendous impact on the course of national-liberation struggles in India and other countries of the east. On November 6 and 7, 1917, the leftist revolutionaries led by the Bolshevik Party leader Vladimir Lenin launched a nearly bloodless struggle against the provisional government.

The Bolsheviks and their allies occupied government buildings and other strategic locations in Petrograd, and soon formed a new government with Lenin as its head. His government made peace with Germany, nationalized industry and distributed land, but beginning in 1918 had to fight a devastating civil war against anti-Bolshevik White Army forces. In 1920, the anti-Bolsheviks were defeated, and in 1922 the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was established.

The labor movement was started towards the end of the 19th century in some parts of India. In Bombay there was a well-

organized movement for demanding improvements in laws relating to factories. As one of the first steps towards organization of the working class, in September 1884 public meetings of textile workers were organized in Bombay. A resolution was adopted at the meeting demanding such provisions as a weekly holiday, half an hour's midday recess, regular payment of monthly wages and compensation in cases of accidents. The petition was signed by over five thousand workmen and presented to the president of factory commission which was appointed to make recommendations regarding the improvement of the factory Act. This can be legitimately regarded as the beginning of the labor movement. So, the labor movement is deeply impacted the all Asian countries.

**Key Words: Labor Movement, Workers, Class Freedom, Struggle, Revolution, World, Trade, Russian War, Industrial Strikes.**

### **Discussion**

The success of the Bolshevik revolution thrilled out the hearts of the oppressed and the exploited, holding out an assurance of a new social order to them. It cannot be denied that the Russian Revolution gave huge impulse to the Indian Labor Movement. With one-sixth of the globe breaking away from it, World capitalism had been seriously weakened and entered the stage of general crises. The new state of workers that came into existence for the first time in the history of mankind embarked on the road to build a classless, socialist society, a new civilization which was free from exploitation of man by man, class by class, and nation by nation.

The year 1919 witnessed a new era in the history of labor

movement. The First World War, which had stirred the whole world, ushered for Indian industries an era of rapid progress, because in addition to the home-market, found their markets in other countries as well. It affected the Indian industrial worker, because the entire economic situation had changed during and after the War. During the War, the number of looms grew from 10, 400 to 1, 16, 000 and the number of the workers increased from 2, 60, 000 to 2, 82, 000 thus increasing the textile output considerably.

The war made its impact on working classes and affected a distinct change in their outlook also. Many Indian soldiers were sent to Europe, where they fought shoulder to shoulder with British and other European soldiers and they realized that they were in no way inferior to them. At the end of the war, they returned enlighten with the new ideas of racial equality, better working conditions, which proved to be an eye-opener to the Indian workers, who had been toiling long hours in factories in intolerable condition.

The period immediately following the end of the war marked in India by industrial strike on a scale previously unknown. Strikes had occurred sporadically before this period, but the strength of the strike as an economic weapon was not generally realized by Indian labor. The workers who were for the most part villagers endeavoring to improve their position by a temporary allegiance to industry were submissive and organized and if condition became too distasteful, the natural remedy was not strikes, but abandonment by individuals of mill or Industry generally. Because of the increased the demand of Indian goods from allies, trade and industry in India developed enormously and enjoyed unprecedented prosperity. Industries were making huge profits. Prices of essential

goods had risen high. The cost of living was steady rising, but the wages had not kept pace with it.

It was difficult for workers to make both ends meet. As a result there was an acute, distress and discontent amongst the workers and their traditional patience had exhausted. This economic distress not only caused labor unrest but forced the labor for some collective action which resulted in a number of strikes and some of them were successful, because the industrialist could not afford closure of their industry which was making huge profit.

The next factor responsible for the emergence of the labor movement in India as well as in Punjab was establishment of International labor Organization in 1920. The formation of the I.L.O. for the protection and preservation of the interests of the workers and its tripartite constitution also helped the growth of labor associations. I.L.O. stood for their freedom of association and was a bulwark against several legal onslaughts. The average citizen began to take interest in the labor problems after setting up of I.L.O. It created a favorable atmosphere for the discussion of labor problems. In short, these developments aroused labor consciousness.

The All India Trade Union Congress was founded on October 31, 1920. The Indian National Congress president for the year, *Lala Lajpat Rai*, was elected as the first president of AITUC and *Dewan Chaman Lai* as the first general secretary. Lajpat Rai was the first to link capitalism with imperialism—"imperialism and militarism are the twin children of capitalism". The prominent Congress and *Swarajist* leader C.R. Das presided over the third and the fourth sessions of the AITUC. The Gaya session of the Congress (1922) welcomed the formation of the AITUC and a committee was formed to assist it. International events like

the establishment of a socialist republic in the Soviet Union, formation of the All India Trade union Congress and setting up of International Labor Organization (ILO) lent a new dimension to the movement of the working class in India.

In the beginning, the AITUC was influenced by social democratic ideas of the British Labor Party. The Gandhian philosophy of non-violence, trusteeship and class-collaboration had great influence on the movement. Gandhi helped organize the Ahmedabad Textile Labor Association (1918) and through a protest secured a 27.5 per cent wage hike. (Later, the arbitrator's award ensured a 35 per cent raise. The Trade Union Act 1926 documented the rights of workers and organized them into trade unions. It had registered the trade unions and organized them as autonomous bodies.

The Indian Trade union Act was encouraged such collective bargaining as ensures better terms and conditions of employment to the labor and at the same time the maintenance of good relations between employer and employees. This act also organized many events to secure better working conditions, privileges and amenities of the industrial labor. The Trade unions had adopted certain methods such as legislation, collectively bargaining, mutual insurance and strike.

The members of the working class were become increasingly aware of their problems. The wages of industrial labor were very low but the labor had to work for inordinately long time and the workers of industries had to suffer economic hardships. The labor was by slow degrees becoming conscious of the need to organize themselves for their rights. Initially, the lack of organization was major problem in the India. Instead of coming together in a common organization, the members of the labor were divided

on communal lines because of the communal proclivities of their leaders.

However, the labor movement assumed the form of a great revolution after some time. However, it is important to note that the character of Indian labor class movement was totally different in comparison to the rest of world. It is evident from the fact that, whereas in India strikes by the labor organizations were characterized by regularity in other countries labor went on strikes occasionally in response to some extreme circumstances. Moreover, the strikes organized by labor in India did not take the forms of a mass movement because newspapers and press was under the control of capitalists. Due to the unsupportive role of the media, the labor class strikes had limited impact. However, it can be said that the activities of the labor class were quite widespread in India as well as in Punjab during the beginning of the 20th century.

After, the non-Cooperation movement the religious riots spread out in the country. At this time the young men had formed the *Kirti Kisan* Parties in UP, Punjab, Bengal and Mumbai. The strikes of labor class were organized in the whole country. The British Government tried to suppress these strikes as part of their effort to protect the industrialists. Government introduced the Public Safety Bill and Trade Dispute Bill with the objective of suppressing the labor movement and labor strikes. The police arrested young people who were related to these parties all over the country. The main leaders of the party Abdul Majid, Sohan Singh Josh, and Kedar Nath Sehgal were arrested along with their followers and sent to Meerut. The Government also arrested the editors of *Kirti* Newspaper and either confiscated the copies of the paper and brought its publication under their control. The newspaper released from May 1930 to December 1930 was under



control of Government. The political leaders who were related to *Kirti* were arrested.

At the beginning of 1922, as a result of the simultaneous efforts of M.N. Roy and some militant nationalists inside the country who wished to introduce communism in India, various ideological centers came into existence in various cities such as Madras, Bombay, Calcutta, Cawnpore and Lahore. The men who took a leading part in forming communist groups in Lahore were Ghulam Hussain, Shamasudin Hassan and M.A. Khan. The communist group in Lahore was formed by Gulam Hussain toward the end of 1922. Gulam Hussain was a teacher in Mission College Peshawar, and his conversion to communism resulted from a visit he paid to Kabul where he came into contact with the Bolshevik Center. In the following July 1922, he came to Lahore and established a communist newspaper called *Inqilab*.

Ghulam Hussain reached Kabul on 18 March 1922. He stayed there for about two and half month and came into rather close contact with Zafar Hasan, Khushi Mohamand and few others. Khushi Mohammad was the head of the Kabul Branch of Roy's CPI. Gulam Rasul and Shafiq were acting as his secretaries during this time. Another member of the Kabul centre was Iqbal Shidai, who later on worked in the foreign branch of the Eastern Bureau of the Cominter and contributed occasional articles to the *Kirti* magazine. Shafiq had developed contacts with Lajpat Rai and Chamanlal who were active in trade union movement. Originally, *Inqilab* was launched in August 1922 by S.D. Hassan but its publication and circulation was stopped after few issues.

In February 1926, Santokh Singh started a monthly revolutionary organ *Kirti* in Punjab from Amritsar. It goes to credit to *Kirti* editorial board and management that they took initia-

tive to set up Naujawan Bharat Sabha and Kirty- Kisan Party on 12 April 1928 at separate representative gathering. Both of them were cadre based organizations which worked for attainment of complete independence and social state of workers and peasants.

Strong communist influences on the movement lent a militant and revolutionary content to it. In 1928 there was a six-month-long strike in Bombay Textile Mills led by the Girni Kamgar Union. Thousands upon thousands workers joined the union. its membership swelled to over seventy thousand. The story of successful strike and the powerful union that had emerged out of it spread to other workers and they also rallied under the banner of communist leaders.

The whole of 1928 witnessed unprecedented industrial unrest. There was large number of strikes in 1928. The total number of disputes was 203. In all about 506851 workers were involved and the total number of work days lost were 31.5 million. This period also saw the crystallization of various communist groups, with leaders like S.A. Dange, Muzaffar Ahmed, P.C. Joshi, Sohan Singh Josh etc. For the first time a working-class leadership close to the workers and guided by the principal of class struggle had emerged. Of the 203 labor disputes in 1928 Bombay led with 111 disputes, Bengal came next with 60, while Bihar and Orissa recorded 8 disputes, Madras 7, and Punjab came at the tail with only 2 disputes.<sup>20</sup> The working class was emerging as an independent political force in India. On 7 February 1928, at the time of the arrival of Simon Commission in Bombay, the working class led the popular protest action through general strikes.

*Naujwan Bharat Sabha* set up earlier by teachers and students at Lahore National College in May had become almost defunct due to restrictions imposed by the government on work

among students of Lahore College. After discussion between Sohan Singh Josh and Bhagat Singh it was decided that *Kirti* management and Bhagat Singh group would collaborate to set up a broad-based *Naujawan Bharat Sabha*. The *sabha* was set up at a conference at Jallainwala Bagh on 12 April 1928. The aims and objects of the *Sabha* were declared to be:

1. To establish a completely independent republic of workers and peasants whole of India.
2. To infuse the spirit of patriotism into the hearts of youth of country in order to establish a united Indian Nation.
3. To express sympathy with, and to assist the economic industrial and social movements, which while being free from communal sentiments, are intended to take us to our ideal namely the establishment of completely independent republic of laborers and peasants.
4. To organize laborers and peasants.

The prominent leaders of *Naujawan Bharat Sabha* such as Abdul Majid, Sohan Singh Josh, and Kedar Nath Sehgal visited various places, held meetings and helped interested persons to organize local *sabhas*. Several meetings of the *sabha* were held at Lahore. Prominent members of congress and provincial *khilafat* committee were also members of the *sabha* and three bodies acted together as far as anti-government activities were concerned. The next executive was elected on 24 February 1929, with Sohan Singh Josh as president, M. A. Majid as vice president and Hari Singh Chakwalia as secretary and it was a clear reflection of the influence of *Kirti* group. Individual members of the *Sabha* took active part in the boycott of Simon commission, hailed and supported the Russian revolution, denounced capitalism and imperialism, advocated nationalization of wealth and property, and the

removal of British army from India.

The *Sabha* started the tract society for the distribution of nationalist literature and published pamphlets 'strongly impregnated with Bolshevik and communist doctrine'. Some members of the *sabha* were constantly in touch with students in various colleges of Lahore and Amritsar. Non-participation in any future war and denunciation of communalism were the central themes of propaganda carried out by the leadership of the *Naujawan Bharat Sabha*. The communalist press constantly carried on propaganda against the *Naujawan Bharat Sabha*.

On 20 March 1929 the police was arrest the communist, prominent members of the workers and peasants parties and leftwing trade union and peasant leaders from four province of India- Bombay, Bengal, UP, and Punjab. The criminal prosecution which was instituted against workers came to known as the Meerut Conspiracy Case from the name of the town Meerut where trail took place. The Government chose that place for the prosecution as conference of the "Workers and Peasant" party in which some of the accused had participated was held in that town. The Government arrested 31 labor leaders, and the three-and-a-half-year trial resulted in the conviction of Muzaffar Ahmed, S.A. Dange, Joglekar, Philip Spratt, Ben Bradley, Shaukat Usmani, Sohan Singh josh, P. C. Joshi, K. N. Sehgal and others. The trial got worldwide publicity but weakened the working class movement.

The workers participated during 1930 in the Civil Disobedience Movement but after 1931 there was a dip in the working class movement because of a split in 1931 in which the corporatist trend led by N.M. Joshi broke away from the AITUC to set up the All India Trade Union Federation. In 1935, the communists re-joined the AITUC. Now, the left front consisted of the com-

munists, Congress socialists and the leftist nationalists like Nehru and Subhash Chander Bose.

During the 1937 elections, the AITUC had supported the Congress candidates. The Congress governments in provinces gave a fillip to the trade union activity. The Congress ministries were generally sympathetic to the workers' demands. Much legislation favorable to the workers was passed.

The end of the Second World War saw a new powerful upsurge of the national liberation movement in the country. The situation in India was also revolutionized by the struggle of the nations of South-East Asia to drive out the Japanese invaders which was followed by struggle against attempts of the British, French and Dutch imperialists to restore old colonial regimes in these countries. India was experiencing severe economic hardships. Vast military expenditures and the curtailing of agriculture production led to the rapid growth of prices. Industrial action by the workers increasingly began to acquire the political character.

This was a new feature of the mass working class movement in India and the decisions of the All India Trade Union Congress held in Madras early in 1945, facilitated the development of this trend. The Congress Unanimously adopted the resolution on the political situation proposed by V. V. Giri, a prominent trade union leader and member of the Indian National Congress. The resolution demanded to grant of independence of country. In the period of fresh upsurge of the National liberation movement the All India Trade Union Congress headed the economic Struggle of the working class.

In the period 1945 to 1947, workers participated actively in the post-War national upsurges. The mass meetings were held in India in protest against the decision of the British Government

to use Anglo-Indian Army to help the Dutch imperialists in Indonesia. On October 25 “Indonesia Day” was widely observed throughout India. In 1945, the dock workers of Bombay and Calcutta refused to load ships taking supplies to the warring troops in Indonesia. The RIN Sailors who mutinied in Bombay demanded the withdrawal of the Anglo- Indian troops from Indonesia. After long struggle Against Dutch Empire Indonesia’s declaration of Independence was in 1945 and the Dutch recognition of Indonesia Independence at the end of 1949.

During 1946, the workers went on a strike in support of the Naval Ratings. During the last year of foreign rule, there were strikes by workers of posts, railways and many other establishments.<sup>30</sup> So that India achieved freedom on 15 August 1947. The Indian working class played eminent role in the freedom struggle. But the Struggle of working class was still continue for their rights.

## **Conclusion**

It can be concluded that the working class play important role in the history of mankind. During this period the awareness about their rights were arouse in east countries. Working class was started struggle against imperialist and capitalist. Russian Revolution was the movement of working class and gave the slogan “Workers of the World Unite”. This revolution throws a deep impact on the working class of India and the workers of India actively participated in the Freedom Struggle. The two World Wars also highly influenced the World and started the workers struggle with more energetic way. In India workers were continuously started their struggle through Trade Union Movements, Meerut Conspiracy case, Workers and peasants party, Naujawan

Bharat Sabha, and strike of Naval forces etc. So, within the limited canvas available for expounding the paper, the study confines itself to Workers Movement in Asia: With Special Reference of India from 1901 to 1947.

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# **Environmental Issue and Sustainable Development**

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## **Introduction**

Environmental issues and sustainable development are two vocabularies that have grown in popularity especially in the last five decades. The two vocabularies have been widely used in speeches, debates, conferences, diplomatic negotiations, academic writings, and journalistic reports. Academicians, development planners, policy makers, environmental activists, agreement negotiators, financial institutions, and other related parties both in national and international forums are quite familiar with the vocabularies. The popularity of environmental issues can be seen as a reflection of the growing concerns around the world about the present state of the environment and the future of humans on earth amidst the acute environmental problems inflicted by anthropogenic factors. The current problems are believed due largely to the deleterious consequences of human activities that are feared to destroy the entire planet and to bring human civilization to a sorry end (Gore, 1994:84-85).

The increasingly apparent anthropogenic-induced environmental problems bring a growing understanding of the earth and humans-environment relationship. The earth and all its elements are closely interconnected one to another and inform life-supporting system (Silver and DeFries, 1992:13), a rediscovery of the ancient awareness that humans and nature as a whole are

interdependent (Worster, 1988:20). Changing one of its elements will inevitably influence the system as a whole, affecting how it works. Humans as cultural system interact with the environment as natural system and the exiting mutual relations and influences between the two systems are not static, but dynamic in nature, continuously changing possibly in different scale and rhythm over time (Cronon, 1993:13-14). In addition, the massive deleterious influences of humans on the environment also lead to an awareness that that humans live on a vulnerable earth, a view that began to be voiced by an American polymath scholar, George Perkins Marsh in his pioneering work first published in 1864, *Man and Nature*. The vulnerability of the earth has been amplified by a great number of literatures in the twentieth century (Worster, 1988:16). The last decade of the twentieth century already saw a great number of newspaper reports describing our planet as “fragile and under threat” (Silver and DeFries, 1992:1).

Before going further into discussion, it is worthy to clarify key concepts used in the present paper, environmental issues and sustainable development. Environmental issues can be broadly defined as problems existing in the environment that many people are discussing and arguing about in order to understand the causes, to negotiate and to find out solutions for the problem. The growing importance of the environment as an issue indicates the recognition that the perceived environmental problems are serious and needs immediate solution (Garner, 1996:5). The World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) led by Gro Harlem Brundtland defines sustainable development as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (WCED, 1988:12).

The definition put a great emphasis on intergenerational equity in terms of access and opportunities to use the environmental resources. The commission also underlines that the limits to growth are determined by three interconnected factors of technology, social organization, and the ability of the environment to adjust with the influences of human activities. According to the commission, sustainability development could only be achieved when population size and economic growth are adjusted to the changing productive potentials of the ecosystem (WCED, 1988:12-13). A development might be called as sustainable when the use of natural resources for the sake of economic development causes no harm to the environment in running its function as a life support system. This view is based on a basic assumption that the carrying capacity of the environment has its limits. It is believed that relentless expansion in economic activity by more and more people will inevitably exhaust all natural resources stored in the environment (Pepper, 1996:65). There are at least three key conditions that ensure sustainability, namely: 1) the extraction of natural resources is run without reducing their long-term productive capacity; 2) the profits earned from non-renewable depletion are productively allocated and used for human capital and technology, 3) the wastes produced in the economic processes do not exceed or destroy the capacity of the environment to absorb (Panayotou 1994:24).

This paper seeks to discuss the environment and sustainability issues by using illustrations taken primarily from Indonesia. The objectives of the paper are: 1) to elaborate historical roots of the major environmental issues emerging from the drastically changing humans-environment interrelationship, and 2) to discuss the genesis of the global concern with sustainable develop-

ment and the incorporation of the sustainable development issues into the Indonesia's development agenda.

### **Environmental Issues**

The emergence of environmental issues usually has a direct link with factual basis. It means that there are real problems associated with the environment that can be identified in the field. The existing problems, however, do not automatically turn into environmental issues. The transformation of environmental technical problems into environmental issues circulating widely in the public and political arenas, as social constructionist interpretation argues, would also depend on other factors, including the claim-makers, claim making process, popularizes, and audiences for environmental claims (Hannigan, 2006:63-78). Without going further into theoretical discourse, the rest of this section will elaborate the role of humans in causing environmental problems and then highlights several problems that have successfully evolved into major environmental issues, drawing worldwide attention and concerns.

The role of human beings in changing and inflicting the disastrous impacts on the environment has grown in strength since the industrial revolution. There are three interrelated factors coming into play that influence the ability of humans to change the environment and to make it vulnerable for themselves and even for all living creatures. The three factors are population size, material standard of living, and technology (Silver and DeFries, 1992:41-45).

Population size does matter. When the population was small in size, limited quantities of natural resources were taken from the environment. What were taken to fulfill the needs remained below

the environment's carrying capacity. But, as population grew rapidly in size, the use of natural resources also increased remarkably. More resources were taken and the natural supplies became closer to its limits. Between 1950 and 1987 the world's population grew double, from 2.5 billion to 5 billion. In less than four decades, the population growth was roughly equal to the total population size that took thousands year to reach from the presence of humans on the earth to the mid twentieth century. An estimate by the United Nations Organization suggests that by 2025 the world population is going to reach 8.5 billion (Silver and DeFries, 1992:41-45). As Ehrlich argues, the population explosion is a decisive factor that would cause 'eco-catastrophe' that eventually ends up with a total collapse or a death planet (Ehrlich, 1981:21, 38).

The growing population size has increased the demands for food, housing, and other requirements for life that had to be met by making a use the natural resources. In environmental term, one of the most important changes was in the form of massive conversion of natural ecosystems into agricultural fields. A calculation by an American historian, John Richards, suggests that 432 million hectares of land were brought into regular crop planting worldwide from 1860-1920, of which 164 million hectares were found in North America, 88 million in Russia, 84 million in Asia and the rest spread across the other continents. From 1920 to 1978 another 419 million hectares were also brought into crops cultivation. In total almost one billion hectares of natural vegetation with its rich biological diversity disappeared due to conversion into agriculture (quoted in Worster, 1988:15). Furthermore, the conversion into agricultural fields also caused desertification due to mismanagement. World Commission on Environment and Development estimated that annually about 6 million hectares

of dry agricultural fields turned into useless deserts (Brundlandt, et al., 1988:3). Meanwhile, in Indonesia during the New Order era the green revolution program run to promote rice production with the adoption of new rice varieties caused the loss of many local rice varieties (Iskandar, 2001:140).

The population size, however, is not the only factor responsible for the increasing pressures on the environment. The development of industrial capitalism with the aid of new technologies accelerated the exploitation of the earth's natural resources, mostly nonrenewable ones, to provide its raw materials (Worster, 1988:14-15). Industrial revolution, therefore, might be seen as a crucial turning point of the utilization of natural resources. Raw materials extractions and manufacturing processes do harm to the environment not only by depleting the earth's natural resources. Both inputs in the industrial process and its conjured outputs have also imposed heavier pressures on the environment by causing pollution. The development of industrial capitalism created ecological disasters (Crosby, 1995:1179-1180). Millennium Ecosystem Assessment released by the United Nations Environment Programmed reveals alarming environmental facts: a) more lands were converted into agricultural fields in the last three decades after 1950 in comparison with total conversion from 1700-1850, b) the earth has lost 50 percent of its marsh lands since 1900, c) about 35 percent of the world's mangrove forest has disappeared since 1980, d) 30 percent of the world's coral reefs was lost since 1950 and more than 20 percent in a critical condition (quoted in Bahagijo, 2016:37-38).

The fast growing use of environmental resources and its consequences has caused global environmental disasters that threaten the sustainability of the environment and the future of human

population on earth. This kind of disasters is different from natural disasters such as earthquake, tsunami, volcanic eruptions that occur due to natural factors. Environmental disasters are closely linked to the environmental disturbances/crises caused partly or entirely by anthropogenic factors that destroy and pollute the environment. Environmental disasters are global in nature, occurring not only in one place or two, but worldwide. There are no nations or places on earth that escape from the disasters and all will suffer from the consequences (Keraf, 2010:26-27). There are broadly four major environmental problems that have grown into global environmental issues. It includes global warming, pollution, biodiversity erosion, and resource depletion. Each issue began to emerge in different time and has different historical background and development.

Global warming has become a hot global issue nowadays. Until the late 1970s, it remained a technical, minor problem debated among scientists. But as indications of the perceived adverse consequences of global warming accumulated, it began to draw public attention and later also politicians in the United States Congress. Following the hearing between the members of the Congress and scientists that led to a conclusion that global warming should become focus of concern, the issue spread rapidly throughout the world and receive global attention (Soemarwoto, 1991:141). Even though there are disagreements about the extent of temperature increases and the potential consequences of the problem, it is becoming clearer that global warming is truly a worrying problem. One of its consequences in the form of climate change has been regarded as the most complex problem and the most prominent issue in global environmental politics that now becomes major concerns among many parties (Kutting, 2011:194;

Harris, 2011:107).

Global warming is usually defined as an increase in the world's temperature stemming from the rising concentration of greenhouse gases building up in the atmosphere (Harris, 2011:107; Soemarwoto, 1991:147). One estimate suggested that from 1970 the temperature of the world has increased by an average 0.6 degree C, with hottest years recorded 2002, 2003, 2005, 2006 (Keraf, 2010:57). According to a 2007 report released by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, the emission of greenhouse gases has risen globally by 70 %, of which mostly caused by an increase in carbon dioxide gas (Harris, 2011:108). One estimate suggested that the total annual emission of carbon dioxide has grown from 1.5 billion tons in 1950s to almost 6 billion tons in the 1990s and is predicted to double by the year 2050 (Garner, 1996:23).

In the 1980s the rising concentration of greenhouse gases (consisting of especially carbon dioxide or CO<sub>2</sub>, chlorofluorocarbons or CFCs, and methane) came from a number of sources, including energy production and consumption, CFC consumption, forest extraction and land use change, and industry, of which the largest contribution (57%) was energy production and consumption (Soemarwoto, 1991:156-171). By country, the major share of the problems, so far, originated from the developed world (Garner, 1996:21), especially the United States as the biggest emitter with a share reaching 27 % (Salim, 2010: 6-7). In the last two decades, however, the newly industrialized countries especially China and India with their fast growing economies with the high use of fossil fuels energy in the form of coal, oil, and natural gas as its mainstay have also contributed an increasingly large share to the rising global greenhouse gas emissions.



The growing popularity of the global warming issue is closely linked to its real and perceived potential consequences on human activities. Global warming is believed causing climatic uncertainties, unpredictable seasons, and disturbing hydrological patterns and irrigation supplies that lead to harvest failures and a sharp decline in food production (Silver and DeFries, 1992:67-70). In the last twenty years European countries and United States have seen extreme weather events in the form heat waves attacking their areas, claiming thousands lives. In 2003 around 52,000 people in nine European countries were reported death from heat waves, of which 18,000 deaths occurred in Italy and 14,800 in France (Keraf, 2010:58). The human made-global warming is feared to cause 'decades without winter' in the future, a strikingly different phenomenon from the past experience showing "year without summer" (Gore, 1994:84-85), associated for example with the global impact of the 1815 apocalyptic Tambora eruption (Wood, 2015:18-19, 297-298).

The adverse impact of the global warming is also present in the form of rising sea water surface level. This impact is regarded as more worrying and could affect millions people living in coastal and delta areas of tropical Asia. An estimate by Inter-government Panel on Climate Change suggests an increase in sea water level by 18-59 cm in the end of the last century, whereas another estimate based on new data suggests that the increase in sea water level could reach 2 meters (Keraf, 2010:62). Despite the existing disagreements on the extent of sea surface level increases, many are convinced that the rising sea water surface is real and poses a big threat to archipelagic countries. It is predicted that Indonesia will lose about one fourth of its 17,500 islands (Kompas, 5 August 2002). Some small archipelagic countries in the Pacific

Ocean and the Indian Ocean situated only few meters above sea water level worry that they will suffer miserably and even will find their countries being wiped out from the world's geographic map (Gore, 1994:117). Around 20 % of the world's population (one billion people) living in coastal areas and river deltas is predicted to suffer from the loss of their lands and homes because of sea water inundation. This will create global-scale environmental refugees (Silver and DeFries, 1991:76-82).

Another major environmental issue is pollution. This is a very broad topic when referring pollution definition as given for example by Weale as "the introduction into the environment of substances and emissions that either damage or carry the risk of damaging human health or well-being, the built environment or the natural environment (Weale, 1992:3). It covers air, water, and soil pollutions. A primary source of air pollutions is gases and substances emitted from industrial process, power stations, and vehicle exhausts that use fossil fuel energy such as oils and coal. The accumulative pollutant substances and gases are harmful and responsible for causing acid rain. The devastation of vast forest vegetation in North Europe and the occurrence of deadly thick smog so-called "pea souper" in London claiming nearly 4000 lives in 1952 illustrate the disastrous consequence of air pollution (Garner, 1996:17). Also in Indonesia, a number of cities encounter air pollution problem. The air quality of Indonesia's big cities continue to worsen from time to time because of pollutants emitted from motorized vehicles exhausts, industrial activities, and forest fires, causing health problem associated with breath channel infection (Keraf, 2010:38-39).

Meanwhile, water pollution initially came from organic waste including human increment and animal waste, but later

after the industrial revolution the source of pollution the major share of the problem has been contributed by various forms of industrial wastes, such as nitrates and phosphates, pesticides, heavy metals, oil spills and other chemical substances. British rivers and American lakes are reported to have been contaminated by this kind of pollutants and suffered its consequences in health, wild life and marine life (Garner, 1996:19-20). A research conducted jointly by University of California and Boston Medical Center has indicated that 200 diseases are closely linked to pollution (Keraf, 2010:65). Water pollution has also become a major issue in Indonesia. This problem is caused both by domestic and industrial sectors. In 2008 a number of rivers, such as Krueng (Aceh), Kampar (Riau), Musi (South Sumatera), Ciliwung (Jakarta), Citarum (West Java), Bengawan Solo (Central and East Java), TukadBadung (Bali), Kahayan and Martapura (Kalimantan) were reported to have been severely polluted (Keraf, 2010:44). Even more recently, Ciliwung as the longest and the largest river of West Java has been labeled as the world's most polluted river (idntimes.com, 09 March 2018).

Biodiversity erosions are another important environmental issue. The problem covers both flora and fauna and come from forest resource extraction (hunting and logging) and habitat destruction. The loss of tropical forests that are very rich in biodiversity has taken place rapidly and at alarming rate. An estimate suggests that the loss of tropical forest reach about 11 million hectares annually, and linked to a combination of factors, including the needs for woods for fuel, construction and other purposes, the conversion into agricultural fields, commercial plantations and urban infrastructure (Silver and DeFries, 1992:97-98). In Indonesia alone the shrinkage of forest has taken place at an alarming rate.

One estimate suggests that the deforestation was said to reach 3 million hectares per annum, whereas in 1990 FAO estimated the rate of annual forest loss in Indonesia reached approximately 1.3 million hectares. The process resulted in largely from the establishment of commercial plantations especially for palm oil productions, logging, and forest fire (Keraf, 2010:28). Between 1990 and 2015 the loss of forest cover in Indonesia reached around 35 million hectares or equal to two times the island of Sulawesi (Samadhi, 2016:77-78).

The shrinking forests also mean a decline in habitat and also flora and fauna populations. A biologist of Harvard University, Edward O Wilson estimated that the rate of species loss is ten thousand times than that of natural loss since the presence of humans on earth (cited in Silver and DeFries, 1992:101-102). Another estimate suggests that over the last twenty years of the 20th century, the loss of biodiversity richness reached 40-400 times of the normal rate due to excessive hunting and habitat destruction. A rough estimate by Thomas Berry suggests that about half of the world's living species has been eroded during the contemporary generation (Gore 1994:84). A more detailed picture is provided by Brown suggesting that 1,217 bird species and 114 mammals were seriously threatened to become extinct, whereas more bird and mammals species experienced a declining population (quoted in Keraf, 2010:48). Among wild animals that are brought closer to the verge of extinction include elephant, Sumateran tiger, and rhinoceros (Soemarwoto, 1991:82-83), white starling and paradise bird (Iskandar, 2001:6-7). During the twentieth century, Indonesia saw the extinction of Bali tiger in 1930s and (most likely) also Javan tiger in the last decades of the twentieth century (Nawiyanto, 2016:7). The current biological diversity loss represents what is

called “a six major extinction event”, due mainly to the direct and indirect impact of the human activities, differing radically from the earlier five extinction events which were associated primarily with the impact of natural disasters and planetary change (Brown, 2011:153).

The environmental issues as broadly outlined above have indicated that there are serious problems with our environment that need to tackle through global efforts. Some believe that the widespread environmental disasters on a global scale are an indication of the world, or human civilization--to be more precise---, on the way to the doom because of humans’ own wrongdoings, not exclusively due to natural factors. The end of the world or the miserable fate of humans on earth is believed coming closer and closer. Interventions by making a change in approaches to the environment are urgently required to prevent the feared doom from happening, at least in the near future. One of them is through the adoption of sustainable development mode and the next section shall discuss this issue in a more detail.

### **Sustainable Development**

The adoption of sustainable development can be well understood with the background of dissatisfaction with development model employed after the Second World War. Soon after the war ended, the governments of the developed countries made large scale efforts to rebuild their countries through rehabilitation and reconstruction programs. Their immediate success stimulated the newly established countries to adopt similar effort. In the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s many governments in the developing countries embarked upon the national project to build their economy and to improve the people’s material standards of living

through economic development (Garner, 1996:13-14). During the three decades of development, the central focus of the attention was directed primarily on economic growth measured by per capita income and redistribution of growth. In Indonesia's New Order era, for example, the development program was pursued through the adoption of a balanced development model which later was remodeled as basic needs-oriented development, distribution-oriented development, and complete human development (Salim, 1987:xvi-xvii).

Despite of the existing reorientations, the adopted development models largely ignored the sustainability of the environment. Consequently, even though there was a noticeable achievement in promoting higher per capita income, the development has also inflicted serious damage to the environment, apart from causing striking income gap both domestically and internationally (Hadad, 2016:7-10). There are a great number of illustrations showing the environmental destructions occurring in Indonesia during the development era in the forms of deforestation, soil and coral reefs damage, water, air and pollutions, and biological diversity loss (Keraf, 2010:27-52) The growing environmental problems indicated that the earlier development model suffered from what is called as the absence of solidarity with nature or environment (Dhakidae, 1994:xi). In this connection, sustainable development might be seen as representing a hope for an alternative model of development that takes the environment into account in the search for prosperity. Sustainable development is believed the most appropriate way of negotiating two different or even conflicting interests between the economy and the environment.

The deterioration of the environment raised a growing awareness that the environment should be taken into account in

the implementation of development and there is an urgent need to save the environment. The emergence of global awareness to protect the environment from further damage was marked by the formation of World Commission on Environment and Development in (WCED) in 1982. Its objective was to reconsider the ongoing development model and to propose global agenda for development. The task of the Commission was completed in 1987 and sustainable development concept was introduced. Its study and recommendations was contained in a document entitled *Our Common Future* that was submitted to the United Nations General Assembly and led to the government heads summit in the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development or the Earth Summit held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil on June 1992 (Salim, 2010:4). The summit that raised the theme of “think globally and act locally” also discussed comprehensively details of sustainable development formulated under working programs of Agenda 21 and agreed on two strategic conventions, United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity/ UNCBD and United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change/UNFCCC) (Murdiyarso, 2003:3-4; Salim 2010:4-5). Also no less important decision of the summit was the establishment of United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development/UNCSD and the initialization of the Global Environment Facility/GEF to provide assistance and to invest on activities aiming at saving the environment in the developing countries (Hadad, 2016:15). The summit put a great emphasis on multilateral spirit in overcoming the problems that emerged in carrying out the programs aiming at achieving the goals of development and protection of the environment, and also emphasizing the importance of adequate and proportional local actions in realizing the sustainable devel-

opment.

The agenda of sustainable development, however, could not be followed up immediately. The economic crisis in the 1990s impacted severely on the living conditions of people especially in the developing countries and poverty has come back to become the most important issue. The Millennium Development Goals/MDGs declared by the United Nations and adopted by the world leaders on September 2000 ranked poverty alleviation as the global first priority to achieve, and followed by human development in the second place (DESA, 2013:v-vi). The environmental agenda was again put aside. The growing awareness of the environmental problems and the emerging global agenda could not yield an immediate, real progress in the protection of the environment and conversely, the environmental problems and deterioration continue unabated. The urgency of environmental issues has been further on the decline with the rising global concern on security issues, following the 11 September 2001 terror attack striking the United States and the ensuing campaign of the so-called war on terrorism (Salim, 2010:5).

Amidst the less conducive situation, a little hope came from United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development played an active role in guarding the implementation of the Rio Declaration and Agenda 21. After a series of preparations, World Summit on Sustainable Development was held in Johannesburg, South Africa on September 2002. There were three major themes arising in the discussion, hunger and poverty eradication, a shift from environmentally unsustainable production and consumption patterns, and protection and management of natural resources used as the basis of economic and social development. The summit resulted in two official documents, political declaration on



sustainable development and plan for implementation action. The summit marked a paradigm shift in sustainable development concept. The concept adopted by the Stockholm and Rio summits focusing largely on environment and economic development without having clear priority, but the 2002 Johannesburg summit emphasized the importance of social development as one of the three main pillars of the sustainable development, together with the economy and the environment. Another new dimension arising from the Johannesburg summit was the incorporation of participation, transparency, and accountability principles (good governance) as the fourth pillar of sustainable development (Haddad, 2016:18-21).

The 2012 Earth Summit held in Rio de Janeiro indicated that there was a notable progress in popularizing sustainable development concept worldwide. It is reported that more than 45,000 participants attended the summit, and they consisted of 192 state delegates representing the members of the United Nations Organization, 120 heads of government/state, non-government organization representatives, scientists, business players, and international institutions. This reflected a big hope coming from around the world for a greener earth and the urgency for a more comprehensive plan and stronger commitment to bring it into reality. Coming out of the summit was a formulation of sustainable development goals to be used as guidance for all countries. The summit agreed to renew commitment and vision on future development stipulated in the UN General Assembly Resolution No. 66/288, 27 July 2012 and formulated as common vision of all countries in an outcome document entitled *The Future We Want*. This document emphasizes that the implementation of sustainable development concept have to overcome three main challenges of

the present and future development, including: “poverty eradication, changing unsustainable and promoting sustainable patterns of consumption and production, and protecting and managing the natural resource base of economic and social development” (cited in Hadad, 2016:22).

In formulating Sustainable Development Goals towards 2030, there are three greatest problems that received special attention, poverty in the developing countries, use of fossil energy for economic growth, and climate change. Energy and climate change became critical issues in the discussion during the 2012 Earth Summit. In this summit energy was recognized as playing a key role in the sustainable development and a golden string linking economic development, social development, and environmental protection. The summit accepted unanimously the “Sustainable Energy for All” program proposed by UN Secretary General, Ban Kin-Moon. This program outlines the use of energy for sustainable economic development integrating social development and environmental protection. Plan for sustainable development linked to economic development is called as program for green economy development. It refers to efforts made to push the economic development with clean, low carbon sources of energy, environment friendly, creating employment, eradicating poverty, and more equally improving the people’s economy (Hadad, 2016:23). The High Level Plenary Meeting of the UN General Assembly on September 2015 legalized document resolution No A/Res/70/1/ entitled *Transforming Our World: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*. The document contains a new deal to reach the targets of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in 2030, replacing the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) that ended in 2015 (Hadad, 2016:32-33).

As part of the global development, Indonesia's commitment to implement sustainable development has taken place for decades. Recognizing the importance of the environment in the economic development, the New Order government established in 1984 a special ministry handling environment issue, Ministry of Environment, under the leadership of Emil Salim. This was followed with the establishment of bureaucratic organs down to the lower administrative levels. Legal framework for the protection and management of the environment has also been prepared through the promulgation of Environmental Law No 4 of 1984, later renewed with Environmental Law No 23 of 1997. The regulation stipulated sustainable development as principle, goal, and target of the national development. A revision was again made with the promulgation of Law No. 32 of 2009. One new feature in this regulation was the adoption of good governance principle emphasizing participation, transparency, accountability, and justice in the protection and management of the environment (Haddad, 2016:23-29).

The revision was also seen as necessary to due to the growing need for a regulation dealing with the protection of the environment, not merely the management of the environment. The protection aspect is strongly emphasized given the worsening environmental deterioration. Under the new regulation the Ministry of Environment is also given the authority to take legal action against environmental cases to the court (Keraf, 2010:169-171). At the societal level, the growing number of non-governmental organizations and forums focusing on environment issues including WALHI, YLBHI, JATAM and many more working both at national and regional scopes provides means of fulfilling participation principle towards the implementation of sustainable de-

velopment goals (Situmorang, 2013: 222-243; Nawiyanto and Wasino, 2019, forthcoming).

Under the Yudhoyono administration, the implementation of sustainable development was translated into what is called “Four Line Development Strategy”: pro-growth, pro-job, pro-poor and pro-environment”. This agenda was used as guidance in formulating National Long-term Development Plan 2005-2025, later stipulated in Law No 17 of 2007 that contains eight visions of national development, of which two reflecting sustainable development principle and visions. In the Middle-term National Development Plan II, 2015-2019, sustainable development is also in the list of 14 national priority programs relating to protection of the environment and disaster control, including climate change mitigation and improvement of environmental quality.

Meanwhile, under Joko Widodo government, the sustainable development goals are incorporated in the three missions of the national development 2015-2019 regarding the realization of just and even development distribution, beautiful and sustainable Indonesia, independent, developed and strong archipelagic nation. Articles about sustainable development goals are listed in Post 2015 Development Agenda and Climate Change (Presidential Regulation No. 16 of 2015 on Ministry of the Environment and Forestry) (Hadad, 2016: 24-26). In realizing the sustainable development goals, there are several key interrelated issues Indonesia needs to deal with.

First, Indonesia’s population continues to grow rapidly, as elsewhere especially in the developing countries (the South). The rising population size puts heavier pressure on the food supplies, which leads to the higher risks of hunger, deepening poverty, and worsening environmental degradation.

Second, the industrialization results in both economic growth and worsening pollutions of the environment. As happening in the industrialized countries of the North, the industrialization in Indonesia and other developing nations of the South will also lead to the growing problems of air water and soil pollutions, especially in urban areas that continue to expand. Meanwhile, the capability to overcome the pollution problems in Indonesia and in the South is lower due to the lack of commitment, fund, and technology.

Third, environmental deterioration stemming from the over-use of the natural resources and climate change would lead to worsening poverty and famine, which in turn sparks off social discontent and conflicts. The necessary transformation from highly polluting and un-renewable fossil fuel sources of energy in the form of oil and coal to a more renewable and environmentally friendly energy such as solar, wind, waves, geothermal, and bio energy as part of key measure to mitigate the environmental problems face serious obstacles in the form of insufficient technologies, fund and human resources.

To tackle these issues, it requires a strong commitment of the government and the related parties to allocate and use effectively the available resources and capacities to control population growth, to promote sustainable agriculture and food production, to promote clean and renewable sources of energy, and also to nurture environmentally friendly social behaviors and culture. The ability of the government to find out its own financing sources is also increasingly of importance because the official development assistance provided by the developed countries (the North) is insufficient (Bahagijo, 2016:46). The amount of assistance funds has always been far below the agreed commitment. Given the hercu-

lean task of protecting the environment and ensuring its sustainability in the context of reaching sustainable development goals, a synergy involving the government, public and private sectors mitigation and adaptation programs provides an alternative financing source (Sitorus, 2016:100). Also no less important is a strong commitment in the field of law enforcement against actions that damage the environment. Without adequate and firm legal actions against both corporate and individual actors responsible for the environmental damage, irresponsible practices and behaviors that are environmentally damaging would not stop and even spread more widely (Keraf, 111-122).

### **Concluding Remarks**

This paper has indicated the close link between environment issues and sustainable development. The growing global environmental problems serve as the underlying and most fundamental cause of the pursuit of sustainable development. The fast growing population size and industrial expansion with improved technologies since the industrial revolution have increased the ability of human to change the environment. As the use of environmental resources continue to accelerate worldwide, the deleterious effects of humans on the environment from resources extractions, industrial processing, and large scale product consumption on the environment also grow rapidly. Only since the industrial revolution the world has seen rapid and large scale biodiversity erosion, ecosystem damage, natural resources depletion, and pollutions.

Its accumulative effects began to emerge and disrupt the entirely natural environment system as indicated by the widespread global-scale environmental disasters such as climatic uncertainty and global warming due largely to the anthropogenic factors,

rather than natural factors. This situation has brought about the growing awareness that humans live in a limited and vulnerable earth and there is an urgent need to find out appropriate solutions to secure humans future on earth.

The world has begun to adopt a more sustainable development and tried to arrange international framework for implementing sustainable development agenda. The world has gradually and willingly moved away from unsustainable development practices in the search for economic development and material prosperity adopted since the industrial revolution which was based on misconceptions about unlimited environmental resources and technological advances as a panacea for all problems that occur in the process. The global framework for sustainable development has been laid and continuously improved to accommodate aspirations of all related parties. This is surely a significant achievement. But as historical experiences with development in the last five decades have shown, moving together towards the desired sustainable goals is uneasy process. This is due not only to the conflicting interests between the developed countries (the North) and the developing countries (the South) concerning who has the responsibility and how the responsibility is shared, but also internal conflicts among different parties within each individual country.

In the implementation, sustainable development could have different meanings for different parties. There are contest for and even conflict over what is regarded as sustainable. But no matter how difficult it is in reconciling the conflicting interest, achieving sustainable development goals is a must-realized agenda for saving the environment and for the goodness and prosperity of humans and all creations on earth. Sustainable development agenda is a matter of death or alive. Therefore, all countries and nations

need to reaffirm their strong commitments and mobilize all the available means and resources they have for jointly realizing the sustainable development goals.

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Books Chapter  
**ON ASIAN NETWORK  
AND SOCIAL CHANGE**

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# The Archetype of Altruistic Leader: Exploring Leadership Values of Indonesian Ramayana

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## Abstract

This article explores the archetype of an altruistic leader based on the critical reading of the nine values of Indonesian Ramayana. Indonesian Ramayana consists of paradoxical meanings: wisdom and domination. Critical reading dismantles the meaning of the texts by three layers of analyses. The critical interpretation reveals the textual and contextual meaning of the texts; deconstruction process disengages the desire to dominate, and reflection of the values into a new meaning. We found that Indonesian Ramayana contains nine values of altruistic leader, encompassing competency (*Indra*), ethical (*Yamābrata*), charismatic (*bhatāra Rawi*), integrative (*Śaśibrata*), collaborative (*Hanin*), knowledgeable (*Barunā*), transformative (*Agni*) pluralistic (*Prēthiwi*), and philanthropic (*Bāyubrata*). Those values can be categorized into four intertwined dimensions: self-dimension, social dimension, transformational dimension, altruistic dimension. The basic construction of the altruistic leader is self-dimension and social-dimension as the part of personal element of a leader. By using those elements, the leader can foster transformations and wealth of society.

**Keywords:** Leader, Altruistic leader, Indonesian Ramayana.

## Introduction

Auguste Comte introduced altruism as a term to define sympathetic and benevolent feelings of a human.<sup>1</sup> Altruism consists of logos, ethos, and pathos of human life that prioritizes the interests and welfare of others.<sup>2</sup> In the eyes of altruism, the main object of human life is not only limited to pursue personal achievement but also promote the wealth of society.<sup>3</sup> On the subject of leadership, an ideal leader is mostly represented in the term of altruistic leader. Altruistic leader can be defined as the figure of a leader who emphasizes charity, cooperation, service behavior, and empowering others as his main objectives.<sup>4</sup> Altruistic leader accentuates selflessness and social awareness, which is representing an essential element of an ideal leader.<sup>5</sup>

In the modern world, the existence of humanity needs the figure of an altruistic leader.<sup>6</sup> Modernity generates problems that are visions of modern humans: individualism and extreme humanism. In the eyes of Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, individualism comes from the mechanism of the modern world.<sup>7</sup> The modern world designs the human to perceive personal growth and self-achievement as the main object of human life. This perception relates to the demands of the modern economic and political system.

1 Comte, A. (1875). *System of Positive Polity*. London: Longmann.

2 Nagel, T. (1978). *The possibility of altruism*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, see also Jencks, C. (1990). *Varieties of altruism*. In J. Mansbridge, *Beyond self-interest*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

3 Scott, N., & Seglow, J. (2007). *Altruism*. New York: Open University Press.

4 Sosik, J., Jung, D., & Dinger, S. (2009). Values in authentic action examining the roots and rewards leadership. *Group & Organizational Management*, 34(4), 395-431.

5 Zaccaro, S., Kemp, C., & Bader, P. (2004). Leader Traits and Attributes. In J. Antonakis, A. Cianciolo, & R. Sternberg, *The Nature of Leadership* (pp. 101-124). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

6 Scott, N., & Seglow, J. (2007). *Altruism*. New York: Open University Press.

7 Beck, U., & Beck-Gernsheim, E. (2002). *Individualization: Institutionalized Individualism and its Social and Political Consequences*. London, Thousand Oaks, & New Delhi: Sage Publication.

At the same moment, the paradigm of extreme humanism arises. Extreme humanism can be defined as a paradigm that perceives humans as the center of the universe. This paradigm posits nature as the object of exploitation and causes a deterioration of the earth's psychical condition.<sup>8</sup> No doubt, those problems are resulting in negative impacts on the leadership paradigm: the changing of leadership vision and the decrease of the social awareness of the leader.

Based on those problems, it is necessary to analyze the theory and practices of the altruistic leader. Some of the researchers believe that altruism values embedded in the ancient manuscript. This approach led the researcher to use ancient manuscripts as their research base. They found that the ancient manuscript, such as Bhagavad Gita<sup>9</sup>, eight-fold path of Buddhism<sup>10</sup>, and Ramayana<sup>11</sup>, contained altruism values that are useful in constructing altruistic leadership. In line with that approach, this article analyzes the altruism values of Indonesian Ramayana. Based on those backgrounds, this article elucidates an archetype of an altruistic leader based on critical reading of Indonesian Ramayana. Critical reading of nine values is essential in reconstructing the altruism values of Indonesia Ramayana. Thus, the values become more relevant and meaningful for today. On the other side, it will contribute to the development of theory and practices of leadership, particularly as a guiding-principle to maintain a contemporary leader in becoming an altruistic leader.

8 Gosling, D. L. (2001). *Religion and Ecology in India and Southeast Asia*. London & New York: Routledge.

9 Sinha, A. K., & Singh, S. (2014). Virtues of Wise Leaders: Message from Bhagavad Gita. *Purushartha*, 6(2), 1-13.

10 Shree, S., & Sharma, L. (2014). The Eightfold Path of Buddhism for an Effective Credible Leadership. *Purushartha*, 7(1), 52-62.

11 Pathak, P., Singh, S., & Anshul, A. (2016). Modern Management Lessons from Ramayana. *Purushartha: A Journal of Management, Ethics, and Spirituality*, 9(1), 52-56.

## Indonesian Ramayana

In the mid of eight century, Valmiki's Ramayana was rewritten into the Indonesian version by anonymous poets of Mataram-Hindu Kingdom. The storyline of Indonesian Ramayana is similar to Valmiki's Ramayana.<sup>12</sup> The story told about the epic story of Rama, provides exceptional values encompassing *Dharma Sastra*, *Artha Sastra*, *Niti Sastra*.<sup>13</sup> The story also contains exceptional values such as courage, knowledge, strong-will, and the lesson of good governance, strategic management, and effective human resource management.<sup>14</sup>

The differences between Indonesian Ramayana and Valmiki's Ramayana lies in the simplified and additional parts of the stories.<sup>15</sup> *Caturwingsati Sarggah* was one of the additional parts of the story.<sup>16</sup> After Ravana's death, Rama advised Wibisana to strengthen his faith and rebuild Lenka. Nine deities symbolize the advice: *Indra*, *Yamābrata*, *bhatāra Raawi*, *Śaśibrata*, *Hanin*, *Bāyubrata*, *Barunā*, *Agni*, and *Prēthiwi*.<sup>17</sup> Those nine values are indivisible and exist within the king. The story told that a king is deities' incarnation; so as a result, he also owns deities' attributes.

12 Santoso, S. (1980). Indonesian Ramayana: Ramayana Kakawin, Volume 1 - 3. Singapore & New Delhi: ISEAS & IAIC.

13 Fang, L. Y. (2013). A history of classical malay literature. Jakarta: YOI & ISEAS.

14 Pathak, P., Singh, S., & Anshul, A. (2016). Modern Management Lessons from Ramayana. *Purushartha: A Journal of Management, Ethics, and Spirituality*, 9(1), 52-56.

15 Santoso, S. (1980). Indonesian Ramayana: Ramayana Kakawin, Volume 1 - 3. Singapore & New Delhi: ISEAS & IAIC, see also Haryono, T. (2006). The Ramayana in Archaeological and Historical Perspective: From Akhyana to Natya. In T. S. et.al, *Archaeology: Indonesian Perspective*. Jakarta: Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia.

16 Haryono, T. (2006). The Ramayana in Archaeological and Historical Perspective: From Akhyana to Natya. In T. S. et.al, *Archaeology: Indonesian Perspective*. Jakarta: Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia.

17 Hooykaas, C. (1956). Vibhisana's Succession in Lanka; A Passage on Nitisastra in the Old Javanese Ramayana Kakawin. *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, 4, 338-344, see also Khanna, V., & Saran, M. (1993). The Ramayana Kakawin: A Product of Sanskrit Scholarship and Independent Literary Genius. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde*, 2, 226-249.



It means that the nine deities always surround the king. The king must cherish those deities' representations to create unequal power and harmonize the kingdom.

### **Critical Reading of Nine Values of Indonesia Ramayana**

Indonesian Ramayana was written in the early era of feudalism in Indonesia. In the feudal political system, the nine values inside of Indonesian Ramayana present a guideline in becoming an ideal king. Moreover, the king also used the values to conquer and rule the universe. It means that those values contain the will to dominate and conquer others. The question arises; how the nine values of Indonesian Ramayana with its feudal natures can be relevant for contemporary leaders. We perceive that the values must be reconstructed. Reconstruction is not only intended to revive the original meaning but also demands a process to reinvent the meaning of the nine values including deconstruction, reconstruction, and transformation. We used Soewito Santoso's (1980) translated version of Indonesia Ramayana as a corpus of analysis.<sup>18</sup> The method of critical reading of Indonesia Ramayana consists of three layers of analyses: critical reading and interpretation to reveal textual and contextual meanings, disengagement, the desire to dominate, and transforming the values into a new meaning. These processes will dismantle the nine values of Indonesian so that it will be more relevant to contemporary needs.

### **The meaning of the Nine Values of Indonesian Ramayana**

As we mentioned before, Indonesian Ramayana consists of a paradoxical meaning and values. In the textual aspect, Indonesia Ramayana consists of exceptional values, encompassing

18 Santoso, S. (1980). Indonesian Ramayana: Ramayana Kakawin, Volume 1 - 3. Singapore & New Delhi: ISEAS & IAIC

*Darma Sastra, Artha Sastra, Niti Sastra.*<sup>19</sup>If we see the context of the story, the meaning also consists of a will to dominate others. A will to dominate others came from the contextual aspect of the story. Aichele stated that Indonesian Ramayana was full of political motifs.<sup>20</sup> In the mid eight century, the condition of Mataram-Hindu Kingdom was under internal friction. In the eye of Walter J. Ong, those internal frictions drove the process of production and reproduction of text.<sup>21</sup> Therefore, we must place the Indonesian Ramayana in this context. The presence of the nine values of Indonesia Ramayana was to help the king accomplish the stabilization of the Kingdom by conquering the other. Among those paradoxical aspects, critical reading dismantles the meaning and, at the same time, diminishes the will to dominate the text. The section below reveals the meaning of nine values of Indonesian Ramayana.

### **Self-dimension**

Self-dimension of an altruistic leader consists of three elements namely competency, ethic, and charisma. The importance of competency can be found in the representation of *Indra*. Indonesian Ramayana represents *Indra* as a deity of generosity giving rain to satisfy the world. The commendable representation of *Indra* relates to the feudal political system in the mid of eight century Java. In the feudal political system, generosity is the fundamental value and capital of the kings to conquer the world. Indonesian Ramayana states “This is the meritorious act of Indra ... He gives rain to the satisfaction of the world. You should take *Indra* as an

19 Fang, L. Y. (2013). A history of classical malay literature. Jakarta: YOI & ISEAS.

20 Aichele, W. (1969). Vergessene Metaphern als Kriterien der Datierung des altjavanischen Rāmāyaṇa. *Oriens Extremus*, 16(2), 127-166.

21 Ong, W. J. (1980). Literacy and orality in our times. *Journal of Communication*, 30(1), 197-204.

example and carry out his acts. Generosity is your rain overflowing the world.” Based on the nature of *Indra*, we could mention that generosity is the basic construction of a king. In the modern world, there are many capitals that can be used to become leaders. The authors believe that personal competency becomes the most essential element of a leader. In this term, personal competency refers to intelligence, knowledge, attitude, and other valuable skills, which are fundamental, construct the self-ability of the leader. The competencies promote the leader as a prominent actor in the organization or society. Based on its importance, the leaders should consider finding and improving their unique abilities through learning and experiences.

The second element of self-dimension is ethics. The representation of ethics can be found in the *Yamābrata*, the deity of death. *Yamābrata* represents the will to punish evildoers. *Yamābrata* refers to the king’s role in eliminating wrongdoers and secures the kingdom. Indonesia Ramayana states “The meritorious act of Yama is punishing the evildoers. He punishes the thieves after they are dead. You should also punish the wrongdoers. Whoever gives trouble to the world should be eliminated”. The representation of *Yamābrata* encourages contemporary leaders to have an ethical mind, ethical personality, and ethical behavior. Ethics refers to respect for fairness, honesty, the ethical and moral responsibility of a leader. The leader is using ethics in distinguishing between good and evil. Ethics will prevent the leader from becoming an unethical leader who has low self-esteem, pursues self-interest, and causes unethical behavior or power abuse. Reflecting from Ramayana, the leader should consider spirituality and religious aspect as a determining factor in the ethics construction.

The third element of self-dimension is charisma of a lead-

er. Charisma is represented by *Rawi*, the sun deity who slowly absorbs water. The representation of *Rawi* obliges the kings to be gentle and not suppressing people. *Rawi* is the sun god who possesses people by his hospitality and wisdom. The representation of *Rawi* obliges the king to be gentle and not suppressing people. Indonesian Ramayana represent *Rawi* as “The sun god always absorbs the water, slowly not forcefully, if you have to take obtain, you should do it the way the sun does, in a gentle way.” In the modern world, *Rawi* encourages the leader to be charismatic. Charisma refers to the leader’s inspirational ability to influence people. The leader’s charisma is not used to gain personal power or dominate others but to get respect and people’s loyalty. Therefore, leaders must give a good example and be consistent in their daily activity as a way to build charisma.

Three elements of self-dimension become essential as the foundation of altruistic leaders. Instead of collecting the richness, the altruistic leaders tend to improve their personal competencies. The altruistic leader must have an ethical mind to be able to differ between the good and the bad. In this term, religion takes an important role to sustain the ethical mind of leaders. Moreover, altruistic leaders also have a good charisma to bind the trust and respect from the other. These three elements support the leader to achieve social-dimension.

### **Social-dimension**

Social-dimension consists of two elements namely integrative skills and collaborative skills. The first element of social dimension is integrative skill. The integrative skill can be found in the representation of Śaśibrata. Śaśibrata is the moon deity who brings happiness to the world. Śaśibrata is the moon god who il-

luminates the kingdom through his tender light. Śaśibrata represents the kindness and tenderness of the kings to all living things. The light of Śaśibrata is reflecting compassion, tenderness, and forgiveness of the kings in uniting the Kingdom. Indonesian Ramayana represents Śaśibrata “The meritorious deed of Śaśibrata is to make the world happy. Your conduct should show kindness and tenderness. Your smile should be sweet like nectar, honor your elders and wise people and be kind to them.” In the context of the modern world, Śaśibrata refers to the ability of the leader to integrate people into one collective vision. The integration of visions will cultivate a consensus in an organization or society that will become a fundamental aspect of people’s collaboration. The leader’s integrative ability can be developed by a clear vision, recognition of other’s visions, and shared commitment.

The second element of social-dimension of collaborative skill in Indonesian Ramayana represents the collaborative skills in *Hanin*. *Hanin* is the wind-deity that represents the will to investigate the behavior of others unobtrusively and adequately. *Hanin* has a nature to investigate people’s behavior unobtrusively and adequately. The *Hanin* investigation makes the kingdom’s elements work correctly and stabilize the kingdom. Indonesian Ramayana represents *Hanin* “You should act like Hanin, when you are investigating the conduct and behavior of other people. Your investigation should be carried out unobtrusively and adequately.” Based on the commendable representation of *Hanin*, the leader in the modern world should be able to collaborate with other interests. The collaborative ability refers to the hospitality, transparency, and diplomacy of the leader. Collaborations grow from the leader’s ability to acknowledge the different interests within the organization and society. The role of the leader is to find the resemblances

of people's interests and then binding them into a mutual collaboration. It has a function to provide equality and justice by giving mutual benefits to peoples. Thus, people will reach their interests collectively.

Based on the elements of social-dimension, the altruistic leader should be able to integrate people's interest. The leader should have a clear vision in directing society. After integrating the people, the leader can make collaboration among people to achieve collective interest. This social dimension becomes essential as the capital to transform the society.

### **Transformative dimensions**

Transformative dimensions consist of two elements namely knowledgeable and transformative vision. The first element of transformative dimensions is being knowledgeable. This nature can be found in *Barunā*. *Barunā* is the deity who always holds exceptionally deadly weapons. The weapons used to punish wicked people and defend the kingdom's prosperity, as well as to strengthen the position of the king. It means that *Barunā* does not give freedom to wicked people. Nevertheless, at the same time, weapons are used by the kings to dominate people. The representation of *Barunā* in Indonesian Ramayana is "*Barunā* holds an extremely deadly weapon, the snake-arrow which can tie up. You should take as an example the merit of this snake-arrow that is you should give no freedom to the wicked people." In the opposite, the weapons of modern world leaders are knowledge. Knowledge refers to the leader's theoretical and practical understanding of subjects, which he acquired through learning and experience. Knowledge will develop the personal skill of the leader and, on the other side, will empower collective endurance under future challenges and

transformational purposes. Therefore, a leader needs to be knowledgeable.

The second element is transformative vision. Transformative vision can be seen in Agni, the deity of fire. Agni is the representation of a fire element, which means a sign of courage and determination in facing enemies. Agni represents alertness and courage in facing the enemy and future challenges. The nature of Agni hints that the king should be brave in facing future challenges. Indonesian Ramayana represents Agni, “The meritorious act of Bhani is that he always burns up the opposition. Your aversion to the enemy is the fire, whomever you attack, he must be crushed. That is what you call the meritorious act of Agni.” In the modern world, being brave in facing challenges is a representation of transformative ability. Transformative ability refers to the leader’s will and skill to generate progress in an organization or society. The leader could generate the transformative ability by persuasiveness, motivation, and intellectual stimulation.

Knowledgeable and transformative vision becomes essential to create transformation in society. Knowledge plays an important role in predicting future conditions of society as the basis of transformative actions. Meanwhile, transformative vision can be referred to as an action to actualize progress in society. This becomes important to foster the progress of society.

### **Altruistic dimensions**

Altruistic dimensions consist of two elements namely pluralistic and philanthropic. The nature of pluralism can be found in *Prēthiwi*. *Prēthiwi* is the earth-god representing the king’s attempt to assist the world and follow the enthusiasm of the good-hearted people. Indonesian Ramayana mentioned that the com-

mendable representation of *Prēthiwi* is genuinely very hard. The king should equally love his people without exception. Indonesian Ramayana represents *Prēthiwi* :

“The meritorious acts of the Earth are genuinely very hard.  
You should love people without exception and equally.  
You have to look after the weal and woe of the world.  
The earth is forbearing; she even bears the high mountains

You have genuinely attempted to assist the world,  
follow the enthusiasm of the kind-hearted people.  
They do not look for wealth, sensual pleasures, or fame.  
This is the faculty of the intellectual, the protector of the religious Law.

If you can follow their example, you will become the pillar of the world.  
Be attentive and look after the rules set out by Manu,  
which has as its purpose to reduce the sinful people,  
and to achieve the sympathy of the people. “

In the modern world, the representation of *Prēthiwi* reflects pluralism values. Pluralism contains tolerance and respect that creates coexistence. Pluralism refers to the leader`s awareness to acknowledge the diversity within society.

The second element of altruistic dimension is philanthropic. The value of philanthropic can be seen in *Bāyubrata*. *Bāyubrata* represents the simplicity of the king. Following *Bāyubrata*, the kings are obliged not to be too excessive in his amusing and luxurious life. According to the nature of *Bāyubrata*, the king is forbidden to pursue pleasure and luxurious things. *Bāyubrata* obliges the king to share the wealth of the kingdom to fulfill people`s needs. The sharing mechanism provides people`s loyalty to the king that



is used to sustain the unity of the kingdom. Indonesian Ramayana represents *Bāyubratais* “that is the excellent and subtle meritorious act of Bayu. Enjoy the pleasures and luxuries of life, but do not overdo eating, drinking, dressing, wearing ornaments, and jewelry. That is the meritorious act of Dhanada, which should be taken as an example.” In the modern world, the sharing mechanism is associated with the philanthropic concept. In this concept, the leader should fulfill people’s needs without asking for compensation. The leader should realize that the welfare of others is the leadership responsibility. Thus, the leader will have an altruistic leadership.

### **The Archetype of altruistic leader**

Based on the critical reading of nine values of Indonesia Ramayana, we could sketch a path to the altruistic leader. A path of altruistic leader consists of four dimensions: self-dimension, social dimension, transformative dimension, and altruistic dimensions. Self-dimension is a leader’s self-ability, which consists of a commendable representation of competence, charisma, and ethics. The social dimension is a leader’s ability to utilize his self-dimension for the social aspect, consisting of integrative and collaborative abilities. The transformative dimension is a leader’s ability to make changes in a society based on knowledge and transformative ability.

Meanwhile, the altruistic dimension is the peak of leadership elements, consisting of the pluralistic and philanthropic. The four dimensions are interrelated and complement each other in constructing a path to the altruistic leader. The altruistic values of Indonesian Ramayana are similar to the values of another ancient manuscript. The similarity shows in the leadership elements,

the hierarchical pattern, and the leader's main objectives. In the context of the leadership element, the nine values of Indonesian Ramayana are identical to *Bhagavad Gita's* values. *Bhagavad Gita* also emphasize the self, social, transformational values, such as *abhayam* or fearlessness; *sattva-samsudbhi* or purity of one's existence; *Jnana yoga vyavastithi* or established in knowledge; *dana* or service with love; *yagna* or collectivism; *svadhaya* or self-study; *arjava* or simplicity; *satyam* or truthfulness; *daya* or empathy; and *natimanita* or non-egoist.<sup>22</sup>

Meanwhile, the hierarchical pattern of the nine values of Indonesian Ramayana is similar to *Jnana's* view of modern management and Yoga's concept. Anin do Bhattacharjee described six hierarchical levels of *Jnana*: knowledge creation (*jnana sris-ti*), knowledge acquisition (*jnana prāpti*), knowledge transfer (*jnana parivahana*), knowledge sharing (*jnana sababhājana*), open innovation (*muktanavaracanā*) and spiritual congruence (*ādhyātmikasāmanjaysa*). The six levels of *Jnana* start from the self-management level and transform gradually to the universal SELF-level.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, Datta S. Taware, Sony Kumari, K.B. Akhiles, and H.R. Nagendra offered the same argument. They describe four Yoga dimensions: *Jnana Yoga*, *Karma Yoga*, *Bhakti Yoga*, and *Raja Yoga*, which are constructed by self, purification, emotional culture, and will power elements. In this concept, the existence of the *Jana Yoga* dimension is reflecting the self-management level. Those two ancient manuscripts reflect the hierarchical pattern of leadership development, starting from self-man-

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22 Sinha, A. K., & Singh, S. (2014). Virtues of Wise Leaders: Message from Bhagavad Gita. *Purushartha*, 6(2), 1-13.

23 Bhattacharjee, A. (2011). Modern management through ancient Indian wisdom: towards a more sustainable paradigm. *Purushartha: A Journal of Management Ethics and Spirituality*, 4(1), 14-37.

agement to the social-management of the leader.<sup>24</sup>

On the subject of the leader's objectives, the path to the altruistic leader is similar to *Arthasashtra* and *Bhagavad Gita*. The resemblances are found in the leader's objectives to reach the welfare of others. Based on the Rishi Manrai and Utkars Goel research, *Arthasashtra*'s values ensure the welfare of the stakeholders.<sup>25</sup> Meanwhile, Sarvesh Satija depicted the leadership lesson of *Bhagavad Gita* encompassing: leadership challenges, maintaining one's proper role and duties, proactive, self-sacrifice, and the greater good, maintaining followers to attain a higher level and commitment to work.<sup>26</sup> It means that those ancient manuscripts put the other welfare as the main objectives of the leader.

The resemblances between the nine values of Indonesian Ramayana and other manuscripts give a clear vision about the construction of an altruistic leader. The essential elements of an altruistic leader are self-dimension, consisting of valuable skills and moral aspects. The further element is a social dimension. In the social dimension, the leader must integrate the vision of people and collaborate people's interests into mutual collaboration. After that, the leader has a responsibility to lead the progress of the organization and society. Furthermore, the leader should acknowledge the diversity in organization and society by giving love to people without exception. The leader also has a responsibility to fulfill people's needs without asking for compensation to promote the welfare of others. It means that the leaders reach the philanthropic dimension that provokes the leader to give priority

24 Taware, D. S., Kumari, S., Akhiles, K., & Nagendra, H. (2017). Conceptual Exploration of Leadership Phenomenon Through Vedanta Model of Leadership. *Purushartha*, 9(2), 91-101.

25 Manrai, R., & Goel, U. (2017). Stakeholders' Welfare and Arthasashtra: Learning for Modern Business Management. *Purushartha*, IX(2), 83-90.

26 Satija, S. (2011). Vision and Leadership in Organization: An Insight with Indian Perspective. *Purushartha*, 4(1), 62-73.

to others. Thus, the leaders will be an altruistic leader.

## **Conclusion**

Critical reading of the nine values of Indonesian Ramayana generated an archetype of the altruistic leader. The altruistic leader can be categorized into four dimensions: self-dimension includes competency, ethics, and charisma; the social dimension includes integrative and collaborative; transformational dimension includes knowledgeable and transformative, and altruistic dimension includes pluralistic and philanthropic. This finding confirmed other research of altruistic leaders: the main objective of the leaders is not only to pursue self-interest but also to create the welfare of others. A path of altruistic leader reflects that a theoretically altruistic leader is constructed by intertwining elements, from self-dimension, social dimension, and transformational dimension. This impact on the practical aspect: the development of an altruistic leader should be starting from self-dimension, the social dimension, and the transformative dimension to reach the altruistic leader. Thus, future work should be to present a leadership development model based on altruism values in an ancient manuscript.

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Books Chapter  
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# **Discrimination in Education and Its Implication for the Nationalism in Malaya 1900-1957**

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## **Introduction**

Malaya (Malaysia) historically received a western education system began in the Straits Settlements in 1826. Straits Settlement comprising Penang, Malacca and Singapore established in 1826 has become a British colony. There are also some areas in the Malay Archipelago ever administered by the Straits Settlements. The regions are Labuan Island (Malaysia), Christmas Island (Indonesia) and Cocos Island (Australia). J.Kennedy (1970, page 103) states:

“The East India Company decided to unite the administration of three settlements, so in 1826 Malacca and Singapore became dependencies of the Presidency of Penang”.

In the Straits Settlements the school system began in the western way. Before the school in the western system, Malays make Islamic schools unofficially as a way of educating the Malays to become educated people can practice the religion and way of life based on Islamic values. In the Straits Settlement are Malay schools and English schools provided by the British Colonial. By the 1870s, the influence of British foothold also in Malay States comprises the states of Perak, Selangor, Negeri Sembilan and Pahang. J.Kennedy (1970, page 145)) states:

The year 1874 marked the introduction of British administrators into three Malay states, and British advice and protection

was extended later to other states. The traditional policy of the English East India Company, ever since the first negotiations for Peneng, had been opposed to any active interference either in, or on behalf of, a Malay State.

This is the beginning of vernacular Malay, Chinese and Indian (Tamil). In addition to vernacular schools, the British Colonial also provided English stream schools especially in urban areas. Many English schools were established by Christian missionaries. British colonial Elite School also provides for the Malay aristocracy to become an administrator in the British colonial administration in Malaya. By the year 1896, Malaya consists of three administrative areas of the Straits Settlements, Federated Malay States and the States of the Non-Federated Malay States. Until Malaya gained independence in 1957, the British education system does not see the problems faced by the people of Malaya through centric administration system of divide and rule. This situation makes the situation in Malaya faced with a society that is hard to put together.

### **Development of Education in Malaya**

Imperialism in Malaya led to the development of secular education for indigenous children and children of workers (immigrants) brought in by the British Colonial in Malaya. The development of secular education emphasized on worldly matters beginning in the Straits Settlements. At that time, the education systems provided by the British Colonial include Malay schools and English schools. British Colonial honor of the Malays on behalf of the indigenous population.

Therefore, they feel the need for Malays were given basic education to enable them to master the things of the world that

includes the ability to read, write and count. However, due to the Straits Settlements with a multi-racial population composition, more schools using English as the medium of instruction were established. The Straits population benefited from the English and Malay schools also receive Malay vernacular school-based education. In the 1870s, the British Colonial policy has expanded its power in the Malay states of Perak, Selangor, Negeri Sembilan and Pahang. Chai Hon-Chan (1964, page 126) states:

At the time of British intervention in Malaya, the principle that it was the duty of the State to educate its citizens was widely accepted in Europe; England signified her acceptance of this responsibility by passing the Elementary Education Bill of 1870. In the Malay State, however, the primary duties of the Residents during the first decade of British rule were to maintain law and order, to systematize the State finances and to create an honest administration out of the chaos that existed before.

The mastery of the Malay states caused education developed to enable progress to be improved thinking. By 1896, the states were united under a central Administration or Federalism. Federalism is known as the Federated Malay States. While other states in Malaya classified as unfederated Malay states such as Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and Terengganu. Therefore, by the 20th century, is administered under the Malaya Straits (Straits Settlements), Federated Malay States (Federated Malay States) and Unfederated Malay States. An important aspect left by the British Colonial is an education system that allows various aspects of social, economic and political retain administrative system way west after Malaya achieved independence in 1957, better known as the Federation of Malaya became independent before becoming in 1964 which includes a combination of state Sabah and Sarawak.

## Malay Vernacular Schools

Vernacular education means education according to the needs of a race, that is, using the language of a race and its teachers also consist of the race itself. In Malaya there are vernacular Malay, Chinese and Tamil (Indian). British Colonial acknowledges that the Malays are the indigenous people or natives in Malaya. Awang Had Salleh (1979, page 1) states on the progress of the Malays in Malaya school:

Formal Malay secular education began as a result of the coming of the west. Prior of this, formal education of the Malays was mainly religious. In Malacca, at the beginning of the 19th Century, Lebai Abdul Razak, a Koran teacher, told Sir Stamford Raffles, "The parents of these children require that they shall first learn the Koran. Once they have mastered it, they can proceed with the Malay language.

The establishment of the vernacular schools are not considered important to the Malays because they believe what is important is that new control prior Quran can learn other things especially language. Thus, the British Colonial felt that the Malay population is special because it received the British administration in implementing political, economic and social development in Malaya. Almost centuries, consistently resisting the Malays do not apply to the British Colonial. The introduction of the Resident system in the state of Perak caused the unrest to finish.

Nevertheless, the assassination of the first British Resident J.W.W. Birch is a manifestation of dissatisfaction Malays in Perak in 1875 against British officers. However, this failed rebellion led British forces continue to gain a foothold in the Malay states through the introduction of the Residential System. This aspect is success in maintaining British colonial power until the

Second World War when Malaya fell to the Japanese. Education Act, which was introduced by the British Colonial, is an important principle of providing free education to the Malays. However, Malay vernacular schools are not formal continuation of the school has become a habit of the Malays to learn the basics of Islam. The introduction of vernacular Malay mark is given secular education that emphasizes the skills of writing, reading and arithmetic. Not much progress towards the Malay vernacular schools for the period 1878 until 1945. The Malay vernacular schools continue to be criticized because the Malays did not change much, especially in economic Malays development.

Thus, the Malay vernacular schools known as selective basis by the British Colonial for making the Malays remained in the village and continue to engage in subsistence agriculture economy. Malay vernacular schools do not provide the subject of high value curriculum and Malay children who attended the vernacular finally finished because there is no school education at the secondary level for Malay children to school studying an English but also far away from the village of Malayspeople. Students pursuing the Malay vernacular schools generally have a style of thinking that is quite closed. This is due to the lack of exposure to the reality of the progress of the world that was not disclosed to the Malays through the education system, especially the curriculum inferior. The Malay vernacular school leavers are not disclosed to master English and inability to master English menyebabkan they did not much enjoy growing employment opportunities on the basis of the British colonial economy.

### **Chinese and Indian Vernacular Schools**

The success of the British Colonial in developing the econ-

omy, especially tin and rubber caused the need for cheap labor. In the Federated Malay States of Perak, Selangor, Negeri Sembilan and Pahang is a country rich in tin, gold and berpontesi in agricultural trade. Thus, for the period of the 1870s until the Second World War, the influx of labor from China and India occurred on a large scale. This labor force is concentrated in tin mining areas and large-scale agricultural areas. By the early 20th century, there were British Colonial laws allowing women from China and India to be brought in. This has prompted the labor force in Malaya (Malaya) married and their children born in Malaya. British Colonial does not provide free school like the one provided to the Malays. Chinese and Tamil (Indian) vernacular schools developed on their own without the help of the British Colonials at an early stage.

This is because in the early stages of the British administration, only Malay and English are used as languages spoken in Malaya. Chinese vernacular schools flourished through the efforts of Chinese parents who no longer worked in the tin mines. They made it a home to teach various Chinese cultures especially the writing system and also Chinese literature to children. They describe the affairs of the Chinese community that exist in the State of China especially the Chinese religion and culture. Philip Loh Fook Seng (1975, page 41) stated that the foundation of Chinese vernacular schools in Malaya is related to the development in China.

The foundation of the Chinese Republic and the end of Manchu rule in 1911 led to an even more intense involvement of the overseas Chinese schools in the politics of China. An intense fervour of overseas Chinese patriotism oriented towards the building of a new China emanated from the Chinese School.

Teachers, management committee members and pupils cut off their queues, then regarded as a mark of subservience to the Manchu Government, to celebrate the birth of the Chinese Republic.

Therefore, Chinese vernacular schools do not teach Chinese children born in Malaya as their country of Malaya. This situation continues when the teachers who teach Chinese schools are also brought from China. Similarly, the textbooks and curriculum used in Chinese vernacular schools are also based on Chinese culture in China. Chinese vernacular schools eventually flourished as many Chinese entrepreneurs were willing to help financially for the better development of Chinese schools. By the 1920s, Chinese vernacular schools were trying to be registered but the British Colonial could not register all the Chinese schools that existed in Malaya due to the refusal of the group that established the school. For schools the Indians, workers from India brought in a big way when rubber was introduced in the Malay states on a large scale in the 1880s. Philip Loh Fok Seng (1975, page 44) states:

Like the Chinese community the Tamils showed no interest in the Malay school. For those who live near the very few English schools then in existence, and were able to afford the school fees, their children were enrol in those schools. This formed, as in the Chinese school, only a very small minority of Tamil children requiring in education.

However, the British Colonial did not provide schools for Indian children born in Malaya. Vernacular schools for Indian children were started on the initiative of rubber plantation clerks working on British-owned estates. They started lessons related to Indian culture based on Indian country. By demilian reason, there are similarities between Chinese and Indian vernacular schools due to the lack of assistance from the British Colonial govern-

ment in the early stages of its establishment. This made the development of Tamil vernacular schools (India) also difficult to control because they refused to register as required by the British Colonial. Chinese and Tamil vernacular school leavers showed their thinking style based on their country of origin and they could not recognize Malaya as their place of work and also their bloody land in the British colonial era. They just think that they have their own country and their life in Malaya is temporary. They did not felt they had any responsibility in Malaya for the period they worked in the British colonial economic sector.

### **English School**

The British colonial in an effort to strengthen its administration had provided English schools to the people of Malaya. In the early stages, many English schools were established in the Straits Settlements, especially in Penang, Melaka and Singapore. Schools that use English as a medium of instruction have many advantages over vernacular schools. The establishment of English schools in Malaya was largely driven by Christian missionaries, especially in the areas of important cities in Malaya. Among the Christian missionaries, they did not force the people of Malaya to accept Christianity even though they entered an English school. J.Kennedy (1960, page 231)) states:

Mission schools, organised mainly by the Christian Brothers, a French order of nuns (Les Socurs du Saint Enfant Jesus), and the American Methodist Church, were open in the Straits Settlements during the second half of the nineteenth century, and before the end of the century, in the Malay States.

English schools consist of two levels, namely primary and secondary levels. Therefore those who receive English education



have more opportunities to study higher than students who study in vernacular schools. Payment of fees imposed on those who enter school English quite expensive and usually among Malays do not have the ability. The British Colonialists also provided assistance to the administration of English schools either established by missionaries or established by the British Government itself.

For the period of the 19th century and half of the 20th century, English school leavers showed more opportunities for employment in various agencies owned by the British Colonial government compared to those studying in vernacular schools. There is a difference of way of thinking among English school graduates and vernacular schools. For English medium school, they are mixed with various ethnic groups, especially the Chinese, Indian, Malay and European nations. Thus the English school leavers more to support the British in Malaya.

### **Elite Schools Melayu - Malay College Kuala Kangsar (MCKK)**

One of the successes of the British Colonial maintains power rather long in Malaya (Malaya) due to efforts to preserve the traditions of the Malay community, especially the nobility. The nobles in the hierarchy of traditional Malay society are very important because the peasants are just as devoted followers without question and answer. Thus, the efforts of the British Colonialists to maintain the tradition of nobility by providing an elite education caused support for the British Colonial to be maintained. Elite School Leavers especially Malay College Kuala Kangsar in Perak showed think like the western style, especially in the administration and how to everyday life. Students MCKK in its early stages only reserved for children or the aristocratic class berketuruan and have its own title in a traditional Malay political

system. Khasnor Johan (1996, page 8) states:

The elite were divided into those of royal descent and those who were not of royal blood. Royal status which carried with it the honorific Raja, tengku, Tunku or Ungku (terms not showing differences of status but of usage largely dependent on individual state preference) is ascribed following the male line with an individual retaining his or her honorific no matter how far removed or distantly related he or she was to the reigning Ruler or Sultan and the istana (palace) or court.

Malay aristocracy was given attention by British colonial administrators because they have significant influence to control treatment groups of ordinary citizens. The purpose of the British Colonial provide Elite Schools is to enable the Malays to be involved in the British system, particularly in holding administrative posts lower levels. MCKK graduates may not equal among British officials, but with the Malays in the administration of the two classes enable the Malays of the aristocracy can follow the style of administration and culture of the west, especially in the field of administration. MCKK is on par with English schools and its teachers are not like vernacular schools.

Teachers at MCKK consist of English school graduate teachers and are administered by leaders among Europeans who have expertise in education and management. The curriculum at MCKK is quite high and uses English as the medium of instruction. There are various subjects, especially Science and Mathematics subjects studied by students at MCKK. Therefore this is what many MCKK graduates shape the political forces in Malaya when nasionalisme growing movement in Malaya, especially after the Second World War when the British Colonial dekolonialisme dealing with situation in Southeast Asia.

## **Pondok and Madrasah Schools**

The British Colonial in Malaya has introduced secular education to the people of Malaya in the context of the importance of the British Colonial administration in Malaya. However, there are also schools that are basically not supported by the British Colonial but grow in Malaya. The school is a religious school that follows the current development of modern education. In addition to private boarding schools, there are also madrasahs that provide religious education including secular subjects. In the early 20th century French intellectuals are of Arab descent who is studying in the Middle East and his return to Malaya, they were set up to teach religious education madrasah more planned.

They are the ones who started the reform ideas of social and economic aspects are geared to the interests of the Malay Muslims in order to see the various problems faced by the Malays in the early twentieth century. Those who are religiously educated show a different style of nationalism with the graduates of English and Elite Schools, especially MCKK. The outlook for the future of the country is more focused on the importance of religion in the political, economic and social systems. John Gullick & Bruce Gale (1986, page 219).

At puberty Malay boys attended a Koran class at the house of a local teacher to be taught to read the Koran (without learning the meaning of the Arabic in which it was written) and to be instructed in the basic belief and practices of Islam. A minority continued their religious studies as adults by attending a full-time students a pondok school, under the supervision of a teacher of local or regional renown.

Most graduates of boarding school students continue in the Middle East and style of thinking is more focused on the impor-

tance of religion in the life of the community. However, change in thinking is difficult to achieve because the teaching style of society is not focused on the curriculum that leads to life change based on economic, political and social change.

### **Nationalism in Malaya (Malaya) in 1900 and 1957**

In the early 20th century, the seeds of the development of nationalism in Malaya showed the efforts undertaken by the intelligence Malay Arab descent who stressed the importance of the Malays understand Islam correctly and also efforts to overcome the economic weakness that has been dominated by foreigners. Awareness about many changes is triggered by the Malay people of Arab descent who were educated in the Middle East. So clearly here, among the educated vernacular Malay and English does not trigger a change for the introduction of education in the Straits Settlements and the Malay states since the last quarter of the 19th century with the British Colonial success in providing education does not lead to resistance against the British Colonial for a period of almost half a century.

For the year 1900 until Malaya's independence, there are movements of nationalism which has a range of direction in the future of Malaya free from colonialism. In general, education has brought awareness of various new concepts in seeing the importance of race or ethnicity in an area or country. This shows among those who thought the idea if the state withdrew from the British Colonial Malaya (Malaya). N. J. Funston (1980 page 1) note that:

A glance of the communal problem in Malaysia might appear to confirm the picture. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Britain encouraged large scale immigration of Chinese and Indians in response to the labour needs of the

tin and rubber industries but regarding the immigrants as mere transient guest, made no attempt to integrate them with the indigenous community.

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Colonial in Malaya. K.J. Ratnam (1969, page 18) states:

Thus it is clear that the nationalist movement that existed in Malaya before it was divided according to race. There are no common ideals and goals. Therefore, nationalism fails to unite the people in one ambition; nationalism also fails to produce an effect that can be felt in the political process in the country.

The failure of nationalism in the context of the difficulty of uniting the leaders involved in the movement to eradicate the British colonialists was less effective. This proves that the fragmented way of thinking based on education has produced various styles of thinking to bring Malaya to a better life in the future. Education also continues to be an important issue for unity after Malaya became independent.

### **Radical Nationalism Movement in Malaya**

By 1930 until Malaya achieved independence, there were nationalist fighters in Malaya who fought radically, especially involving armed insurgency. This group consisted mostly of Malay vernacular school graduates, boarding school, and a few who follow education in English and Chinese. But in general, this group was more opposed to the British colonialists. The state of struggle involving weapons occurred in 1948 when some of them had been involved in wars with the anti-Japanese army when Malaya was ruled by Japan. The radicals initially hoped that Japan would give independence to Malaya as it did in Indonesia. On the other hand, Japan continued to colonize Malaya and showed worse atrocities, especially against the Chinese community. Thus, the radical Malay eventually allied with the Communist Party of Malaya (CPM) for removing the British in Malaya.

The courage of the radicals who fought against Japan finally

rose up against the British government because their hopes of allowing them to constitutionally constitutionally political could not be accepted by the British Government. It can be said that their courage against the British Colonial Government at that time was because they were trained by the British Government in the jungles throughout Malaya when the British Colonial against Japan. However, the defeat of Japan had the opposite effect on the radical group's desire to gain Malaya's independence which was seen to have failed. The British government returned to Malaya and enforces the Emergency Law from 1948 until 1960 in Malaya. The radical struggle in the quest for independence did not achieve its goal.

### **British Educated People and the Establishment of the United Malay National Organization (United Malay National Organization) which is Moderate and ProBritish**

Colonial British returned to Malaya with the introduction of martial law BMA (British Military Army) to curb violence in Malaya because military Malayan People's Anti-Japanese out of the woods to seek revenge against a group suspected of being proJepun when Japan ruled Malaya. This situation caused the British to enforce martial law. At the same time, those who were considered nationalists who were anti-Japanese and supported the British during World War II wanted their struggle to be recognized by the British legally or constitutionally. The main strong party in 1945 was the Malayan Communist Party (MCP) which was formed in the 1930s. Their strength was due to the fact that the army, which was mostly Chinese, had experience while fighting in the jungle and got weapons as a result of the surrender of the Japanese army into the hands of the Allies.

For the period 1945 to Malaya (Malaya) independence, nationalism movement is complex because it involves various schools of thought to see Malaya (Malaya) independence. The moderates who wanted independence under the Colonial British agreement were pioneered by the UMNO Party which eventually formed a coalition as an Alliance Party supported by the Chinese community from the MCA Party (Malaysian Chinese Association) and the Indian community from the MIC (Malayan Indian Association) party. Key figures in the Party among the Malays, Chinese and Indians are simple because their average private school educated English or Chinese. Thus, this group was more compromised with the British Colonial because they believed independence without the British was too difficult to achieve. Even political leaders who get education in English is aware of the economic importance of the British in Malaya to be protected in the event of Malaya freed. They also disagree with the group labeled by the British Colonial as those on the left seeking independence for Malaya without adhering to the British due to the rights of the Malays in Malaya.

However, due to the many Chinese who became a member of Communist Party of Malaya and protect the parties deemed anti-British, there was an attempt of the Left to accept the non-Malays to become citizens of Malaya. All movements that wanted independence without British support were doomed when the Malayan Communist Party launched an armed anti-British movement in 1948. The introduction of the Emergency Law caused any political party struggling to refuse to cooperate with the British on Malayan independence by the British Colonial. The British action without seeing the political parties selectively caused various organizations to suffer misfortune as a result of the



Emergency Law.

Many leaders considered communists were arrested, deported, and imprisoned. Many Malayan independence nationalist fighters had to flee to countries that did not have the strong influence of the British administration. Obviously, among the English-educated Malays in Malaya, especially school English and study in the United Kingdom are more likely to survive in the British protectorate. They are also mostly aristocrats who have studied at the Malay College of Kuala Kangsar who are generally educated to understand the way of life and style of British administration. James P.Ongkili (1985, page 40) states that:

The unity of the Alliance was enhanced by the need to maintain a solid front not only against overt political opponents including the Independence Malayan Party, the Pan –Malayan Islamic Party and Party Negara but also against the Malayan Communist Party which was still pursuing the objective of setting up a communist Malayan People'Republic.\

### **The Success of the Malay Political Elite**

The success of the British Colonialism in restraining those who wanted independence without the British proved that the pro-British education policy was fruitful. The leaders of political parties, especially UMNO, are among the aristocracy who have received western education and even partly studied in England. When Malaya (Malaya) are faced with a critical situation, especially those who are labeled as the opposition of the Left, those who facilitate the task of the British Colonial majority of whom are among the leaders who attended the English and British-sponsored Elite Schools.

They continue to negotiate and willing to accept various in-

structions from the British to ensure Malaya (Malaya) is in a situation of harmony. Independence who want the Malays to be more dominant advocated by those with religious, vernacular and quite a bit of schooling among the English. The ability to communicate with the British Colonial by protocol resulted in many UMNO Party leaders gaining many advantages. Thus for the period 1950 up to Tanah Melayu (Malaya) independence, nationalist movement that is the composite can be alleviated by UMNO party struggles that are proBritish and willing to accept a solution for the future of how British Malaya.

The British Colonial efforts to provide selected education and not to use clear policies led to the birth of a generation that thought based on the way they received education that was fragmented. In Malaya (Malaya) is obvious important of English dominance in economic development. This is a breakthrough in efforts to provide education to those who can be elected as master English more economic value rather than just mastering the Malay language only. This is what happened in the Malay vernacular schools not provided a subject to be studied English Malay children who live in the villages by the colonial British., K.J. Ratnam (1969 page 40), notes:

The first national organisation of Malays to be established after Second World War was the Malay Nationalist Party (Parti Kebangsaan Melayu Sa-Malaya or MNP founded by a small number of rather obscure political figures in October 1945. The existences of political parties to unite Malay founded by leaders who receive education vernacular, religious as well as a handful of English-educated, have brought a new ideology. In 1946, UMNO (United Malay National Organization) was established and on average its main leaders were English education graduates and

more similar to western way of thinking. It was this group that eventually shaped Malaya's politics during the period of Malaya's independence.

### **The Resilience of Nationalism based on ProBritish History**

By the time Malaya became independent in 1957, the solution to various political, economic and social problems were to use British administrative methods. The changes made are not so drastic. Although the national education system was enacted, the continuation of the English education system was made a priority. There are various educational developments that are still religious and secular. There has been no drastic change and the importance of English continues to be an important factor in the aspect of knowledge in education. For the last sixty years of independence of Malaya (Malaysia), the interests of the West still continues to excel in economic and social development in Malaysia. Malaysia's relations with the former colonialists continued to be good except during the era of Mahathir Mohamad becoming the Prime Minister of Malaysia in 1982.

### **Conclusion**

The development of nationalism in Malaya within the framework of independence can be illustrated through the history of education that once took place in Malaya under the British colonial administration. British success providing selected education and policy of divide and rule has helped make British Colonial Malaya successfully controlled for a period from the 19th century up to half of the twentieth century. Nationalism in Malaya is also influenced by the thinking based on the flow of education it receives.

The dominance of the English stream as well as the history of the Elite School succeeded in becoming an important legacy for the continuation of the proBritish style in various developments whether in the political, economic or social fields. It is quite difficult to make changes to get out of the old cocoon thinking to a new style of thinking because the way education is controlled is a continuation of the style left by the British Colonial. Thus, the success of western-educated people in politics in Malaysia proves that the British Colonial efforts to provide education in the context of discrimination have created a gap between groups studying in vernacular schools and English-run Elite Schools.

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Books Chapter  
**ON ASIAN NETWORK  
AND SOCIAL CHANGE**

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# THE ROLE OF Dr. B.R. AMBEDKAR IN THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA.

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## **Abstract**

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was a political leader and served as the first Minister of Law in the Council of Ministers when India became independent and formed the government of its own. He also contributed tremendously in drafting the Constitution of India as he had been appointed as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee. His contribution cannot be neglected in the mammoth task of Social Engineering in India so as to provide Honor and Dignity to each and every individual citizen of the country. He worked untiringly for the eradication of Poverty and Caste-discrimination (as India had the social system of Caste hierarchy where people born of Parents who were laborers, workers like carpenters, weavers, tanners, barbers, blacksmiths etc. were considered persons born in Lower castes who formed the marginalized groups and were treated with contempt and hatred), made several laws and efforts for the Emancipation of Women and their Empowerment.

Within the Constitution of India, through various provisions, he equipped the marginalized sections of the Indian Society who are now marching ahead in the path of Peace and Prosperity. This research paper casts a sweep over the vision and mission of this Great Humanist of India and his contribution in the Socio-Economic development of India.

**Keyword: Poverty, Caste-Discrimination, Women Empowerment, Secularism, Constitution.**

## Introduction

India, i e. *Bharat* has a long journey of its existence. Many foreign invaders came and settled in *Bharatvarsha* and adopted the Culture of India. The social formations in India has undergone several changes but the Varna system (present caste system), patriarchal system, dowry system are among the few dominant pernicious customs of the Indian Society. It was the untiring efforts of Dr. B.R.Ambedkar which highly contributed to the social and economic development of India.

A brief life span of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar – He was born in 1891 in India in Mhow (the full name of that place was Military headquarters of War). He was last child among fourteen children of a Subedar Major, named Ramji Sakpal, in the Imperial Army of India under the British Rule. He left for United States of America when he grew up on a scholarship from the Maharaja of Baroda to study the subject of Economics at Columbia University in 1913. He formed *Bahishkrut Hitkarini Sabha* where *bahishkrut* means Boycotted group and perhaps it was the first effort by the Untouchable people to name themselves. In 1935, he publicly declared that though he was born in a Hindu family and so was a Hindu by birth; he would not die as one.

Hence, **Ambedkar adopted a new religion and that religion was Buddhism.** Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was a great Thinker and had a very broad vision who greatly contributed in the Social Engineering in India. He was a great Humanist and the main founder of the Constitution of India, in which several provisions have been incorporated to provide Equality, Liberty and Justice to each and every citizen of India. His efforts are highly commendable in making India into a giant Economy treading the path of Progress and Prosperity. He proved to be a Genius, a prolific Writer, a Phi-



osopher, a Humanist, a Scholar of Law and Economics, an avid Reader and a great Social Reformer.

## **Discussion**

### **As an Educationist**

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was a scholar of versatile genius. He belonged to a low caste and suffered lots of socio-economic discriminations in his early life. But due to sheer dint of his merit, he did his research for Ph.D. and also studied Law. He had a personal collection of more than 50,000 books. He was a prolific writer and wrote in the languages like English, Hindi and Marathi as well. Some of his widely read books are:

1. *Who were the Shudras.*
2. *The Untouchables.*
3. *Castes in India—Their Mechanism, Genesis and Development.*
4. *Thoughts on Pakistan, Annihilation of Caste.*
5. *The Rise and Fall of Hindu Women—who is responsible for it?*
6. *Riddles of Hinduism etc.*

He was an eminent lawyer and an educationist and always encouraged people to study and gain knowledge. His motto was: **“Educate, Unite and Agitate.”**

### **As an Economist**

Contribution of Ambedkar in the Economic Development is highly commendable. He was the Professor of Economics and in his D.Sc. degree, his research *“The Problem of Rupee: A Historic and Analytical Study.”* was so important that later on it culminated into the guidelines of the Reserve Bank of India. He stood for Land and Agricultural Reforms. It was his efforts that materialized into Labor Laws. One of the most important was reducing

the working hour's from 14 to 8 hours and also raised his voice for the formation of Labor Unions. He stood firm for Gender Equality and vehemently strove for imparting the rights of equality to women of India. This step was a great leap to take the economy of India to a higher position. He also stood for the concept of Industrialization and Liberalization to speed up the economic development of India. The government of India has adopted the policy of liberalization recently.

**Amartya Sen, the Nobel Laureate in Economics has claimed** in one of his Lecture Session:

*“Ambedkar is my father in Economics; he is a time celebrated champion of the under-privileged. He deserves more than what he has achieved till today...His contribution in the field of Economics is marvelous and will be remembered forever...”*

### **As a Humanist**

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was a Humanist down to the core. He was deeply moved by the social evils of Caste-System and noticeability. He left no stone unturned for encouraging the people of backward communities especially the people of marginalized communities of the Indian Society to educate them and rise higher and higher in the field of economic development and thereby live comfortably and peacefully. Several Articles of the Constitution of India like Articles 14 to 18 enable the people to live with peace and dignity among all sections of the society without any discrimination on the basis of Gender, Caste and Class.

Caste System is the most unique and problematic social issue of India. People belonging to the lowest rung of the social ladder live a life of abject poverty and discriminations. Since times immemorial, they were forced to live a secluded life with the soci-

ety observing the much hatred system of noticeability. The touch or even the sight of these people was considered inauspicious by the people of so called high castes. They were not even allowed to draw water from the common well for drinking purposes. Their entry to all the temples of worship was highly restricted. Over the years, people of the untouchable communities even faced wrath of the high caste people in several other ways that culminated into violent incidents. Physical torture, amputation of limbs and even murder became common phenomenon. There was no respite for the Untouchables. It was in such circumstance, that Dr. B.R. Ambedkar came to their rescue by providing them the right to live with Peace and Dignity through various provisions of the Indian Constitution.

The contemporary social realities warrant close examination of the wide range of his topics, the width of his Vision, the depth of his Analysis, the Rationality of his outlook and the essential Humanitarian angle of his suggestions for practical actions. He denounced the perniciousness of Caste system and the Hindu scriptures that sanctioned it. His book entitled, “*Annihilation of Caste*” is a masterpiece of all his writings and it created a new interest in the life and times of one of India’s finest minds.

### **As a Feminist**

Women have been revered in Ancient Indian Culture as a manifestation of Divine Qualities. Throughout the centuries, they have been called “**the better half**” BUT in practice, women are the most deplorable lot. Condition of Women had deteriorated in the Indian Society from the Ancient period to the Modern Age because there has been a patriarchal system of the society.

The male dominated society has over the generations

clipped the wings and did not allow and encourage the women to grow and develop. Women have, mostly throughout the generations and in all caste and classes, been in a state of “Nutritional Stress” because they **eat last and they also eat less.**

If we take a trip down our memory lane and look into the past history of India, we find that the status of women was remarkably high in Ancient India. But as time passed by, it declined. Most of the women were denied Vedic Studies, although largely uneducated, training in fine arts like music, painting, dance etc. continued. Polygamy and Child marriages became the social norm. The marriageable age for the girls had been lowered to 8 or 10 years. The system of Dowry had slowly crept in and the birth of a girl child was considered a source of misery. In the Medieval period of Indian History, there was continuous influx of foreign invaders and women now onwards had to lead a secluded life under the *Purdah* system they had to be got married at a very young age.

Prior to the Nineteenth century, the women neither had the freedom nor the opportunity for the development of self-expression. The Progressive Indians, the Christian Missionaries and the British Government were the three main sources for the emancipation of the women. They tried to break the old social stigma and evils that had crept up in the Indian society and worked untiringly for the upliftment of the womenfolk. Jyotiba Phule was a pioneer in women education assisted by his wife; Savitri Phule. Efforts of Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar are also very commendable in this regard. He was the main architect in framing the Indian Constitution in which he made provisions for rights to the Indian women by framing several Articles within the Constitution. In 1948, a new and important Bill in favor of women was put up in the Parliament which was the Hindu Code Bill. Many discussions

and dissensions took place and Ambedkar tried his level best to defend the Bill. He resigned from his post as Law Minister in 1951 when the Parliament stalled this Bill drafted by him which sought to enshrine Gender Equality in the laws of Inheritance and Marriage.

The crux of the philosophy of Ambedkar on women can be inferred from one of his speeches mentioned in the book authored by him entitled **Annihilation of Caste: *I measure the progress of a community by the degree of Progress which women have achieved***".

This book was a speech that Ambedkar had prepared in 1936 for the Annual Conference of a group of reformers entitled Jat-Pat-Todak Mandal, denouncing the perniciousness of caste and Hindu scripture that sanctioned it. The Organizers of this conference requested Ambedkar to modify his speech and to cut off several points mentioned in his speech to which Ambedkar did not agree upon. This speech ultimately remained undelivered after the organizers withdrew their invitation to Ambedkar. Later Ambedkar self-published this speech itself in the form of a book entitled "Annihilation of Caste" in 1500 copies. This book perhaps is a Masterpiece of all writings of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar.

He was a feminist down to the core. His Vision and Mission in regard to Indian Women brought somersaulting changes in their rights. In the year 1955 and 1956 the proposals of provisions put up by Ambedkar were passed with majority and enacted upon., the Hindu Marriage Act, The Succession Act, Minority and Guardianship Act and the Adoption and Maintenance Act. Later also some changes have been brought about in the Hindu Law. The need of the hour is total transformation on women perception as was envisioned by the Father of Indian Constitution, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar.

The Government of India, the Social Organizations, the Non- Governmental Organizations (many funded by foreign nations) and the educated masses have taken up several plans and projects for improvement, development, and empowerment of womenfolk. The Eleventh Five Year Plan (2007-2012) had made a major commitment towards empowering women as agent of social change and economic development. The Last Five-Year Plan (2012-2017) emphasized on inclusiveness of women in the economic growth of the nation. This Inclusive growth led to reservation of women in various govt. jobs and due regards and plans for the woman staying Single. Women are marching ahead in various fields of Knowledge, Art and Science.

Women in India are no longer hesitant and apologetic about claiming a share and having a say in the family matters, at work places and at public places. Thanks to the great vision and mission of Ambedkar as all Indian women are now aware of their conditions and have realized that it's high time to break their silence in order to stop violence.

### **As a Secularist**

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was a strong Secularist to the core. He had due respect for all religions but the public have misunderstood him because the Constituent Assembly Debates (which included all the discussions and dissensions) have been archived and are not within the reach of to the common readers. In the process of debates held on Secularism in the Constituent Assembly can be categorized broadly into three main groups.

The First group of thought was that the country of Independent India would be a Secular state. The Second group of thought was that there should be recognition of Religion in the public life.

And this second group of thought disapproved of the thought of the first group that India should be a Secularist state. The Third group of thought was the best and the main stalwarts in this group were Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar . This group of thought stood for the “Middle path”, which means avoiding the extreme ideology of the other two groups of thoughts.

When an amendment in the Preamble in the Constitution of India was put forward by Mr.S.V.Kamath . This amendment was that the name of God be included in it. There was much opposition to this amendment proposed by Mr.S.V.Kamath and even ministers like Dr.Ambedkar opposed it. Mr.Kamath was requested for its withdrawal but he was very firm in his stand and refused to do so. Hence voting took place and just 41 hands were for ‘Ayes’ and there were 68 hands who voted for ‘Noes’ 10 and as a result the amendment could not be passed and in broader sense it can be considered as victory of the third group of thought to which Dr. B.R.Ambedkar also gave his full support.

Hence, finally it was decided that the vast amount of money that the government of India earned as revenue by imposing several taxes was after all the money of the people and it should not be used for fulfilling the purpose of any one of the religions being practiced in India.

Consistent with this position, Dr. Ambedkar declined to allow public expenditure by the state to support an educational institution which imparted religious education and swore that the public funds raised by the taxes shall not be utilized for the benefit of any particular community.<sup>11</sup> All this definitely goes to prove that Ambedkar was a true Rationalist and Secularist.

## Summary

After reading books and archival materials, videos and his own writings that are clubbed together and published by the Government of Maharashtra (which is a state in India), it can be strongly stated that Ambedkar's whole life was a saga of relentless struggle for honor and dignity of each and every individual, irrespective of class, caste, gender or community. To eulogize and remember Ambedkar popularly known as 'Baba Saheb', merely as a Dalit leader or Dalit Messiah is tantamount to belittle his versatile knowledge and wide understanding. In India, the term 'Dalit' is used for the oppressed and downtrodden people of the caste ridden Hindu society.

In fact, he was a scholar of many sided genius, a multi-dimensional and multifaceted personality of Modern India who actually revolutionized the entire country and its people by his thoughts, ideas, workings and writings. If the people of India fought against the foreign rule for freedom under the charismatic leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, they got Socio-Economic rights under the meticulous supervision of Baba Saheb Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar.

The need of the hour is total transformation in public perception on this great Visionary, so as to understand his Mission in reforming the social norms prevalent in India, empowering the women, setting up a free and strong economy thereby making and developing Modern India. Bharat Ratna which is considered the highest award for any citizen of India was also conferred upon him in the year 1990 after many decades of his death. A poll was organized in 2012 by various Channels of television like the 'History TV 18' and 'CNN' and 'IBN' Channels to adjudge the "Greatest Indian" and it is a matter of great pride that Dr. B.R.Ambedkar



got the highest number of votes. The General Assembly of UNO (United Nations Organization) had celebrated the 125th Birth anniversary of Dr. B.R Ambedkar and in its meeting, pledged to carry on the unfinished task of this great man.

He has got International recognition now and his statue has been installed in Columbia University (USA) and University of Sydney (Australia). He was indeed a great Humanist who improved the life of teeming millions to lead a life of peace and prosperity with dignity and his example has been adopted across the nations worldwide for the betterment of the masses. Therefore, Indians ought to rise above their parochial view of considering Baba Saheb Bhimrao Ambedkar simply a Social Reformer or a Dalit Messiah.

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# MILITARY OBLIGATIONS OF THE SOUTH ASIAN RULERS TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT: 1809-1908 (A CASE STUDY OF JIND AND FARIDKOT States of the Punjab, India)

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## **Abstract**

The princely states of Jind and Faridkot played a very important role in defending the imperial interests of the British Government in India and also in other countries of the world. These States provided financial and military services in the various wars which the British faced from 1809 to 1908 A.D.

These States proved their wholehearted loyalty towards the British and earned the appreciation of the imperial government.

**Keywords: Governor-General, Contingents, Colonel, Imperial Service Troops, Khillat.**

## **Introduction**

Many South Asian countries have remained colonies of the British Empire. India is an important member of the South-Asian countries which attained independence from the British on August 15, 1947. Before 1947 there were many states in India which were ruled by the local rulers and these States were indirectly controlled by the British. The Jind and the Faridkot States were important princely states of the Punjab, a province of India.

The British issued a proclamation on May 3, 1809 by which the Sikh rulers were taken under the protection of the East In-

dia Company. Article 4 of the proclamation clearly instructed the rulers to provide grain, carriage and supplies to the British force. Article 5 further made it essential for the rulers to join the British force with their armies and help in expelling the enemy.<sup>1</sup> This proclamation had secured the independence of the Cis-Sutlej Chiefs but also demanded a number of troops for the defense of the Cis-Sutlej States.<sup>2</sup>

Raja Bhag Singh of the Jind State was the first ruler among all the Cis-Sutlej rulers who sought an alliance with the British Government. In January 1805 A.D. he joined the British forces under Colonel Burn. Although his services were not important yet his help proved to be a boon for the British as he along with Bhai Lal Singh was able to control Saharanpur at a time when Colonel Ochterlony was busy in tackling with the Maratha menace. He also accompanied Lord Lake in pursuit of Jaswant Rao Holkar in 1805 A.D. and went with him as far as river Beas.<sup>3</sup>

The Maratha Chief had gone to Punjab to seek the help of the Punjab rulers against the British. Lord Lake sent Bhag Singh as an envoy to Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Bhag Singh not only persuaded Maharaja Ranjit Singh not to help Jaswant Rao Holkar but was also able to conclude a treaty between the British and Maharaja Ranjit Singh. For his earnest efforts, Lord Lake described Bhag Singh as his “Ally and Friend”.<sup>4</sup> Both of them returned to Delhi and Bhag Singh was given the grant of the Pargana of Bawana which was located in the south-west of Panipat as a reward for his services to the British. It was a life grant in the

1 A.C. Arora, *British Policy towards Punjab States, 1858-1905*, Jalandhar, 1982, p. 352.

2 Mian Bashir Ahmad Farooqi, *British Relations with the Cis-Sutlej States, 1809-1823*, Punjab, 1971, p. 20.

3 Brigr-General Stuart Beatson (Compl.), *A History of the Imperial Service Troops of Native States*, Calcutta, 1903, p. 57.

4 Ram Sahai Mathur, *Raja Gajpat Singh (1738-1786): A Critical Study of his Life and Times*, Archives Department, Patiala, p. 96.

name of Kour Partap Singh. Along with it, the villages of Mamrezpur and Nihana Kalan were also given to him as Jagir.<sup>5</sup> The Raja and Bhai Lal Singh of Kaithal jointly were given the grant of Barsat and Faridpur in Panipat which was about Rs. 70,000. But these grants were given for lifetime only.<sup>6</sup>

When Maharaja Ranjit Singh started his Cis-Sutlej campaigns, he gave many territories to Bhag Singh. In 1806 A.D. he got Ludhiana, Jandiala, two villages of Kot and two of Jagraon from the Maharaja and again in the next expedition of 1807 A.D. he was given three villages of Ghungrana and Morinda in Sirhind. However these areas could not appease Bhag Singh who was much alarmed at the incursions of the Maharaja on Cis-Sutlej territories. He had more confidence on the friendship of the British than on the Maharaja so he wrote a letter to the British Resident at Delhi in which he strongly advocated his trust in the intention of the British, “to secure and protect” the ruler. The Resident also obliged him with a reply in which he made it clear that the British wanted him and other Sardars to continue with their possessions and honors and that the Governor-General had acknowledged the “sincere attachment and fidelity” shown by Raja Bhag Singh during the time of Lord Lake.<sup>7</sup> Raja Bhag Singh also joined the forces of General Ochterlony who was advancing towards Sutlej to strengthen the position of Metcalfe, the British envoy at Lahore. The Raja acted as a mutual friend in the negotiations which were held between the Maharaja and the British.

Raja Bhag Singh died in 1819 A.D. and was succeeded by

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5 The Government of Punjab, *The Minor Phulkian Families* (Reproduction of IInd Edition), Language Department, Patiala, 1970, p. 294.

6 C.U. Aitchison (Compl.), *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads Relating to India and Neighbouring Countries*, Vol. I, New Delhi, Reprint 1983, p. 127.

7 Ram Sahai Mathur, *op.cit.*, pp. 97-98.

Fateh Singh who ruled for only three years. He was succeeded by Sangat Singh who died in 1834 A.D. He was succeeded by Sarup Singh of Bazidpur. Raja Sarup Singh and the Raja of Patiala during the War of 1845-46 A.D. were together and Raja Devinder Singh of Nabha was their bitter enemy hence it was expected that during the War they would fight on opposite sides. No doubt the Jind State had always shown its loyalty towards the British and had also got many rewards but Sarup Singh was not very satisfied.

The Lahore Darbar was able to encourage the feeling of hatred among the people against the British and also the losses suffered by the English in Kabul expedition had shaken the general belief of the people in the fortunes of the British and Raja Sarup Singh was not an exception to it. His behavior was not cordial with the Lt. Governor of North-Western Province when he was travelling through the Jind State. He also insulted Mr. Metcalfe. In November 1845 A.D. he was called upon to send 150 camels for the use of Sirhind Division but he did not oblige the British due to which the troops had to face a lot of hardship. As a result Mr. Broadfoot imposed a fine of Rs. 10,000 upon him which was realized in the next year. Soon the conduct of Sarup Singh changed and he started helping the British.<sup>8</sup>

The people of the State made huge efforts to provide men and transport and the State contingent served with the British forces. A detachment of the State also accompanied the Patiala contingent to Ghumgrana under Captain Hay who later praised the behaviour and discipline of the Jind forces. Later on another detachment was sent to accompany the Kashmir expedition where Imamuddin Khan, the Governor had revolted against Maharaja Ghulab Singh. The British were pleased with the services

8 The Government of Punjab, *The Minor Phulkian Families* (Reproduction of IInd Edition), Language Department, Patiala, 1970, pp. 351-352.

of Raja Sarup Singh in the First Anglo-Sikh War so the Governor-General remitted the fine of Rs. 10,000 and also granted land which yielded revenue of Rs. 3,000 per year. Also double allowances were given to the troops which had accompanied with the Kashmir force.<sup>9</sup> In 1847 A.D. a Sanad was granted to Raja Sarup Singh by which he was to attend in person with his forces if the Cis-Sutlej territories were invaded by the enemies and in return the British Government gave up all the claims to tribute or revenue or commutation in lieu of troops or otherwise.<sup>10</sup> In the same year he got in perpetuity an additional grant of land confiscated from the Lahore Darbar yielding Rs. 1,000 annually as he had abolished customs and transit duties.<sup>11</sup>

During the second Sikh War, Sarup Singh offered to lead his troops in person to Lahore in order to join the English army. His services were not utilized but the British Government warmly thanked and acknowledged the sincerity of the Jind ruler. The British had to face a major challenge in 1857 A.D. When Raja Sarup Singh came to know that a mutiny had broken out, he left no stone unturned to help the British. He at once offered his services to the British Government and the British readily accepted his services. On May 18, 1857 he along with his troops marched towards Karnal and on reaching there he at once undertook the defense of the city and cantonments. Although his contingent consisted of only 800 men yet they were able to protect Karnal from plunder as his troops were well disciplined and well organized. After the security of the city was restored, he sent a detachment of his forces to secure the bridge of boats at Baghpat which was located twenty miles north of Delhi and thus made it possible

9 Brigr-General Stuart Beatson (Compl.), *op.cit.*, pp. 51-52.

10 The British Crown and the Indian States, *op.cit.*, p. 238.

11 C.U. Aitchison (Compl.), *op.cit.*, p. 128.

for the Merrut forces to cross the river Yamuna and joined the force of Sir H. Barnard.<sup>12</sup> The situation at Panipat was very tense but soon law and order was restored there. He also secured Sambhalka and Rai.<sup>13</sup> On June 7, he joined the British camp at Alipur. In the battle of Badli-ki-Sarai, the Jind troops fought very bravely and also earned the appreciation of the Commander-in-Chief who sent one of the captured guns to His Highness as a present. Two guns were captured by the Jind Infantry from the rebels.<sup>14</sup> On June 19, the Jind forces helped the British in repulsing the Nasirabad force which had attacked the camp. On June 21, they proceeded towards Bhagpat in order to help in the repair of the bridge of boats which had been destroyed earlier.

They were able to build the bridge in three days but it was again destroyed as the rebels attacked in large numbers which forced him to retire. Raja Sarup Singh returned to his State where some disorder was witnessed due to the rebels of Hansi, Hissar and Rohtak districts. They had incited the Jind villages to revolt. However these disturbances were soon overcome by the energetic efforts of the Raja. He raised the number of his army and also purchased horses for the use of the British force. He returned to their camp on September 9. The Jind troops were placed under the command of Khan Singh. They played a major role in the assault of city and sealed the walls along with the British forces. Many of the Jind soldiers were wounded and some were killed.<sup>15</sup> The situation at Rohtak district was very sensitive.

It was during this period that the Raja was given the task to

12 Behari Lal Dhingra (Compl. and edi.), *Jind State: A Brief Historical and Administrative Sketch*, p. 2.

13 Rev. J. Dave-Browne, *Punjab and Delhi in 1857*, Vol. I, London, 1861, p. 221.

14 Jind State Records, Head:- First Anglo-German War, Basta No. 24, File No. 2062, p.2, Punjab State Archives, Patiala hereafter given as PSA.

15 The Government of Punjab, *The Minor Phulkian Families* (Reproduction of IInd Edition), Language Department, Patiala, 1970, p. 356.



administer the Rohtak district. The headmen of the villages and the Zamindars were instructed to deposit their revenue with the Raja. When the disturbances at Delhi were over, he returned to Sufidon. Before going back he left twenty-five men for the service at the Larsowli tehsil and also left another twenty-five men at Delhi. He further sent a force of 200 men with General Van Cortlandt to Hansi and 110 men under the command of Khan Singh to Jhajjar and this force joined the forces of Colonel R. Lawrence. Along with these he also placed a force of 250 men to be stationed at Rohtak and 50 were sent to Gohana which was about twenty miles to the north.<sup>16</sup> So he made sincere and earnest efforts to help the British in the suppressing the revolt and restoring the law and order.<sup>17</sup>

The British too acknowledged his services. Colonel Thompson, C.B. admitted that the quantity at stores would have been insufficient for the army if the Raja had not generously furnished the supplies. General Wilson in his dispatch of September 22, 1857 also eulogized the remarkable services rendered by Raja Sarup Singh and his forces who had not only provided help in discharging the duty in the constant escort of the conveys but had also helped in the capture and assault of Delhi. His services were again appreciated by the Governor-General in his notification of November 5, 1857 in which the British Government expressed its gratitude towards him.<sup>18</sup>

The British Government bestowed upon him the territory of Dadri which had an area of 600 square miles. He was also given thirteen villages in the Kalaram Pargana which was close to Sangrur. His salute was raised to eleven guns and he was given

16 *Ibid.*, p. 357.

17 Kalsia State Records, Head: The Great War, Basta No. 46, File No. 26S, p. 4, PSA.

18 Brig-General Stuart Beatson (Compl.) *op.cit.*, p. 55.

the right of adoption.<sup>19</sup> As a memorial of his services, the confiscated house of the rebel Shahzadah Mirza Abu Bakr which was located at Delhi and had the value of Rs. 6,000 was also given to the Raja. The British also conferred upon him the honorary title of “Farzand dilband rasikh-ul-itikad Raja Sarup Singh Bahadur Wali Jhind”.<sup>20</sup> He was made a G.C.S.I.<sup>21</sup>

Raja Sarup Singh received another Sanad in 1860 A.D. by which he was bound to cooperate with the British troops in case of an enemy attack and was also to provide carriage and supplies of grains etc. free of cost to the British troops.<sup>22</sup> So the British had granted him Sanads one after another which banded him completely to help the British with men, material and livestock which he always obliged to. He died in 1864 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Raja Raghbir Singh who continued the tradition of loyalty towards the British. On the outbreak of the Kuka rebellion in 1872 A.D., Raja Raghbir Singh gave prompt assistance to the British Government.

He sent 2 guns, a few horses and two companies of infantry to Malerkotla at the request of the Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana. This timely support by the Raja helped the British in suppressing the outbreak.<sup>23</sup> The Jind Imperial Service Infantry again helped the British in the second Afghan War of 1879-80 A.D.<sup>24</sup> Raja Raghbir Singh sent a force of 700 men of which 500

19 Foreign and Political Department, Secret – Internal, October 1916, Nos. 35-36, p. 52. National Archives of India, New Delhi hereafter given as NAI.

20 The Government of Punjab, *The Minor Phulkian Families* (Reproduction of IInd Edition), Language Department, Patiala, 1970, p. 358.

21 Behari Lal Dhingra (Compl. and edi.), *op.cit.*, p. 2.

22 *The British Crown and the Indian States: An Outline Sketch Presented to the Indian States Committee on the behalf of the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes*, London, 1929, p. 238.

23 *Punjab States Gazetteers, Phulkian States*, Vol. XVIII, Lahore, 1909, p. 217.

24 Jind State Records, Head:- First Anglo-German War, Basta No. 21, File No. 1904, p. 89. PSA.

were infantry men, 200 cavalry sowars and 3 were 9-Pounder Field guns. They were employed in Kurram Valley and also held posts that were beyond the borders. They were also employed on the line of communication. The honorary title of Raja-i-Rajgan was conferred upon him in perpetuity. For the services, Sardar Jagat Singh, the political officer was decorated with the C.I.E., Sardar Ratan Singh who had commanded the contingent was honored with a sword. Raja Raghbir Singh had again offered his services in the Egyptian campaign of 1882 A.D. but his services were declined with thanks.<sup>25</sup>

The Jind State also sent its Imperial Service Troops to be employed in the Tirah campaign of 1897 A.D. The British Government accepted the services of the Jind Imperial Service Infantry which had already served during the Revolt of 1857 A.D. and the Afghan War of 1879 A.D.<sup>26</sup> on September 22, 1897 the regiment reached Shinauri and remained there till October 20. This regiment was attached to the 4<sup>th</sup> Brigade under Brigadier-General Westmacott at Dargai. The Jind regiment performed remarkably well and earned a lot of appreciation due to their discipline and dedication. Commandant Gurnam Singh guided his men with much maturity in covering a foraging party. On November 11, a telegraph escort under Lieutenant Garwood was attacked near Karappa. The Jind infantry did a commendable service in bringing the equipment and wounded into the camp in Dwatoi.<sup>27</sup>

On November 19, the camp moved from Maidan to Bagh. Again the Jind Infantry fought bravely and was able to save No. 9 Mountain Battery from the enemy. On December 7, the force

25 Punjab States Gazetteers, *op.cit.*, p. 217.

26 Jind State Records, Head:- First Anglo-German War, Basta No. 4, File No. 468, p. 293, PSA., also see H.H. The Maharaja of Jaipur, *A History of the Indian State Forces*, Calcutta, 1967, p. 69.

27 Brigr-General Stuart Beatson (Compl.), *op.cit.*, pp. 56-57.

retired from Bagh and it was the first Imperial Service Troops in India to come under fire. The troops boldly faced the adverse climatic conditions and throughout the operations the Jind troops depicted a high sense of dedication and loyalty towards the British.<sup>28</sup> Raja Raghbir Singh was invested with the full ruling powers in November 1899.<sup>29</sup> When the British were involved in a War in South Africa in 1899 A.D. the British Government asked for the cooperation from the States which maintained Imperial Service Cavalry. So the Jind State supplied 20 horses free of cost in this War. The Government fully recognized the spirit of loyalty thus displayed by the State.<sup>30</sup>

Sardar Pahar Singh of Faridkot State ascended the throne in 1827 A.D. He gave a good proof of his loyalty towards the British during the First Afghan War. He supplied provisions, transports and guidance to the British army.<sup>31</sup> When the War broke out between the British and the Lahore Darbar in 1845 A.D Pahar Singh again helped the British.<sup>32</sup> He collected supplies and carriage and also furnished guides for the army and so provided excellent service to the British.<sup>33</sup> The armies of the Faridkot Darbar took part in the battles of Mudki and Ferozeshahr.<sup>34</sup> Hundreds of mounds of grain were daily supplied for the army at the different places. Appeased with the services of the Faridkot State,

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28 Punjab States Gazetteers, *Phulkian States*, Vol. XVII A, Lahore, 1909, p. 326.

29 Behari Lal Dhingra, *op.cit.*, p. 3.

30 Foreign (Native States) Department, January 1900, Nos. 18-102, Part-A, p. 6. Punjab State Archives (Chandigarh Branch) hereafter given as PSA (Chandigarh Branch).

31 Brig-General Stuart Beatson (Compl.), *op.cit.*, p. 25.

32 Kapurthala State Records, Head: War, Basta No. 52, File No. M/Z-23-18, p. 1. PSA.

33 The Government of Punjab, *The Minor Phulkian Families* (Reproduction of IInd Edition), Language Department, Patiala, 1970, p. 564.

34 Faridkot State Records, Head:- Administration, Basta No. 14, File No. 325, p. 113. PSA.

the Supreme Government granted a Sanad on the ruler which conferred upon him the title of 'Raja'<sup>35</sup> and his ancestral estate of Kot Kapura was also restored to him.<sup>36</sup> A portion of the Nabha State was confiscated by the British as its ruler had disobeyed the British during the First Anglo-Sikh War.

A few portion remained with the British while the remaining portion of the confiscated land worth Rs. 71,224 per annum was ordered to be made over in equal portions to the Patiala and Faridkot State as a reward for the loyal services given by them.<sup>37</sup> After the death of Raja Pahar Singh, Wazir Singh became the next Raja in 1849 A.D. and followed the footsteps of his father. He provided a great assistance during the second Anglo-Sikh War and helped the British with supplies, transport and a loan of Rs. 25,000.<sup>38</sup>

Raja Wazir Singh played a very vital role in the Revolt of 1857 and gave considerable assistance to the British Government.<sup>39</sup> During the mutiny he took strong measures to arrest the rebels and protected the state boundary. He along with his army assisted the Deputy Commissioner of Ferozepur in guarding the Sutlej ferries<sup>40</sup> against the passage of the rebels. Roads were perfectly guarded by him. His troops also served under General Van Cortlandt and were dispatched to Sirsa where along with a few horses and two guns, he personally attacked a notorious rebel, Sham Das and destroyed his stronghold. He and his troops served the British with credit and also supplied the Government with

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35 Kalsia State Records, Head: The Great War, Basta No. 46, File No. 26S, p. 2. PSA.

36 Brigr-General Stuart Beatson (Compl.), *op.cit.*, p. 25.

37 Virendra Kumar, *Indian under Lord Hardinge*, New Delhi, 1978, p. 346.

38 Faridkot State Records, Head:- Military, Basta No. 3, File No. 83, p. 2. PSA.

39 Punjab States Agency, *List of Ruling Princes, Notables and Principles officials*, Calcutta, 1924, p. 9.

40 Kalsia State Records, Head: The Great War, Basta No. 46, File No. 26S, p. 4. PSA.

a loan of Rs. 35000/-.<sup>41</sup> For all these services Raja Wazir Singh received an additional title of “Barar Bans Raja Sahib Bahadur”, a Khillat of eleven pieces instead of seven as before and a salute of eleven guns. He was also exempted from the services of ten sowars which had been formerly demanded from him.<sup>42</sup> Privilege of adoption was also conferred upon him as a reward.<sup>43</sup>

The British Government granted a Sanad to the Raja of Faridkot on April 21, 1863. The Clause VII of this Sanad laid down that “if at a time any force hostile to the British Government should appear in the direction, the Raja will cooperate with the British Government and oppose the enemy. He will exert himself to the utmost of his resources in providing carriage and supplies according to requisitions he may receive from the officers of the Government”.<sup>44</sup> So it was mandatory for the Faridkot State to assist the British in order to repulse the enemies and the Faridkot State always provided every kind of help with utmost sincerity. In 1868 A.D. when the revolt broke out on the Hazara frontier, he offered his personal as well as his military services.

However, the rebellion was soon over and the British Government highly appreciated the friendly spirit of the Raja that had prompted him to provide such generous help to the British. Raja Wazir Singh was succeeded by Raja Bikram Singh in 1874 A.D. During the second Afghan War of 1878 A.D., the Faridkot troops were placed at the disposal of the Government and were employed in active service in the Kurram Valley.<sup>45</sup> The Raja fur-

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41 Faridkot State Records, Head:- Military, Basta No. 3, File No. 83, p. 3. PSA.

42 The Government of Punjab, *The Minor Phulkian Families* (Reproduction of IInd Edition), Language Department, Patiala, 1970, p. 565.

43 Foreign and Political Department, Secret-Internal, October 1916, Nos. 35-36, p. 52. NAI.

44 A.C. Arora, *op.cit.*, p. 362.

45 Faridkot State Records, Head:- Military, Basta No. 18, File No. 612, p. 6. PSA.

nished a contingent of 250 horse and foot<sup>46</sup> which was employed in keeping open the line of communication in Kurram Valley<sup>47</sup> and supplied the Government with the loan of Rs. 12 lakhs of which Rs. 7 lakhs were returned with thanks by the Government. In recognition of all these services the title of “Farzand-i-Saadat Nishan-i-Hazrat-i-Kaiser-i-Hind” was added to his former title of distinction.<sup>48</sup> The Faridkot State continued to offer its services to the British Government on many occasions. In 1882 A.D. when the British Government sent forces to Egypt, the Faridkot State at once expressed its desire to send its troops to help the British. But the offer was not accepted by the British.<sup>49</sup> During the Central Asian Expedition of 1888 A.D., the Faridkot State again expressed its keenness to assist the British Government but again the British government refused to accept the offer. In 1897 A.D., the State offered its Imperial Service Troops for service in Tirah.<sup>50</sup> But the Government did not employ Imperial Service Troops of the Faridkot State as they were not considered to be fully equipped for field service.<sup>51</sup>

Raja Balbir Singh ascended the throne in 1898 A.D. He also always proved himself to show his sincere loyalty and heart felt devotion at every emergency. During the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon it was decided for the first time to send Imperial Service Troops for employment in the foreign countries.<sup>52</sup> In the South African War, the Raja of the Faridkot offered 50 horses but only

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46 Kalsia State Record, Head: The Great War, Basta No. 32, File No. 2H, p. 105. PSA.

47 Brig-General Stuart Beatson (Compl.), *op.cit.*, p. 26.

48 Faridkot State Records, Head:- Military, Basta No. 3, File No. 83, p. 3. PSA.

49 A.C. Arora, *op.cit.*, pp. 262-263.

50 Faridkot State Records, Head:- Military, Basta No. 18, File No. 612, p. 7. PSA.

51 A.C. Arora, *op.cit.*, p. 283.

52 *Ibid.*, p. 284.

20 were accepted by the British Government.<sup>53</sup> He ordered as desired by the Government to change the State Imperial Service Troops consisting of 50 cavalry and 150 infantry to a double company of Sappers and Miners. Brigadier-General Stuart Beatson, the Inspector-General Imperial Service Troops, Ambala sent a letter to Louis W Dane on December 19, 1903 in which he wrote that the Raja of Faridkot wanted that his Imperial Service Sappers should be send to provide service with the Tibet Mission.<sup>54</sup>

However the British politely declined his offer as the British did not require any more service at that time.<sup>55</sup> The Raja of Faridkot sent a telegram on February 13, 1908 to the British Government in which he offered the services of Imperial Service Sappers for employment in connection with the military operations at Laka Khel and Afridi.<sup>56</sup> But again the British Government did not accept the offer but greatly appreciated the loyal efforts of the Raja.

So the Sikh rulers of Jind and Faridkot States left no stone unturned to prove their loyalty towards the British. The British faced tough times in India and in other countries also. But these Sikh rulers always rendered financial and military help to the British in the time of emergency.

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Books Chapter  
**ON ASIAN NETWORK  
AND SOCIAL CHANGE**

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# WOMEN AND INDIAN SOCIETY DURING 1849-1900

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The condition of women in India has always been very pathetic. They have always been considered below men. Due to this, they have not been given their rightful place in the society. In the Hindu society, women were never considered to be able to think and work independently at any stage their lives. She lived under the supervision of her father in her childhood was under the subordination of her husband after marriage and was under the subordination of her son during widowhood.

In the ancient times, a woman was given pretty high status. No function was complete without her. In the religious life, no oblation was considered successful without her. During the Vedic period, the women had the right to education. They were married after their education and at a right age. They had the right to choose their husband. At that time, the widows had the right to remarry. They had a place in society which was equal to men. But with the change of time, the conditions changed and the social and religious status of women kept going low. During the Upanishada period, the status of women was further downgraded still further. At that time, Her Birth was considering to be the cause of all pains and the difficulties. During the epic period the Puranas become famous. During that time, the custom of child-marriage started and the women were deprived of the right to education. The evil of Sati pratha also came into existence.

During the period of the Smritis, status of women was reduced to a means of producing children and of amusement. According to Manu, a woman should live under the protection of men. She should obey her husband. The Buddhists and the Jain are regarded women as a hindrance on the path to salvation. Thus from the independent status that women had in the ancient times, she become a slave to males and become a victim of the evils with the change of time.

With the advent of the Muslims, the position of women deteriorated still more. The veil custom started with the arrival of the Muslims. Along with this, the practices of female killing, child marriage, Sati pratha, etc. become prevalent. One reason for this was that when the invaders attacked the land, they used to take the girls away with them. Due to that, the people started killing the girls after their birth itself and the practice of child-marriage started.

Similarly, the Hindu women had no good status in the society even during the sixteenth century. After marriage, they were occupied merely with the household chores, such as grinding the wheat grain, milking the buffaloes, preparing food, churning the curds, spinning cotton, and fetch water for home. Their life was considered successful by merely keeping the husband and complete comfort. The Muslim women had the custom of burqa (veil). They had to wear burqa from their childhood whereas the Hindu women practiced veil only after their marriage. The Elite women, whether they were Hindu or the Muslim, were confined within the household boundaries. It was considered against the discipline if they moved out. Therefore, they wear dependent on men economically which made the men to think they were not equal to them in intellect and it was not essential to ask their opinion in

all the matters.

Because of the practice of marriage at a very tender age, a number of widowed women were seen in the society. In the Hindu society, the women were not allowed to remarry. A large number of them burnt themselves in the husband's pyre. The sati pratha was more prevalent among the higher castes such as Brahmins and Kshatriyas. This practice was in vogue among the Rajputs too. When a woman underwent sati (killing oneself by jumping into the pyre of husband) she was respected as a goddess martyr; and the one who did not undergo sati, had to spend her life in pain and difficulties. Such women were not respected in society. Therefore, they considered sati to be better than suffering throughout the life. The practice of sati was not both ways. This practice was not applicable to husband's. If the wife of person died before him, he never committed sati. But the practice of sati was a test of a wife's true love and faithfulness. The practice of sati was of two types. One was with the dead body of the husband and the other was with some token belonging to him. To die by burning oneself with husband's dead body was called 'sehmarina' (co-dying) and if the husband died at a different place and the wife killed herself with some token to him, it was called 'anumarina' (post-dying).

Among the Muslims, a man could have four marriages as per his religion. The Muslim had the custom of divorce. The highly placed person and rich ones had many marriages. There was no provision of divorce among the Hindu. Though there was no religious bar on marrying more than once, but among the Hindu too the higher placed people kept more than one women. If there was no child born of the first wife or due to some chronic body ailment, the second marriage was not considered an evil. The Hindu had a bad custom of killing the girl's. At that time, the Emperor

Akbar made some efforts. This is to stop the social evils of child-marriage, Sati Pratha, and the killing of the girl child. But it had no impact on the Hindu society.

During that time, the Sikh Guru's made a number of efforts to give a high status to women in the society. They were given equal position in the congregation (Sangat) and the community dining (Pangat). Besides, they were given the advice of removing the veil. They were stopped from sati and were encouraged to fight in the battlefield by the sides of men in the society. The status of woman in Sikh religion was different from that of the Hindu and the Muslim women. The Sikh religion talked about the oneness of the humanity and equality of each kind. Guru Nanak raised the voice for the women right and he stated why the one who has given birth to the men and the kings be considered low. He stated, while hailing the women, that a human is born of women, is engaged and married to a woman, and the reproduction of the world is due to woman and if the first wife dies at the husband searches for another wife. Therefore, the woman has the right to have more respect than man.

Guru Amar Das also raised his voice against this evil. While opposing the dowry system, he stated that this practice is a social evil. According to him, a girl during marriage should carry the dowry of good qualities and not that of objects. While interpreting the meaning of Sati, he said that it was not essential to burn yourself alongside husband for Sati, rather the blow of separation from the husband is more painful than dying by burning oneself. Similarly, the Guru's opposed the practice of veil and supported window-marriage. They knew that no society could make progress till its women were not given a rightful place. Thus, due to the teachings of the Guru's; women got a rightful place in society to a



great extent. Though the Guru's made many efforts for improvement of the position of women, yet these evils prevailed in society.

By the 19th century, the condition of women had extremely deteriorated. In the Punjab, more than one marriage, the practice of killing the girl child immediately after birth, the lack of practice of window-marriage, the practice of dowry, the Sati Pratha and many evils of this kind remained prevalent as it is among the Hindus, the Muslims and the Sikhs. Though it was a crime, the killing of the girls was very rampant. It was prevalent among the Hindus, the Rajputs in particular, among the Bedi, Sodhi, and Jattcastes of the Sikhs, among the sayyads of Muslims and among the other high ranked castes. This practice was prevalent in most of the northern region of India, among the Rajputs of hills in Punjab, among the khatris of Gujranwala, and in the regions of Multan Jhang, shahpur, Jehlam, and Lahore. It was in vogue among the most of the Bedis in Punjab. Because of this, the Bedis were generally called 'the killers of girls'. The Jatts of Multan, Gujranwala, and Jhelum, the Sodhis of Ambala, Patiala and Nabha and also the Muslims of Jhelum and Ferozepur used to kill their girls.

This custom had no religious sanction but yet it came into existence to solve some problems of the society. Among the Rajput's, lot of money was spent on marriages due to the social mores. If they did not spend immensely on the girl's marriage, their respect in their community was lowered. The Rajput's considered that day a curse when a girl was born. The birth of son was given big importance because he was considered to be the caretaker of the family and the inheritor of the property. It was also believed that after the death of the parents they could achieve salvation only by the religious rites done by their son and only a son could

carry their family's name forward. The birth of a girl was not considered good because the Rajputs and the high castes people thought that they would have to yield to the families where their girls were married into. The way they found out solution for all the girls. An opium ball was put in the girl's mouth after birth which got melted in the saliva and thus entered the body and caused the girl's death. Among the most common methods was to starve her or to put shut in a pitcher till she lost her breath. The practice among the Rajputs was to paint the mothers chest with stramoniam and this poison killed the girl. In Punjab, the juice of an Akk like plant was used. Also, a pit was dug and it was filled with milk and the child was immersed into it and it resulted in the girl's death with drowning. Other than this, sometimes a ball of jagari was put in the girl's mouth.

In 1846-47, two thousand Bedi families lived in Jallandhar Doab and fifteen hundred in Dera Baba Nanak. There was not even a single girl alive in those families because the birth of a girl was not considered good among them and she was considered a burden. A delegation of Bedis met John Lawrence, the Commissioner of the Jallandhar Doab, on 25th April, 1846. They handed over a request letter to him. In that, they stated that the practice of killing the girls was in vogue among them since past 400 years. The reason they gave for this was that they were from Guru Nanak's lineage and all the Sikhs worshiped him. Due to the great respect for the Guru, they did not marry the girls from their families. It was further stated in the letter that the British Government did not want to interfere in any religion. Therefore, the Hindus and Muslims should be allowed to lives as per their customs without any hindrance. John Lawrence had a dialogue with them and told them that the practice was a punishable crime

and a true Sikh would not have any contact with someone who committed the crime of killing one's girls. John Lawrence said that the Government would not allow the continuation of such a custom and a tough punishment would be given for that crime.

Similarly, there was a bar on widow-marriage among the Hindus and the Muslims. But widow-marriage prevailed among the jatts. In that, the elder or the younger brother-in-law of the widow used to marry her, which was called 'chaaderpaana' or 'ka-reva'. In this way, the widow was married in a simple ceremony.

The practice of veil was there among the Hindu and the Muslim women of Punjab. This was also there among the Sikh women. The Sikh Gurus condemned the practice of veil and the Sati very strongly but still the Sikh women practice veil in front of their elders. It was not liked that they go out. Similarly, the Sati Pratha prevailed among the Sikhs under the influence of the Hindu religion. Because of this, 4 queens and 7 maid servants committed Sati with Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

Thus, the child-marriage was widely prevalent among the Hindus, the Muslims and the Sikhs. The girls were not allowed to live in Parents' home after their 6-7 years of age. Marrying a girl late than this age was not considered good. At the time of the marriage, the dowry practice was also widely prevalent. On the occasion of the marriage, the parents used to give her some money and goods as per their capacity but sometimes the parents could not afford dowry due to their poverty and they used to marry their daughter with an older man after getting some money from him.

All those evils remained intact till the British occupied the Punjab. When the British annexed Punjab in 1849, all those evils had increased manifold. The British Government enacted many laws to eliminate those evils. Due to those social evils, the social

and religious movements began during that period which played an important role to give proper place to women in society.

In 1853, John Lawrence called a gathering in Amritsar to eliminate the practice of the killing of girls. The gathering included people from different classes. In that gathering, heated controversies took place about the killing of the girls. The people who participated in that gathering realized that they were committing a crime of killing the girls. The decision of that gathering had a strong impact in many districts of the Punjab which made people oppose that practice. In the Punjab, that practice had been almost completely stopped by 1856. Before that, the most important action to improve the condition of women was done by Raja Ram Mohan Roy by eliminating the Sati practice by law. He awakened the people against the Sati Pratha through newspapers and through movements. He appealed the British Government to take steps against that evil. Due to that, Lord William Bentinck passed a law in 1829 with the help of Raja Ram Mohan Roy. According to that law, to kill a widow by burning her live was declared against the law. Thus, Raja Ram Mohan Roy had taken the first step to improve the women's condition by having that practice stoppes<sup>39</sup>. With this, the Sati Pratha was eliminated from the society by law.

The widowed women were not allowed to remarry in the Hindu society. Ishwar Chand Vidyasagar has made a major contribution in eliminating that evil and raising the status of the women in society. In this field, he proved to be an associate of Raja Ram Mohan Roy. He waged a long struggle for widow-marriage in 1855. He made people aware against this and with his efforts, the Government legally recognized the widow-re-marriage in 1856. 35 widow marriages took place in 1860 with his efforts.

Vidyasagar established 25 Kanya Vidyalayas for women education. Of these, he runs many schools from his pocket.

An act was passed in 1870 to stop girl child killing. By this act, the officials were authorized to form a committee in places where the child killing was rampant to investigate the obligatory registration of the birth of a girl and to monitor her existence after few years of her birth. The result of this was that the Government reports showed the decrease that occurred in the girl's number. Though the killing of the girls had ended but still they did not get the care which the boys got because the boys were considered the inheritors of the family and the girls were considered to be a burden on the family.

Similarly the special Marriage Act was passed in 1872. By this act, the inter-community marriages were legalized. As per this Act, those people who did not believe in any religion were able to marry. In this context, the Civil Marriage Act was passed in 1872 with the contribution of Keshav Chander Sen. This Act banned the Marriage of girl below 14 years and a boy 18 years of age. This Act also banned Marrying more than one woman.

Swami Dayanand also made seminal contribution in giving women an equal place to men in society. In this field, the Arya Samaj founded by him strongly opposed this evil like Child-Marriage, polygamy, veil practice, and the dowry practice. He was of the opinion that the women cannot have an honorable place in society till they are educated. That was why he gave an equal status to woman with men in the Arya Samaj. He condemned the Medieval Age for the view that the woman and the Shudras should not be allowed to get educated. Dayanand refuted the view that such an idea was available in the Vedas. The Arya Samaj opened the Kanya Mahavidyala in Jalandhar in 1891 for the growth of

education among women which got fame not only in the country but also abroad. In 1889, The Arya Samaj established a school for girls in Ferozepur. After this, they also made them a part of the social reform movement.

Similarly, Swami Vivekanand awakened the people by campaigning for the women's rights. The Aligarh and the Ahmadiyah movements contributed for improvement of the condition of women in the Muslim society. Though the veil practice had not ended in the Muslim Society, yet it had been weakened in some high ranked families. Along with this the practice of child marriage also became weak. Many families adopted the western way of life. This led to an improvement in the condition of women.

The Namdhari and the Singh Sabha Movement also made important contributions in improving the condition of women in the Sikh Society. Baba Ram Singh, the founder of the Namdhari Movement, made the women an equal part in the congregation (sangat) by baptizing (Amritpan). He started the practice of baptizing women in 1864 in the village Siarh of the Ludhiana district and made them get an equal status. He directed his followers that they should not kill the newborn girls. He made it obligatory to end the practice of Child-Marriage, to educate girls and to remarry the widows. By this, the women gained higher status in the Sikh Society. In the same way, the Singh Sabha took important steps for giving an appropriate place to women in society. The Singh Sabha started a campaign for changing people's views about women. They also paid full attention to the women education because very few girls received education due to the veil practice and the child marriage. Baba Khem Singh Bedi was the first one to spread education among women. A number of schools were opened in the Pothohar region with his efforts. The Kanya

Pathshalas were also opened in the Rawalpindi district.

For the education of women, there was no such center at that time where the girls could come for education from outside. Bhai Takhat Singh filled this gap. Bhai Takhat Singh was a great supporter of women education and dedicated his complete life to the women education. In 1892, he opened many Mahavidyalayas in Ferozepur. The other Singh Sabha learned from this practice and schools for girls' education were opened in many cities. These schools were opened in Lahore, Sialkot, Rawalpindi, Gujranwala and many other places. During this time, the Kanya Pathshala was established at Amritsar. This was a type of Pathshala which educated the Sikh girls for propagation of Gurmat.

The British Government to develop many educational institutions for the growth of education among women. The Government decided to extend economic assistance for women education by the 1954 Declaration. In 1882, the Hunter commission suggested to spend the major part of public funds on women education. This led to the establishment of educational institutions for them. The Commission established the Normal schools for women teachers. Thus, by the end of 1882, the number of girls sitting for the matriculation examination had increased from 2054 to 41,582. In 1886, a Medical College for the women was established in Amritsar. In 1886, the first women hospital was established in Bombay. The Christian missionaries established two Medical Colleges in Ludhiana to educate women in surgery. Thus, the condition of women started improving with the spread of education among them.

Thus, with the efforts made by the British Government and the social reformers for improving the condition of woman brought many changes in their condition. They were given high

status in the society with the legal status given to the widow re-marriage. The widowed women got the right to marry. They had no such right earlier, wherever; a man could marry again after his wife, s death. This injustice was undone by this Act. The children born after re-marriage were given full rights regarding property, etc. The child killing ban Act was passed to stop girl s killing after birth. The birth of a girl was not welcomed. They were considered to be a blot on family s respect; therefore they were killed after birth. With this Act such killings beware banned. Similarly the child marriage was banned by the Civil Marriage Act. The age for the Marriage of the boys and girls were fixed. The child marriage had a negative effect on the health. They suffered from various types of ailments. The passing of this act in such condition proved to be a blessing for the society. Due to the passage of these laws, the condition of women improved significantly.

The educational institution started by the British Government and the social reformers for the education of women led to the spreading of education among women. Before this they received no education of any kind they remained illiterate though out their lives. But due to these educational institutions, the education stared growing among them. This made them aware about their rights .The social reformers too made efforts at different times to improve the condition of women. These included the equal inclusion of women in educational institution of Namdhari, Singh Sabha and the Arya Samajetc. This made them to start participating in the National Movement too, in the Punjab the arrival of the British and the growth of the Western education made big impact on woman. When they came to know that British women and the men worked equally they became aware of their rights and they started demanding their rights.



Thus we can state that the condition of women had started improving to a great extent in Punjab after 1849. A number of evils were prevalent in the society at that time, for instance the Sati Pratha. The Child Marriage, Infant killing and the practice of veil, etc. But due to the efforts made by the religious Movements active at that time and by the British Government, an improvement in the condition of women started taking place. The education spread among women through the educational institutions established by the British Government. This gave birth to an awakening among them. Other than this, due to the start of educational institutions by them women education and due to their making the women an equal part in the social reform Movement, the women came to know about their rights. Along with this, the acts passed by the Government put an end to the evils like Sati Pratha, Child Marriage and the non-existence of widow remarriage, etc. But still, the evils such as Child Marriage and female infanticide exist in the society.

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# The Two Most Prospective Reasons of Visiting Yogyakarta and its Effect for the Tourist Visit Numbers in 2016-2017: Historical and Cultural Point of View

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## Abstract

Special Region of Yogyakarta is located near the southern coast of Java, surrounded on three sides by the province of Central Java, and with the Indian Ocean on the south side. The population at the 2014 is 3,594,290 people. It has an area of 3,133.15 km<sup>2</sup>, making it the second-smallest area of the provinces in Indonesia, after Jakarta the capital city of Indonesia. Yogyakarta still becomes the priority choice to be visited for domestic and international tourists. Based on the data 2016 and 2017, Aris Riyanta the Head of Yogyakarta Tourism Office, said in 2017 there were 4.7 million domestic tourists visiting Yogyakarta. This amount has exceeded the target of 4.5 million domestic tourists. The foreign tourists were recorded at 397,000 people who visited Yogyakarta during 2017 and the rest are the domestics' one.

There are some factors why domestics and foreign tourists like visiting Yogyakarta Indonesia, two of them are because of the historical and cultural factor. From the historical factor, Yogyakarta is given special treatment by Indonesian government as a special region because of its totality in helping Indonesian independence during the National Revolution (1945-1949). As the first-level division in Indonesia, Yogyakarta is governed by Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX as the governor and Prince Paku Alam VIII as the vice governor. The Sultanate has existed in various forms through prehistory, and survived through the rule of the Dutch and in 1942.

In August 1945 Indonesia's first president, Soekarno proclaimed the independence of Indonesian Republic, and by September of that year, Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX and Sri Pakualam VIII got letters from the first President of Indonesia Soekarno that expressing

their support for the newly-born nation of Indonesia, in which they acknowledged the Yogyakarta Sultanate as part of the Indonesian Republic and both of the Javanese kingdoms were awarded special status as special regions within Indonesian Republic.

From cultural factor, Yogyakarta has more than just culture though. The key attraction of Yogyakarta is 'Kraton' (the Sultan's Palace). The Sultan's palace is the center of Yogya's traditional life and despite the advance of modernity; it still emanates the spirit of refinement, which has been the hallmark of Yogya's art for centuries. This vast complex of decaying buildings was built in the 18th century, and is actually a walled city within the luxurious pavilions and in which the current Sultan still resides.

**Keywords: Special Region of Yogyakarta, Tourist Increase Number, History, Culture**

## **Introduction**

### **Introduction to Yogyakarta**

Yogyakarta Special Region (Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta/ DIY) is officially one of Indonesia's 32 provinces. Yogyakarta is one of the foremost cultural centers of Java. This region is located at the foot of the active Merapi volcano, Yogyakarta was in the 16th and 17th centuries the seat of the mighty Javanese empire of Mataram from which present day Yogyakarta has the best inherited of traditions. The city itself has a special charm, which seldom fails to captivate the visitors or tourists.

This province is one of the most densely populated areas of Indonesia. The city came from 1755, after Mataram division into the Sultanates of Yogyakarta and Surakarta (Solo). Gamelan, classical and contemporary Javanese dances, wayang kulit (leather puppet), theater and other expressions of traditional art keep the visitors coming to Yogyakarta. Local craftsmen excel in arts such

batiks, silver and leather works. Next to the traditional, contemporary art has found fertile soil in Yogya's culture oriented society.

Yogyakarta is often called the main gateway to the Central Java as where it is geographically located. It stretches from Mount Merapi to the Indian Ocean. There is daily air service to Yogya from Jakarta, Surabaya and Bali as well as regular train service and easy accessibility by road. Yogyakarta is commonly considered as the modern cultural of Central Java. Although some may prefer Solo as a good runner up, Yogyakarta remains the clear front-runner for traditional dance, Wayang (traditional puppetry) and music. Yogyakarta has more than just culture though. It is a very lively city and a shopper's delight. The main road, Malioboro Street, is always crowded and famous for its night street food-culture and street vendors. Many tourist shops and cheap hotels are concentrated along the street.

The key attraction of Yogyakarta is Kraton (the Sultan's Palace). The Sultan's palace is the center of Yogya's traditional life and despite the advance of modernity; it still emanates the spirit of refinement, which has been the hallmark of Yogya's art for centuries. This vast complex of decaying buildings was built in the 18th century, and is actually a walled city within the city with luxurious pavilions and in which the current Sultan still resides.

## **Discussion**

### **Special Region of Yogyakarta and the Tourist Numbers**

In Java Island, especially the city of Yogyakarta has a distinctive art and culture hub, even regarded as the center and source of art in Indonesia. We can find a variety of typical Yogyakarta art and its cultures that are well known. Yogyakarta is an area in Central Java which unique and interesting art and culture. This is

because this area is still led by a Sultan who still holds firm old beliefs, especially art. Yogyakarta people also still regularly hold art events, with the sole purpose, to remember their ancestors. One of the factors why art is so popular is because Yogyakarta is a place of the civilization of the first Hindu-Buddhist kingdom.

### 2.1. Special Region of Yogyakarta and its Tourist Facility

Statistic Data shows that Special Region of Yogyakarta has complete facility as a tourist destination. It has religious tour, art tour, culture tour, historical tour, beach and hills panorama, etc. It is also completed with accommodation facility like hotel, home-stay, guest house, food stalls, traditional accessories, souvenirs, and others. There are around 96 hotels under certification in 2016 with 9.224 rooms with these following categories:

- Five Star : 9 hotels with 1873 rooms.
- Four Star : 18 hotels with 2516 rooms.
- Three Star : 32 hotels with 2756 rooms.
- Two Stars : 24 hotels with 1538 rooms.
- One Star : 13 hotels with 541 rooms.

The number of International Tourists in 2017 is 342.744, means increase around 8, 87% compared from 2016 with 314.827 visitors. While local tourists' numbers in 2017 was 2.617.380 people that means increased to 8, 63% compared from 2016. Stay time average for International tourists in 2017 was 2 until 14 days that means increase 0, 06 day compared from 2016 that was only. The number of non-star hotels in 2017 was 589 hotels with room number was 10.376 (not included hostel).

## **Special Region of Yogyakarta and the Tourists Visit Numbers**

Tourist Attractions / Museums Number of Attractions in the Special Region of Yogyakarta recorded in 2017 which in-



cludes natural attractions, cultural tourism objects, artificial tourism objects, and tourist villages / villages as many as 131 Tourism Objects. The total visits of foreign tourists to tourism objects were 601,781 people, while Nusantara tourists reached 25,349,012 people, bringing the total to 25,950,793 people. The number of National Aircraft Passenger Arrival at Yogyakarta Adisucipto Airport in 2017 was 3,682,483 passengers while the departure was 3,662,289 passengers. The Number of International Airline Passenger Arrival at Yogyakarta Adisucipto Airport In 2017 there were 244,334 passengers and departures of 228,625 passengers.

The data for 2018 from January to June continues to increase. Recorded in January 2018, total tourists were 261,153 consisting of foreign tourists 11,718 and local tourists were 249,434. Until June 2018, there were a total of 1,859,888 consisting of 113,993 foreign tourists and 1,745,895 foreign tourists. To reach the target of tourist visits, Yogyakarta City Tourism Office continues to promote gradually. Promotions that have already begun include table top, the exhibition, camptrip, which is to invite foreign journalists to cover events in Jogja such as the Wayang Night Carnival which will be held next October.

The Yogyakarta City Tourism Office also collaborates with tourist villages in Yogyakarta as alternative tourism. A total of 17 tourist villages under the auspices of the Tourism Office were given the freedom to explore and develop the potential of their respective regions, and Tourism Department of Yogyakarta City will assist in the field of promotion.

### **Transportation in Yogyakarta**

Transportation in Yogyakarta consists of land transportation (public buses, taxis, trains, andhong /horse-drawn carriages

and Padi cabs) and Adi Sutjipto Airport airplanes. In early March 2008, the DIY government operated the Trans Jogjakarta bus as an effort to make transportation in this city comfortable, cheap and reliable. Roads in Yogyakarta are now neater and cleaner than in the past due to the commitment of the Yogyakarta regional government to Yogyakarta as a tourism city (proven by made a giant TV on one of Yogyakarta's highways to promote and train station boards). Even so, roads in Yogyakarta are also classified as experiencing frequent congestion.

### **Yogyakarta and its Culture**

Yogyakarta is still very identic of Javanese culture. Art and culture are an integral part of the life of the people of Yogyakarta. From childhood to adulthood, the people of Yogyakarta will often witness and even participate in various arts and cultural events in this city. For the people of Yogyakarta, where every stage of life has its own meaning, tradition is an important matter and is still implemented today. Tradition must also not be separated from the art presented in the traditional ceremonies. The arts owned by the people of Yogyakarta are very diverse. And the diverse arts are beautifully arranged in a traditional ceremony. So those for the people of Yogyakarta, art and culture really become an inseparable part of their lives. Typical arts in Yogyakarta include the kethoprak, jathilan, and wayang kulit. Yogyakarta is also known for its silver and unique style of making dyed batik fabrics. He is also known for living contemporary art. Giving names to children is still important thing Javanese children's names. Yogyakarta is also known as gamelan music, including the unique style of gamelan Yogyakarta.

## **Interesting Attractions**

Interesting attractions in Yogyakarta: Malioboro, Gembira-loka Zoo, Taman Sari Water Palace, Jogja Return Monument, Yogyakarta Palace Museum, Sonobudoyo Museum, Merapi Slope, Kaliurang, Parangtritis Beach, Baron Beach, Samas Beach, Selarong Goa, Prambanan Temple, Kalasan Temple, and Ratu Boko Palace. About 40 km from the northwest of Yogyakarta there is the Borobudur Temple, which was established in 1991 as a UNESCO World Heritage. Yogyakarta is famous for its delicious, inexpensive, nutritious food while making people miss who have stopped or lived in this city. Angkringan is a typical student menu; there are bakmi godhog at Pojok Beteng, rabbit satay, Kaliurang with jadah Mbah Carik, coral satay Kotagedhe, sego abang Njirak Gunung Kidul and many other culinary attractions.

## **Research Method and Findings**

### **Research Method**

This is qualitative research that goals to know more about what the two most prospects reasons of visiting Yogyakarta since 2016-2017. The data was taken by giving around 30 questionnaires in each tourism destination as well as doing interview with the local and the international tourists. There are some reasons why Yogyakarta Still becomes the priority of Tourism Destination:

- From The History
- From The Social Life
- From The Artworks
- From The Culture
- From The Way of Life
- From The Educated Situation

- From The Panorama
- From And Other Aspects

### **Research Finding**

From those reasons above, here are the percentage result of the reasons why Yogyakarta Still become priority of Tourism Destination:

- From The History : 32%
- From The Social Life : 4%
- From The Artworks : 16%
- From The Culture : 22%
- From The Way of Life : 10%
- From The Educated Situation : 3%
- From The Panorama : 12%
- From And Other Aspects : 1%

From those percentage result above, the researcher can conclude that there are two most prospective reasons why Yogyakarta Still become priority to be visited , they are:

- From The History : 32%
- From The Culture : 22%

### **Research Results:**

- From The History : 32%
- From The Culture : 22%

From those two most prospective results, the researcher categorized which tourism objects they mean most seeing the aspects of culture and history; they are Yogyakarta Sultan Palace, Prambanan Temple, Borobudur Temple, and Taman Sari Water Castle.

## **The History of Yogyakarta Sultan Palace**

The complex was built in 1755–1756 by Hamengkubuwono I the first Sultan in Yogyakarta. It was recognized the creation of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta under the Dutch Company. On 20 June 1812 Stamford Raffles led 1,200-strong British force to attack the walled royal city of Yogyakarta. Yogyakarta fell in one day, and the palace was sacked and burned. It was the first attack on a Javanese court, and the sultanate was subjugated to colonial authority. Most of the current palace was built by Sultan Hamengkubuwono VIII (who reigned from 1921 to 1939), and was rebuilt after earthquakes in 1876 and 2006.

## **The History of Prambanan Temple**

Prambanan is the largest Hindu temple in Indonesia, even in Southeast Asia. It was built around 850 BC by the Sanjaya dynasty. Location of Prambanan is in Prambanan village between the two districts and two provinces at once, they are in Sleman sign in Yogyakarta Province and Klaten in Central Java Province. Prambanan temple complex is located on the edge of Yogyakarta-Solo highway. Surakarta distance is about 40 km and the distance from Yogyakarta is around 20km. In 1991, Prambanan was designated by UNESCO as a world cultural heritage (World Wonder Heritage). Prambanan temple complex is spacious (39.8 hectares). With a height of 47 meters or more in height of 5 meters from Borobudur, Prambanan make it looked more solid and powerful. Similar to the background of the construction of Prambanan, this is to show the triumph of Hindu civilization in the land of Java.

Prambanan temple is often referred to Rara Jonggrang. It is associated with the legend that is believed by some people about the history of Prambanan Java. Prambanan this legend be-

gan when one of a prince named Bandung Bondowoso who falls in love with a princess and handsome face, named Rara Jonggrang. There is no reason for rejecting the love of the Prince. Rara Jonggrang to Bondowoso makes a request to make a temple with 1,000 statues overnight. The request is agreed by Bondowoso. In short, the temple was built. Worry if Bondowoso is able to fulfill her request, Rara Jonggrang finally gather people around to frustrate Bondowoso by grinding rice and make a fire in order Bondowoso attempt failed. When creating a statue to 999 later that the sound of cocks crowing and a bright light as if the sun had risen. Because he does not accept the fraud Rara Jonggrang, Bondowoso cursed Rara Jonggrang become a statue to fulfill the statue made into 1000.

### **The History of Borobudur Temple**

Borobudur is a Buddhist temple located in Borobudur Village, Magelang Central Java which is about 15 kilometers from Yogyakarta. The temple consists of six square-shaped terraces on which there are three circular courtyard, the wall panels decorated with 2,672 reliefs and contained the original of 504 Buddha statues. Borobudur has the most complete collection of Buddhist reliefs in the world. There are some stupas that are located in the middle and also crowning the building. A historian believes that Borobudur is a combination of two words, namely Bara and Budur. The word Bara comes from Sanskrit which means Monastery or Temple Complex, while Budur comes from the word Beduhur which means above. The name Borobudur means Monastery on the Hill. According to the artifacts found, this temple was built by King Samaratungga one of the kingdoms of ancient Mataram kingdom, which is descendant of the Shailendra House that glo-

rifies the God Indra.

### **The History of Tamansari Watercastle**

The place is in one area of Sultan Palace, exactly the place where princess taking shower. While taking shower, the sultan sees from the higher place to choose which princess will accompany him that day. This is not only legend but based on the historical point of view.

### **Conclusion and Suggestion**

The Special Region of Yogyakarta is located near the southern coast of Java, surrounded on three sides by the province of Central Java, and with the Indian Ocean on the south side. The population at the 2014 is 3,594,290. It has an area of 3,133.15 km<sup>2</sup>, making it the second-smallest area of the provinces in Indonesia, after Jakarta the capital city of Indonesia.

Yogyakarta still becomes the priority choice to be visited for domestic and international tourists. Based on the data 2016 and 2017, the Head of Yogyakarta Tourism Office, Aris Riyanta said in 2017 there were 4.7 million domestic tourists visiting Yogyakarta. This amount has exceeded the target of 4.5 million domestic tourists. The foreign tourists were recorded at 397,000 visited Yogyakarta during 2017 and the rests are domestic tourists.

There are some factors why domestics and foreign tourists like visiting Yogyakarta Indonesia, two of them are because of the historical and cultural factors. From the historical factor, Yogyakarta is given special treatment by Indonesian government as a special region because of its totality in helping Indonesian independence during the Indonesian National Revolution (1945–

1949). As the first-level division in Indonesia, Yogyakarta is governed by Sultan Hamengkubuwono as the vice governor is Prince Paku Alam as the vice governor. The Sultanate has existed in various forms through prehistory, and survived through the rule of the Dutch and in 1942 invasion of the Dutch East Indies by the Japanese Empire.

In August 1945, Indonesia's first president Soekarno proclaimed the independence of Indonesian Republic, and by September of that year, Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX and Sri Pakualam VIII got letters from the first President of Indonesia Soekarno that expressing their support for the newly-born nation of Indonesia, in which they acknowledged the Yogyakarta Sultanate as part of the Indonesian Republic and both of the Javanese kingdoms were awarded special status as special regions within Indonesian Republic.

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## **Conclusion**

1. Based on the data 2016 and 2017: there were 4.7 million tourists visiting Yogyakarta.
2. This number has exceeded from the target of 4.5 million tour-



ists.

3. The foreign tourists were recorded at 397,000 people, and the rests are domestic tourists.
4. Special Region of Yogyakarta is number two for the most wanted to be visited in Indonesia after Bali (Based on the national data).
5. Special Region of Yogyakarta is still become favorite to be visited because of its historical story related to its loyalty and participation towards Indonesian Independence.
6. Yogyakarta is always interesting to be visited because of its culture tradition, art, social, people, and others, but the most priority reasons of visiting Yogyakarta are because of its culture and history factors.
7. From those many aspects of special things in the Special Region of Yogyakarta, the visit number of tourists (local or International) always increase every year.

### **Suggestion**

1. The government should maintain public facilities such as public rest room, traditional restaurant, traditional events yearly, and safety for local and international tourists.
2. by making the open and close time of those tourism destination becomes longer (not based on the civil servant work office only).

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Books Chapter  
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# Death Sentence in India: Historical Perspective

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## Abstract

Right to life and personal liberty is the precious, invulnerable, inalienable right of person in every democratic country. The Constitution of India, 1950 is one of the unique Constitutions of the world which guarantees equal protection to all its citizens and forbids the State from depriving a person from life and personal liberty without procedure established by law.

Nevertheless man by nature is a fighting animal and crimeless society is a delusion. There is no society without crime and criminals. Crime is an act punishable by law, forbidden by statute or injurious to the public welfare. Hence, "Death Sentence" is the highest level of punishment awarded in any democracy to maintain law and order in every society. It can be defined as lawful infliction of death as punishment for a wrongful act.

In other words, the death penalty is a legal process whereby a person is put to death by State as a punishment for a crime. Most of the countries have adopted sever instruments to abolish death penalty yet it exit in practically on over the world. In India, the concept of death sentence has also been adopted but in rarest of rare cases. So, in this paper, an attempt has been made to discuss the historical aspect of death sentence within judicature discretion.

**Key words:; Death Penalty, Indian Constitution, the Indian Penal Code, the Code of Criminal Procedure, Reports of Indian Law Commission etc.**

## Introduction

Punishment is one of the earliest method of controlling crime and criminality and has always conceived security of person and property as well as the stability of the social order. It embraces coercion used to enforce the *'lex terrae'* i.e., “law of the land” which is the pillars of modern civilization. However, disparity in modalities of punishment, namely, severity, uniformity, certainty etc., are perceptible, because of variations in general societal to law breaking. In certain communities, punishments may be relatively extreme, uniform, quick and definite, while in others, it may not be so.<sup>1</sup> However, blood feud was one of the common modes of punishment in early society which was regulated by customary rule of procedure. It was undoubtedly a retaliatory method which underlined the principle of *lex tailonis* i.e., “eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth”.

These blood-feuds sometimes led to confrontation between the gens which made life extremely difficult.<sup>2</sup> With the advancement, primitive societies gradually transformed into the civil societies and the institution of kingship began to exercise its authority in settling disputes. Thus, the award of death sentence became a public function as the State assumed the responsibility for redressing private vengeance.<sup>3</sup> The earlier penal system divulged that death sentence was always considered as the part of the criminal justice system, and was tortuous, cruel and barbaric in nature. It was towards the end of eighteenth century that altruistic began to assert its influence on penology emphasizing that severity should

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1 John Lewis Gillion, *Criminology and Penology* 551(Praeger,Greenwood Publishing Group,Gordon,3rd edition,1971).

2 Prof. (Dr.) Syed Mohammad Afzal Qadri, Ahmad Siddique's *Criminology, Penology and Victimology* 273(Eastern Book Company, Lucknow, 7th edn., 2016).

3 Dr. N.V. Paranjape, *Criminology and Penology* 263(Centre Law Publications, Allahabad, 15th edn., 2011).

be kept to a minimum in any penal system.<sup>4</sup>

### **Concept of Death Sentence**

Death penalty has been always been considered a mode of punishment in all primitive societies. The term death penalty is sometimes used interchangeably with capital punishment.<sup>5</sup> In common parlance, Capital punishment, is also called death penalty but there is little difference exists between the both. The Capital Punishment means the legally authorized killing of someone as a punishment of crime. In other words, actual execution of death sentence by lawful authority is called Capital Punishment. The word 'Capital' is derived from the Latin word 'capitalist', which means of the head. In ancient times death penalty was carried out by beheading a person and so it was called capital punishment.<sup>6</sup> In other words Capital punishment is the punishment which involves legal killing of a person who has committed a certain offences prohibited by the law. Ancient criminal system of the different countries as well as in India, the penal system had always been considered cruel and barbaric in nature and severe type of punishments had been prevalent *i.e.*, Scolding, Mutilation, Branding, Stoning, Pillory, Banishment, Amercement, Solitary Imprisonment etc.<sup>7</sup> The present penal system of India is being governed by the Indian Penal Code, 1860 and recognized: Death Penalty; Life Imprisonment; Imprisonment (Rigorous and Simple); Forfeiture of Property , Fine etc., as sort of punishment.

The Indian higher judiciary, whenever awards punishment

4 Available at <https://www.shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/>( last visited on August 22,2020).

5 Available at <https://www.britannica.com> (last visited on July 28,2020).

6 Randall Coyne and Lyn Emtzerth, *Capital Punishment–The Judicial Process*,(Carolina Academic press, 1994), p.1.

7 Prof. (Dr.) Syed Mohammad Afzal Qadri, *Ahmad Siddique's Criminology, Penology and Victimology* 273(Eastern Book Company, Lucknow, 7th edn., 2016).

always follow a theory or proposition *viz.*, Deterrent Theory; Reformatory Theory; Preventive Theory; Retributive Theory; Expiation Theory etc., on the basis of which it passes its Judgment. By following the concept of reformatory theory Justice V.R. Krishna Iyer in the case of *Rajendra Prasad v. State of Uttar Pradesh*<sup>8</sup> commented that “*The special reason must relate, not to the crime but to the criminal. The crime may be shocking and yet the criminal may not deserve the Death Penalty*”.<sup>9</sup> Thus, the objective of punishments is to protect the society from vexatious and undesirable offences by deterring potential offenders, from committing further offences and by reforming and revolve them into law-abiding citizens.<sup>10</sup>

### Historical Perspective

The fear of being condemned to death is perhaps the greatest deterrent which keeps offenders away from criminality.<sup>11</sup> Death Sentence is always being used for punishing the delinquent for various kinds of wrongs committed by them. It has been prevalent in India from times immemorial. It is believed that the root of capital punishment lie in violent retaliation by members of a tribe or a group against those committing hostility against the other members of the group. Earlier, in 18th century, the Babylonian ‘Code of Hammurabi’ made the provision of death penalty.<sup>12</sup> Gradually, when a community relinquished its personal prerogative to the sovereign authority, the power to punish the wrongdoer became as public function of the State.<sup>13</sup> However, the concept of

8 (1979) 3 SCC 646.

9 K.D. Gaur, Textbook on Indian Penal Code 73 (LexisNexis, Universal Law Publishing, Gurgaon, Haryana, 5th edn., 2014).

10 *Id.* at 70.

11 *Supra* note 3 at 285.

12 Available at: <https://www.deathpenaltyinfo.org> (last visited on July 30, 2020).

13 K.D. Gaur, Commentary on the Indian Penal Code 830 (LexisNexis, Universal Law Publishing, Gurgaon, Haryana, 3rd edn. 2006).



death penalty is old as Indian contemporary society. During the Vedic Period,<sup>14</sup> the sovereign authority of the king was accompanied with his accountability toward his subjects and the coercive authority i.e., “Danda” was conceded as the base of Dharama. The Dharamshastra, the Smritis, the Upanishads, particularly, the Chhandogya and the Brihadaranyak was justified the killing of men either in war or in combat and there is no reference to the king, orchestrate criminal justice by inflicting penalty of death.<sup>15</sup> Further it was credence that crime was an act of afreet or evil spirit, and a person perpetrating a crime must be killed. Similarly, mythological epics Ramayana and Mahabharata also recognized the concept of death penalty. In the Ramayana period Lord Rama’s victory over Ravana again illustrates maintaining of peace in the society.

In this period stray instances of offences are found in which death penalty was given. Likewise, in Mahabharata period political powers were at the top and it was believed that the priority of the king, to safeguard the society from all sorts of danger and it could be gained by taking the life of the wrongdoer.<sup>16</sup> In Medieval Period, Mughal administration was known as pillar of justice but death sentence was revived in crudest form.<sup>17</sup> The emperors themselves were the final Court of Appeal and capital punishment was not to be accompanied with mutilation or other cruelty, except in cases of dangerous citizens.<sup>18</sup> The provision related to crime and punishment are available in some form or other and are revealed

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14 1500BC to 600BC

15 S.K. Mishra, Criminal Law of India 53 (Allahabad Law Agency, Faridabad, 3rd edn., 2011).

16 *Supra* note 3 at 293. N.V praanjape

17 *Ibid.*

18 *Available at:* <https://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in>(last visited on August 20, 2020).

in the sacred books such as holy Quran.<sup>19</sup> On the other hand, the Islamic law believed that the main aim of punishment is to generate a deterrent effect in the society. It recognized *Had*,<sup>20</sup> *Tazir*,<sup>21</sup> *Qisas*<sup>22</sup> etc., as sever form of crime. During the Mughal regime in India, with the arrival of the British East India Company to the Indian Territory some statutory modifications were made in the criminal law that was in practice. A Draft Penal Code was prepared and submitted in 1837 by the First Indian Law Commission presided over by Lord Macaulay and received the assent of the Governor General on 6th October, 1860. Under the Code, death penalty was prescribed for offences like waging war against the State, giving false evidence of a capital offence, murder, perjury etc.<sup>23</sup>

However, the British government designed a systematic penal code *i.e.*, the Indian Penal Code, 1860 and procedure for criminal trials *i.e.*, the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898 which was later amended by the Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Act, 1973. The capital offences were strictly limited under the penal code and therefore the British can be held responsible for partially abolishing death penalty.<sup>24</sup> Since then various amendments have been made in the Penal Code as well as the procedural laws to systematize the awarding of death penalty. India parliament has witnessed the issues of abolition of death penalty many times but still India Penal Law have the provision of capital punishment

19 Ibid.

20 The crimes that affected the society were called the Had or the Huhud *i.e.* the punishment ordered by Allah himself.

21 The second category of other crimes are those for which tazeer or the penal punishment apply. For these types of crimes the courts are empowered to decide the punishment unlike the first category of crimes.

22 Qisas was based on retributive justice means the guilty person is to be punished in the same way as he has treated his victim.

23 Supra note 18.

24 Supra note 15 at 54.

and death sentence both in theory and practice.

Hence, it remained in effect after independence in 1947. The first hanging in Independent India was that of Nathuram Godse and Narayan Apte in the Mahatma Gandhi assassination case.<sup>25</sup> The records of death penalty execution after independence are not confirmed by the authorities, there is difference of opinion on the total number of executions since independence. Dhananjay Chatterjee was executed in 2004 which was the first execution after a long break since 1995.

Mohammad Ajmal Amir Qasab was hanged until death on November 21, 2012, he was the gunman in the 2008 Mumbai attack, and On February 8, 2013 Muhammad Afzal Guru was hanged. He was convicted of plotting the 2001 attack on India's Parliament. The last execution to take place in India was on July 30, 2015, it was hanging of Yakub Memon, who was convicted of financing the 1993 Mumbai bombing.<sup>26</sup> Recently, Nirbhaya case<sup>27</sup> gang rape convicted were hanged on March 20, 2020 in Tihar Jail.<sup>28</sup>

### **Provision of Death Sentence in India.**

After independence, India retained several laws sort by the British colonial government *viz.*, the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898 (hereinafter read as Cr.P.C), and the Indian Penal Code, 1860 (hereinafter read as IPC). Under the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898 death sentence was a rule and life imprisonment was an exception in capital offences and when court pronounced sen-

25 Gopal Vinayak Godse v. Union of India and Ors. AIR 1971 Bom 56, Available at: <https://www.indiankanoon.org> (last visited on August 25,2020).

26 Available at: <https://www.indiatoday.in> (last visited on August 25,2020).

27 Mukesh v. State for NCT of Delhi, (2017) 6 SCC 1.

28 Available at: <https://www.thehindubusinessline.com>( last visited on July 25,2020).

tence lesser than death, the court was under compulsion to record the reason in writing.<sup>29</sup> Later, by the Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Act, 1955 this provision had been omitted.<sup>30</sup> When the Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Act, 1973<sup>31</sup> life imprisonment has become rule and death sentence is an exemption in capital offences. In case of death sentence is awarded, the court is required to state the reasons which justify its imposition as against the life imprisonment.<sup>32</sup>

Moreover, section 53 of the Indian Penal Code, 1860 makes provision for death sentence and section 368 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973 provides powers to High Court to confirm death sentence.<sup>33</sup> Similarly, IPC also makes the provision of death penalty for various offences such as Section 121<sup>34</sup>, Section 132<sup>35</sup>, Section 194<sup>36</sup>, Section 195A<sup>37</sup>, Section 302<sup>38</sup>, Section 305<sup>39</sup>, Sec-

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29 The Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898 ,s.367(5)- If the accused is convicted of an offence punishable with death or, in the alternative, with transportation for life or imprisonment for a term of years, the Court shall in its judgment state the reasons for the sentence awarded.

30 Supra note 15 at 146.

31 The Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973,s.354(3)- When the conviction is for an offence punishable with death or, in the alternative, with imprisonment for life or imprisonment for a term of years, the judgment shall state the reasons for the sentence awarded, and, in the case of sentence of death, the special reasons for such sentence.

32 Balwant Singh v. State of Punjab, 1976 Cri.L. J.291.

33 Supra note 25, s.368-Power of High Court to confirm sentence or annul conviction.

34 The Indian Penal Code,1860,s.121-Waging, or attempting to wage war, or abetting waging of war, against the Government of India.

35 *Id.*,s.132- Abetment of mutiny, if mutiny is committed in consequence thereof.

36 *Id.*,s.194- Giving or fabricating false evidence with intent to procure conviction of capital offence.

37 *Id.*,s.195A-Threatening or inducing any person to give false evidence resulting in the conviction and death of an innocent person.

38 *Id.*,s.302-Murder

39 *d.*,s.305- Abetment of a suicide by a minor, insane person or intoxicated person.

tion 307(2)<sup>40</sup>, Section 364A<sup>41</sup>, Sections 376A<sup>42</sup> and 376E<sup>43</sup>, Section 396<sup>44</sup>etc. The Protection of Child from Sexual Offence Act, 2012 also introduced the mandatory minimum punishments and death penalty for penetrative sexual assault on children.

Besides this, the special or local Statutory enactments to deal with death penalty are the Army Act, 1950; the Air Force Act, 1950; the Navy Act, 1950; the Indo Tibetan Border Police Act, 1992; the Assam Rifles Act, 2006; the Border Security Force Act, 1968; the Sashastra Seema Bal Act, 2007; the Defence and Internal Security Act, 1971; the Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances (Prevention) Act, 1985 as amended in 1988; the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989; the Explosive Substances Act, 1908 as amended in 2001; the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act, 1967, as amended in 2004; the Commission of Sati (Prevention) Act 1987 etc.

### **Law Commission's Reports on Death Penalty**

The capital punishment or the death penalty is inevitable discipline which is perceived by almost all communities of the world. It is a very sentient issue from time immemorial and is an integral part of the Indian criminal justice system. To embrace an extensive study on the issue of the abolition of the death penalty, first time Royal Commission<sup>45</sup> recommended that in executing the death sentence some conditions must to be fulfilled *viz.*, it should be as less painful; as quick as possible and least mutilation

40 *Id.*,s. 307(2)-Attempted murder by a serving life convict.

41 *Id.*,s.364A-Kidnapping for ransom.

42 *Id.*,s. 376A- Rape and injury which causes death or leaves the woman in a persistent vegetative state.

43 *Id.*,s.376E- Certain repeat offenders in the context of rape .

44 *Id.*,s.396- Dacoity with murder.

45 The Royal Commission Report,1949 on Capital Punishment,p.256-261.

of the body *etc.* The various modes of execution of death sentence as prevalent in India were again considered by the Law Commission of India in 1967. By analysis of the existing socio-economic cultural structures and the absence of any Indian empirical research to the contrary, it concluded that the death penalty should be retained and a method which is certain, humane, quick and decent should be adopted for severe nature of crime.

The commission also recommended retaining of section 303<sup>46</sup> of the Indian Penal Code, 1860 which made provision for mandatory death penalty. Later, the Supreme Court in *Bachan Singh v. State of Punjab*<sup>47</sup> case upheld the constitutionality of the death penalty, but confined its application to the 'rarest of rare cases' to reduce the arbitrariness of the penalty. Similarly, the Law Commission of India received a reference from the Supreme Court in *Santosh Kumar Satishbbushan Bariyar v. State of Maharashtra*<sup>48</sup> and *Shankar Kisanrao Khade v. State of Maharashtra*<sup>49</sup> cases to study the issue of the death penalty in India to "allow for an up-to-date and informed discussion and debate on the subject." It recommended that the concept of death penalty should be abolished for all crimes other than terrorism related offences to safeguard national security.<sup>50</sup> Further, the Commission sincerely hopes that the movement towards absolute abolition will be swift and irreversible.

## Judicial Perspective

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46 Supra note 28, s.303, Punishment for murder by life-convict -Whoever, being under sentence of imprisonment for life commits murder, shall be punished with death.

47 AIR 1982 SC 1325.

48 (2009) 6 SCC 498.

49 (2013) 5 SCC 546.

50 The Law Commission of India, 262nd Report on the Death Penalty August 2015, P. 217-218.

The judiciary has played a commendable role in the interpretation of statutory provisions relating to death penalty with changing needs of the society. First time, the Supreme Court of India in the case of *Jagmohan Singh v. State of U.P.*<sup>51</sup> upheld the constitutionality of the death penalty and held that deprivation of life is constitutionally permissible. Capital punishment was not violation of Articles 14, 19 and 21 and India cannot risk the experiment of abolition of death penalty. In the case of *Ediga Anamma v. State of Andhra Pradesh*<sup>52</sup> Justice Krishna Iyer commuted the death sentence to life imprisonment by citing factors like age, gender, socio-economic background and psychic compulsions of the accused.

It was also laid out that apart from looking into the details of the crime and deciding based on the extent of violence committed, the judges should also look into the criminal and his condition or haplessness while committing the crime. Justice Krishna Iyer reiterated a similar opinion in the case of *Rajendra Prasad v. State of Uttar Pradesh*<sup>53</sup> and empathetically stressed that death sentence is violating Articles 14, 19 and 21 of the Constitution of India. He further opined that to impose death penalty two conditions must be required *i.e.*, the special reason should be recorded for imposing death penalty, the death penalty must be imposed only in extraordinary circumstances etc.<sup>54</sup>In the case of *Bachan Singh v State of Punjab*<sup>55</sup> the question of the validity of capital punishment was again considered and Apex Court overruled its earlier decision in *Rajinder Prasad* case. Although,

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51 (1973) 1 SCC 20.

52 AIR 1974 SC 799.

53 AIR 1979 SC 916.

54 Available at: <https://www.indianbarassociation.org>(last visited 23 August,2020).

55 *Supra* note 41.

Justice Bhagwati alone dissented, five judge bench by a majority of 4:1 viewed that death penalty, as an alternative punishment for murder is not unreasonable and hence not violated the Articles 14, 19 and 21 of the Constitution of India,1950.

The doctrine of “rarest of the rare cases” is established under this case. The Supreme Court in the case of *Mithu Singh v. State of Punjab*<sup>56</sup> held that the mandatory death sentence under Section 303 of the Indian Penal Code, 1860 was unconstitutional and hence invalid. Subsequently in the cases of *T.V Vatheeswaram v. State of Tamil Nadu*<sup>57</sup> and *Sher Singh v. State of Punjab*<sup>58</sup> the Supreme Court was faced with the question that whether a prolonged delay was enough to commute the death sentence to life imprisonment. The court observed that delay in the execution of death sentence does not violate Article 21 of the Constitution to entitle a person under the sentence of death to demand quashing of sentence and converting it into life imprisonment.<sup>59</sup> Again in the case of *Macchi Singh v. State of Punjab*<sup>60</sup> in order to elucidate the “rarest of the rare rule” and justified the application of death sentence Justice M.P Thakkar gave the following illustrations for awarding death punishment: When the murder is committed in an extremely brutal, grotesque, diabolical, revolting, or dastardly manner so as to arouse intense and extreme indignation of the community; When the murder is committed for a motive which evinces total depravity and meanness; When murder of a Scheduled Caste or minority community etc., is committed not for personal reasons but in circumstances which arouse

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56 AIR 1983 SC 473.

57 AIR 1983 SC 361.

58 AIR 1983 SC 465.

59 Supra note 9 at 82.

60 AIR 1983 SC 957.



social wrath; When the crime is enormous in proportion; the personality of the Victim of murder etc.

Similarly, Supreme court in *Mukesh v. State for NCT of Delhi*<sup>61</sup> (popularly known as Nirbhaya Case) the Supreme Court confirmed the death sentence awarded to the four convicts in the sensational gang rape and murder case and observed that it had sent a “tsunami of shock” all over the world and was a ‘rarest of rare’ case in which the most brutal, barbaric and diabolical attack was carried out on a women. The court further held that assigning death sentence upon culprit does not violate Article 14, 19 and 21 of the Constitution of India, 1950. Besides this, in several other important judgments *viz., M.Nagraj & Ors v. Union of India*;<sup>62</sup> *Rameshbhai Chandubhai Rathod v. State of Gujrat*;<sup>63</sup> *Sachin Jagdish Josh v. State of Maharashtra*;<sup>64</sup> *Nirmal Singh Kahlon v. State of Punjab*<sup>65</sup> etc., the Indian judiciary have also tried to interpret the different facets of the death sentence in India.

## Conclusion

Thus, it is concluded that death sentence has always been a controversial affair among penologists and jurists. Many countries in the world are on the path to abolish the phenomena of death sentence through legislative attempts as well as judicial dictums. So far as Indian scenario is concerned, a well regulated statutory reign for awarding of death sentence in rarest to rare cases has been adopted. When a death penalty is awarded to the accused it is more than mere a punishment and ending or killing a person in

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61 (2017) 6 SCC 1.

62 (2006) 8 SCC 212.

63 (2009) 5 SCC 740.

64 (2008) 10 SCC 394.

65 AIR 2009 SC 984.

name of justice and law.

Democracies should thrive more on reformatory theory rather than deterrent theory as it provides life to an individual and can offer him a chance to get back in the society and hence reformatory theory has its advantage over deterrent theory. However, the history and the present status of death penalty do not make any significant change as still the laws for death penalty are very harsh and India is among the countries having most practices of execution of death penalty.

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Books Chapter  
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# Economic Dimensions of COVID-19: Lessons Learnt and Way Forward

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## Abstract

The COVID-19 has put the global community in catch-22 situation with ensuing dilemma, the difficult choice between to go along with business as usual and encash on the given opportunity or to get hyper conscious, bordering paranoid. However, there are enough evidences to suggest that the idle path happens to be somewhere between these two extremes. It is certainly one of the most taxing crises of our lifetime. A deep sense of fear has captured the global community and only through universal trust and cooperation we can find our way out of this rut and achieve greater economic prosperity at country wide and global level.

The pandemic, which is a black swan event, has certainly changed the ball game altogether in the different spheres of our lives. The way we use to transact business, go about our socio-economic interactions, socio-cultural celebrations, communicate, etc. have all become the part of distant history. In this research paper, a sincere attempt is being made to analyze the nitty-gritties of the pandemic with special focus on the economic landscape of the same. Resultantly, the important lessons that one can draw from the present crisis with possible future line of action are discussed.

**Key words: COVID-19, Economic Landscape, Work from Home (WFH), Black Swan**

## Introduction

The corona virus turned out, arguably, the most potent invisible enemy we encountered in a pretty long time, perhaps after 1918 Spanish-flu, which in India called as Bombay influenza. The hell broke loose during that period in time owing to lack of medical facilities and our sheer unpreparedness got exposed. According to different estimates, 50-100 million people lost their lives at global level while in India 14-17 million precious lives were lost. A whole of generation got wiped out within a matter of around 2 years.

This time around, owing to our medical advances and ICT revolution, we are better placed to face the enemy within than any time ever in the history. Nonetheless the event, which can easily qualifies as the Black Swan, took all of us by surprise. Beyond an iota of doubt, initially we underestimated our enemy and it has been alleged that China in its resolves to cover up its undoing, tricked the whole world. The origin of the virus happened to be Wuhan province of China. However, it is certainly unfair to play the blame game in order to score the Brownie point in these testing times. It is rather more sensible to put our heads together and focus on the possible solutions.

There are many dimensions to the COVID- 19 which chiefly includes political, economic, socio-cultural, environmental, institutional, administrative etc. Each of these strands merits for deep analysis in a dispassionate manner and with objective frame of mind. All the dimensions have captured our mind-space in varying proportion. However, the health and economic dimension cornered the lion share of attention. In this reference, it is of at most importance to examine the economics of the pandemic.

## **Important Economic Inferences**

These are still early days as far as this medical emergency is concerned. Nonetheless, there are many green-shoots emanating from the pandemic which are worth our attention and vouches for deep examination. In this section some of the important economic inferences that can be drawn based on the events happened around the deadly virus are deliberated upon.

## **Economic Prowess and Management of the Pandemic**

The virus has affected all the countries and no country in world has the luxury to remain untouched from it. There are few countries that did exceptionally well and there are others who turned out to be sloppy and proved to be laggards. Some of the exceptional countries were New Zealand, South Korea, and Singapore.

On the other hand, the countries that found wanting on account of managing the pandemic situation includes Italy, Spain, France and to some extent USA. What is interesting out here to take note of is that economic prowess hardly had any correlation with the ability to manage the corona in a given nation-state. Beyond doubt, the countries that had more resources at their disposal were expected to manage the emergency situation in a better manner. This didn't turn out to be the reality across the board. On the other hand, the countries that were not that advanced rather did quite well.

## **Migration crises - Avoidable Misery and Pain**

In India, many cities became what they have on the back of blood, sweat and tears of the migrant workers. Not only does that, many countries became the prosperous and economic giant owing

to their welcoming behavior toward migrant workers like USA, Canada, Australia etc. These countries migrated their way to the top of economic ladder.

Migration is indeed chiefly the reflection of unequal distribution of economic opportunities and political instability across the geographical boundaries. The chief factors behind migration can be categorized into-Push and Pull factors.

When the announcement came from the government in the month of March 2020, the migrant workers, especially those engaged in unorganized sector, were caught off guard. The survival crisis struck them in form of joblessness, hunger, income loss, non-mobility, starvation, death especially on their way back to their native place owing to various reasons, etc. In spite of their grand contribution they got the raw deal and arguably, they were the most adversely impacted class of citizens.

It is pointed out by the critics that the mass exodus could have been preempted had the government, at different levels; work above their parochial political self-interests and in a benevolent manner. Even the thought of looking down on migrant workers is disgusting let alone the practice of exercising discrimination against them.

According to World Economic Forum (WEF), there are around 13.9 chore migrants in India. Sadly, most of the migrant workers are not covered under social security schemes, lacks standardized working hours and conditions etc. Even after having in place the Inter-State Migrant Workmen Act, 1979; astonishingly, there was no registry of migrant workers.

The cruel deaths of migrant workers in Aurangabad and Auraiya on their way back home are still fresh to our collective memory. The protest by the migrant workers pertaining to vari-



ous pertinent issues like transportation facility, permission to go return, food quality, restriction on crossing the state borders etc. failed to get the strike the right chord with the general public. Looking at the enormity of the challenge, various governments at different level stepped in but it was too little far too late in most of the cases. Moreover, the desired system of 'One Nation, One Ration Card' was not applied thoroughly across the India during the initial period of the lockdown which resultantly added to the misery of the migrant workers.

Nonetheless, in May 2020, the government took the much needed and welcoming step to ease the inconvenience and misery faced by the migrant workers. With the aim of honing the migrant worker's movement, the government of India put forward the formation of an online database named the National Migrant Information System (NMIS) under the aegis of National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA). The system is expected to play a catalyst role in tracing the stranded migrant workers along with their geographical location, driven on the mobile number of the workers. The NMIS along with One Nation, One Ration Card would be instrumental in reducing the inconvenience faced in the possible future uncertain times.

### **Economic Globalization- Is this the final nail in the coffin?**

The history is the proof of we getting united in most unexpected and integrated manner at different levels and global economic interdependence should be leveraged upon rather than being feared of it. We have gone too far on the road of economic integration. And to be realistic, it is not feasible to reverse the advancing trend in a significant manner. The strong undercurrents of protectionism are casting a long shadow on the future progression

in this domain but it is safe to say out here that these are aberrations or political expediencies, which are rather lacking substance and long term perspective.

No nation in the world can produce everything of its own. No nation in the world has got every resource and technical expertise at its disposal. The mutual co-existence is not only desirable but also indispensable. This hard fact backed truth in a way settles the discussion on blocking the borders for once and all.

### **Antidote to the virus**

The bogey of protectionism or isolation are infested with negative sum game, sadly for which there is in fact an unprecedented urge and are quite popular. But they are neither sustainable nor inclusive and certainly not the wise option to opt for, looking at the intensity of the economic interdependence among the nation-states.

The harsh truth is that virus would catch up with every nation sooner or later at a larger scale, if we fail in developing the vaccine in time. It is a race against the time. In such dire strait, co-operation would bear more fruits in comparison to shutting the doors on each other and trying out the experiments on their own. The synergy effect would steadfast the development of the vaccine to get everyone out of the rat hole.

### **Eastern Countries versus Western Countries**

The eastern countries have done much better than the western countries in terms of the lower fatality rate and high recovery rate. It is believed that the higher community based camaraderie played an important role in checking community spread of the virus. In the context of India, the 3 Ts (Test, Track and Treat)

strategy of government has so far shown desired results which are quite profound in terms of keeping a tap on the fatality rate. Understandably, the fatality rate is much lower as compared to global rates of fatality.

According to Ministry of Health & Family Welfare (MO-HFW) (<https://www.mohfw.gov.in/>) the fatality rate in India stood at 1.96% as on 13th August 2020, which is in fact among the lowest in the world. What is even more heartening is the fact that the fatality rate is majorly reflecting the southward trend with each passing day. On the other hand, the Covid-19 recovery rate has been showing an increasing pattern and reached to the level of 70.77%. Moreover, COVID- 19 recoveries surpassed the active cases by a handsome number of more than 1 million.

Table 1- Country specific deaths due to COVID- 19

<b>Country</b>	<b>No. of Deaths Per Million</b>
<a href="#"><u>Brazil</u></a>	<a href="#"><u>458</u></a>
<a href="#"><u>India</u></a>	<a href="#"><u>91</u></a>
<a href="#"><u>Mexico</u></a>	<a href="#"><u>385</u></a>
<a href="#"><u>Russia</u></a>	<a href="#"><u>101</u></a>
<a href="#"><u>United Kingdom (UK)</u></a>	<a href="#"><u>684</u></a>
<a href="#"><u>United States of America (USA)</u></a>	<a href="#"><u>475</u></a>

Source: Ministry of Health & Family Welfare, Government of India (GoI)

The table 1, above reflects the COVID- 19 related deaths in the selected countries of the world. The table has ample evidence to bust the myth of assumed correlation between economic prowess and better performance in managing the pandemic. Among the most advanced countries, namely UK and USA, have much higher fatality rates of 684 and 475 respectively. On the other

hand, Emerging Market Economies (EMEs) like India and Russia have comparatively much lower fatality rates, standing at 91 and 101 respectively. Therefore, advanced medical facilities is not the sole guarantor for a country to see itself through the given unprecedented crisis and focus should shift to community based co-operation, trust, partnership and spirit of citizenship.

### **Revamping Economic Landscape- Work from Home (WFH)**

The crisis situations do have uncanny capabilities of expediting the decision making process. The present COVID- 19 crisis played a decisive role in pushing the envelope on this front. Even, decades after Information Communication & Technology (ICT) revolution we had apprehension, up till very recently, on shifting to virtual platform especially in the economic domain and the way we go about our jobs and business activities. Not the case anymore.

In the post COVID- 19 scenario, a major proportion of the work, businesses and other economic activities have already been shifted to virtual platform. The work from home got its true meaning and significance in the present times whereby an overwhelming majority of the work has been undertaken without visiting the designated offices especially in case of IT firms, Academic domain, Entertainment (Movies, Web series), etc.

### **Economic and Political Clout of the USA: Under Grave Threat?**

The conspicuous edginess of the USA all through the pandemic has in fact been pretty bothering as confidence remains silent and insecurities make noise. The pole position of USA came under scrutiny and unfettered dominance has been questioned.

The desk sign of former President of USA, Harry S. Tru-

man - “The Bucks Stops Here”- has failed to live up to the expectations. The USA’s standoff with China could have been dealt in a much better manner. The USA administration found itself at the loggerhead with the World Health Organization as well. The deadly salvos were fired without paying much heed to its global stature and expectations of the global community. No one is sweeping the allegation made by the USA under the carpet but the manner in which USA dealt with it, leaves a lot to be desired.

It is always better to speak less than what you know and silence is the best course in case we believe something to be possibly true as gut feeling can easily result into one to cut a sorry picture. The economy of words is the virtue of strong. In fact, the USA has created a vacuum for other inspiring forces, chiefly China to rise in the prominence and take the center stage in the changed world order.

However, no need to jump the guns, USA is still a force to reckon with, although came under huge criticism and lost a substantial amount of sheen but it would be gross misjudgment on anybody’s part to write off the USA.

### **Lessons Learnt**

The unprecedented problems demand tough actions. The present pandemic qualifies as the “Black Swan” event by virtue of its unexpectedness, impact and surprise element. The global issues like the one we have in our hands, needs co-operation at global level which is the key to unlock the mystery of the virus and certainly the most appropriate way forward.

Second, the science and technology are the true saviors of the human race. The focus shall shift to higher investment in our education and health system. The economic concept of “Econo-

mies of Scale” shall apply to the global manufacturing of the essential medicines and drugs.

Third, the structure of jobs and economic activities are going to continually move towards spatial and temporal flexibility. Owing to the demands of the situation, where Personal Hygiene and Social Distancing (PHySoD) have become the existential imperative, the Work from Home (WFH) would gain more traction even after the dust settles.

Fourth, the national parochial interest are self-defeating and against the spirit of universal brotherhood. The urge to accumulate more and more even beyond once anticipated requirement is in fact the reflection of “Empire Building Syndrome”. The insatiable greed for making money out of disaster and seeking unworthy opportunity in crisis are certainly the things which must be dealt with iron hand. That kind of attitude shall be shunned and focus should be on global well-being. In present scheme of things, no nation can remain healthy and prosperous if its neighbors are suffering and poor.

Fifth, our focus should be on fixing the problem rather than on fixing the blame. It is understandable that owing to political exigencies and economic constraints, we tend to go overboard and say things which are in bad taste. But that is not the correct way of dealing with the issues in hand. It would only end up complicate the foreign relations and add to the existing misunderstanding and bitterness, which is in fact pretty counter-productive.

### **Way forward**

In this part, the discussion is focused primarily on as to how we can optimize the outcomes based on our present understanding of the situation and future possibilities.

First, the technological advances in the field of Artificial Intelligence (AI), Machine Learning (ML), Robotics and Big Data Analysis (BDA) are going to change the various dimensions of our lives in most prominent and unexpected fashion. The monotonous and repetitive physical jobs are going to be taken over by machines and would be automated in the near future.

Second, the government and other concerned bodies need to be creative and imaginative in leveraging upon the much hyped and celebrated concept of demographic dividend. There is need of investment in skill development to make the young population fit for the possible job market requirements in the future.

Third, the need for global co-operation has never been as critical as it is felt today. There is need of global body that the different countries can repost their faith in and the one that can take up the role of global leadership based on the edifice of trust.

Fourth, there is need for more investment in surveillance systems to preempt the possibility of community spread of a disease and to monitor the infected people in a proper manner. However, there shall be proper checks and balances mechanism in place to negate the possibility of a country turning into a police state. There are tremendous economic and business opportunities for the pharmaceuticals and chemical industries to leverage upon.

Fifth, hopefully the National Migrant Information System (NMIS) organized under National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA) deliver the desired results and prove to be the game-changer for the cause of well-being of the migrant workers. Also, once integrated with “One nation One Ration Card” scheme, the migrant workers would get their fair share of reprieve and stability in their lives irrespective of their geographic location and intensity of a crisis.

The governments at different levels have to walk a tight rope and strike the fine balance between health of its people and economic expediency as the same is going to have wider ramifications and invariably determine the destiny of nation-states across the globe.

Finally, we have to remind ourselves that getting through this pandemic shall not be treated as be-all and end-all kind of situation. We know for the fact that such pandemic visits us in every century and history has ample evidences to prove the same. Moreover, in present scheme of things, where the borders are porous and easily penetrable owing to global economic integration, it will be gross misjudgment on our part to confine the spread of a virus in future to a particular territory. On the other side of this pandemic, hopefully, we would have gotten out of it unscathed but we all would be living in a new world.

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Books Chapter  
**ON ASIAN NETWORK  
AND SOCIAL CHANGE**

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# **From Indonesia and Vietnam towards integration of ASEAN: Learn from Southeast ASIAN National Ethnicities to Strengthen ASEAN Economic Integration**

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## **Abstract**

Generally, Southeast Asian nations were originally independent countries. It was reflected in the emergence of sovereign traditional countries before the emergence of “Western” imperialism and colonialism. However, since the nineteenth century, most countries in Southeast Asia have been colonized by Western countries such as Indonesia by the Netherlands, Vietnam by France. As the result of Western colonization, there was a process of marginalization of the local community both politically, economically and socially. Additionally, as the result of the exploitation, there was a dualism of political, economic and social systems.

On the one hand, an international market-oriented modern economy supported by the Western government bureaucracy has emerged and developed. Meanwhile, the traditional economy still continues to emphasize a subsistence economy which is under the control of the local bureaucracy. As the result of the colonization, the spirit of patriotism and nationalism among the indigenous people has emerged in almost the entire Southeast Asia region. Southeast Asian nationalism has formed a similar pattern, namely the awareness to rise up against Western hegemony, both in the form of armed and non-armed resistance in the political, economic and social movements as the counter-attack against Western hegemony.

After Southeast Asian countries became independent, they were still placed in the “peripheral region” po-

sition which was politically, economically and culturally dependent on the central countries (former colonizers). The article compares the historical experiences of Indonesia and Vietnam that can be the basis of the Southeast Asian regional ethos in developing shared values of Southeast Asian nations in the economic, cultural and political fields.

**Keywords:** *Colonialism, Nationalism, imagined communities, Asian integration, South East Asia.*

## **Introduction**

The term of Southeast Asia refers to a unitary region in the corner of the Asia continent located between India and China as well as the islands that surround it. Although this region is not bound by political and cultural ties, it consists of a group of countries which have many similarities in community structure, history, and current political condition.

Geographically, Southeast Asia region is divided into two large geographical regions, namely “Tanah Besar (mainland) of Southeast Asia” or Indochina peninsula which includes countries such as Myanmar (Burma), Siam (Thailand), Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam and Malaysia, as well as the islands of Southeast Asia (sea land)” or a group of Malaysian islands stretching from Sumatra to the east and northeast, the Philippines. The mainland and islands in Southeast Asia form a unity like a large wall with several doors located between the seas of India and China. It seems as if it is also a vague wall stretching from Asia to Australia. Therefore, the intersection of sea and land routes from north to south, from peninsula to the group of islands, as well as from east to west crossing the islands, is formed. The nature with such conditions in Southeast Asia is inhabited by a number of nations.

Etymologically, there are four groups of races in Southeast Asia, namely: Sino-Tibetan, Austro-Asian, Austronesian, and Papuan. Sino-Tibetan is the nation of Burma, Vietnam, Thai and China. Burmese people are the main population of Myanmar. Thai people are the main population of Thailand. Thai also includes Shan people in East Burma. Lao people are the main population of the Laos. And Annam people are the main population of Vietnam. Austro-Asian is the nation of Khmer and Mon. Khmer people are the main population of Cambodia. While, Mon is the minority tribe in South Burma (northern Tenasserim). Austronesian or Malayo-Polynesian is the nation of Indonesia and Malaysia. Austronesian includes the indigenous people of Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines. Melanesians occupy the eastern islands (eastern Indonesia and southern Philippines). Papuans are the main population of Irian. They are all divided into various ethnic groups that have different customs and languages (Caddy, 1964: 1-20; Hall, 1988 “1-12; Tarling (ed), 1992).

Among these Southeast Asian nations, Indonesia and Vietnam are nations that have some related historical bases. *First*, based on archaeological information, the ancestors of Indonesian people came from the border area between northern Vietnam and southern China. It occurred at the era of the development of Dongson's culture and nationalism several centuries B.C. *Second*, these two regions had been influenced by Chinese and Indian culture for a long time, especially in the years before the 15th century. *Third*, these two countries underwent a process of colonization which resulted in the emergence of armed resistance movements and modern organizations to subvert Western colonialists. Indonesia was against the Netherlands while Vietnam was against France. Based on these reasons, the study of the history of Indo-

nesian and Vietnamese nationalism can be the initial basis for understanding Southeast Asian nationalism that can generate a reflection to build Southeast Asian ethos based on the historical values of nationalism that have developed in its history.

### **Indonesian Nationalism**

Indonesian and Vietnamese nationalism have similar performance. These two nations underwent a different colonial process, but the effects of colonial pressure were almost the same. The capitalization and repression towards indigenous people were very strong that led to strong nationalism in these two nations which eventually resulted in the emergence of militant nationalist figures.

Indonesian nationalism started from armed resistance movements in a number of regions in Indonesia. The resistance movements were initially carried out by the elites or the nobles who were involved in the conflict with the Dutch Colony. The resistance began with the involvement of the VOC (*Verenigde Oost Indische Compagnie*, the Dutch trade agency) in conflicts with nobles throughout the archipelago such as in Maluku, Jakarta, South Sulawesi, Banten, Mataram, and so forth. After VOC was dissolved and replaced by the Dutch East Indies Government in the 19th century, the resistance against the Dutch colony entered a new phase. All the kings in Java had been subdued by the Dutch, so that Dutch control of the people was getting stronger. The resistance was carried out in the second layer, namely by the nobles. The largest resistance in Java was Diponegoro's Resistance (1825-1830) which resulted in running out of funds experienced by the Dutch government because this resistance was very massive and involving a number of community components and covering large



areas in Central Java and parts of East Java (Kartodirdjo, 1992).

After the end of Diponegoro's resistance, there was practically no Javanese aristocratic elite who resisted the Dutch colonial government. To deal with the economic pressure from the Dutch, especially during forced cultivation period and Liberal Colonial Politics, people took direct resistance in the form of peasants' revolt. One of the monumental peasants' revolts was Banten Peasants' Revolt in 1888. This peasants' revolt was supported by alternative elites, namely religious leaders in the villages who were new patrons who replaced the old ones who had lost their power (Kartodirdjo, 1984). In Java, the resistance of the nobles had ended in the nineteenth century. However, the resistances outside Java still continued. The resistance movements against Dutch Colonial Government outside Java, such as Padri War and Aceh War, only took place in that century. Even the Aceh War had just ended in the twentieth century (Ibrahim Alfian, 1987).

The decline in armed resistance was followed by a new orientation and strategy in the resistance against the Dutch. Since the beginning of the twentieth century in Indonesia, ethnic nationalist organizations have emerged. These organizations, then, metamorphosed on Indonesian nationalism. These organizations were founded by a group of Dutch scholars. Originally, these organizations were locally fighting for its ethnic interests, such as Buti Utomo, Jong Java, Jong Sumatra, Jong Islamiten Bond, and so on. In addition, inter-ethnic nationalist organizations were also established, starting from the Perhimpunan Indonesia (1908), Indische Partij (1918), Indonesian Nationalist Party (1926), to Indonesia Communist Party (1920). Meanwhile, ethnic-based organizations have also turned into nationalist organizations, such as Budi Utomo, which had changed into Indonesia Raya Party

(Parindra) and youth organizations which fused into Pemuda Indonesia. This nationalist-reoriented change has led to the clear struggle format, namely to achieve Indonesian independence and seize the areas occupied by the Dutch colonialists.

The figures in those nationalist organizations identified themselves as the colonized people, namely Indonesian people. They imagined a community which has the same identity marked by the same fate, political struggle, culture, and especially the same language. The image of the nation inspired the struggle towards a single objective which was to achieve independence (Anderson, 1991). The idea of Indonesia was actually heavily influenced by students studied in the Netherlands such as Hatta, Suwardi Suryaningat, Ciptomangun Kusumo, and Douwes Dekker (Elsan, 2008:21-46).

One of the drivers of the emergence of Indonesian nationalism is the ideology of communism. The history of communism in Indonesia is in line with the history of the resistance movements against Dutch Colonization in Indonesia. Indonesian communism was first brought by Hindricus Josephus Franciscus Maria Sneevliet, a secretary of the publishing company named *Soerabajasche Handelsblad* (Surabaya Trade Sheets) for Semarang branch. In 1914, the first communist organization was officially established and named ISDV (*Indische Sociaal Democratische Vereeniging* / Indian Social Democratization Union). For the benefit of the spread of communism, the newspaper *Het Vrije Woord* (Voice of Freedom) was published.

Communist organizations could only develop after collaborating with prominent figures in Islamic-based movements. Through ISDV in Semarang, an approach was made with Serikat Islam (Islamic Union) which was then led by H.O.S. Tjokro

Aminoto. Both organizations had common basis of collaboration in struggling, namely anti-capitalism and colonialism.

The approach conducted by ISDV figures to Serikat Islam figures intensified after the success of the Russian Revolution in 1917. In Semarang, in addition to a personal approach between figures, anti-capitalism and colonialism propaganda also intensified. Some Serikat Islam figures, namely Semaun and Darsono, were successfully influenced by communist ideology. They were often called as red SI figures.

The collaboration between ISDV and SI had made this communist-oriented organization even stronger. On May 23rd, 1920, in the SI Semarang building, ISDV changed its name into Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). The change in its name indicated the firmness of the organization that its ideology was communist based. Semaun and Darsono were appointed to be the leaders of PKI, while concurrently, they were serving as the leaders of the SI Semarang branch.

The main figure of SI felt that their organization was infiltrated by communism. The tension arose between those who were pro-communism and those who were anti-communism. The tensions peaked during the Sixth Congress in Surabaya. The communist faction was represented by Darsono and Tan Malaka, while the green SI faction was represented by K.H. Agus Salim. During the congress, it was decided to not allow dual membership. It means that SI member was not allowed to concurrently be a member of other organization, including PKI.

Semaun and his associates did not accept the decision of the congress and eventually formed another SI. The SI they created was known by “SI Merah” (Red SI), while the other SI, as the result of Surabaya congress, was known as “SI Putih” (White SI).

Red SI developed not only in the center, but also in its branches. Since then, the conflict between White SI and Red SI (PKI) has become increasingly tense. The peak was at the second PKI congress in Bandung, in March 1923. Red SI was changed to Serikat Rakyat (SR) as an organization under PKI (Suhartono, 1994).

After becoming a Communist Party, the tactics of violence and terror were carried out as tools of struggle. In a few years, there had been a labor strike. Workers, who worked in the Dutch enterprises, were mobilized to conduct a resistance against the companies. The workers mobilized were the workers of sugar factory, port companies, and train companies and so on. The peak occurred in 1926/1927 which resulted in the banning of the PKI in the Dutch East Indies by the Dutch Colonial Government at that time (Pringgodigdo, 1977).

### **Vietnamese Nationalism**

Vietnamese nationalism has a development pattern which is similar to Indonesian nationalism. Nationalism has rooted in the form of armed resistance. However, the armed resistance in Vietnam occurred in the 19th century was based on anti-foreigners attitude (xenophobia) and loyalty to Confucianism as a reaction to the politics of Western Assimilation (French) towards Vietnamese society and culture. Similarly in Indonesia, this movement was not considered as a nationalist movement but as pre-nationalism. This resistance movement occurred in a number of places in Vietnam. In the 1860s, a fight against French colonialist occurred in southern Vietnam involving people from different backgrounds: the son of the Royal Army Commander (Truong Cong Dinh), an intellectual (Nguyen Huu Huan), and a fisherman (Nguyen Tryung Truc). In 1861, the most famous

leader, Truong Con Dinh succeeded in recruiting 10,000 voluntary soldiers. (Steinberg, 300).

The political awareness of people in southern Vietnam was also driven by the celebration of the “writing brush war” between two southern scholars, Ton Tho Tuong and Phan van Tri. These two figures actually cooperated with the French government, but they resisted in a subtle way. These two scholars made allegorical poetry to strengthen their respectful position in the collaboration and resistance in savage polemical battle which was designed not as personal correspondence but as a call to public opinion towards the intellectuals of the southern Vietnam as a whole. (Steinberg, 301).

In northern Vietnam, the resistance of the intellectual emerged in 1870 to 1890s. The resistance, at that time, was mobilized for two reasons, namely the philosophy of disappointment and anti-Catholic xenophobia militants. A Provincial Governor who was also a sensitive writer in Vietnam in the 1880s named Nguyen Khuyen. He understood that the palace had been destroyed by the failure of negotiation with the French Colony. As the result, the resistance conducted through allusions that have an impact on anti-French in Vietnamese society occurred. (Steinberg, 302).

The armed resistance was clearly demonstrated by Ton That Thuyet in the 1890s. This figure was a master in the politics of the Kingdom of Vietnam. Because the imperial family was considered to be the cause of the destruction of Vietnam, Ton That Thuyet and his allies threw out the successors of the young emperors (Duc-duc, Hiep-hoa, and Kien-Phuc) in 1883 to 1884. However, they were unable to block the establishment of the French protectorate in northern and central Vietnam. The resistance against

France was carried out in 1885 aided by a new nationalist group with the new slogan of “help the king” (can vua), an adaptation of the Chinese-Vietnamese concept that had long been reappointed in this movement.

The “help the king” movement expanded in a number of places in the provinces in Vietnam. Famous provincial resistance figures are Phan Dinh Phung in the Ha Tinh and Hoang regions. The movement to help the king had an ideological and racial-political significance. The motto was to eradicate religion and drive away France which was considered Catholic. (Steinberg, 302). Similarly, in Indonesia, this movement was very dependent on its leaders and fragmented in each region, so it was easily broken by the French army. This movement was a kind of messianic movement occurred in Indonesia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by alternative elites after the kingdoms surrendered to Dutch colony.

The failure of armed resistance had given rise to a new form of nationalism in Vietnam in the early twentieth century carried out by educated groups by forming political organizations. This change in the direction of nationalism is similar to what happened in Indonesia, which changed from an armed resistance strategy to a modern political strategy through an organization. However, there are differences because Indonesian intellectual groups are directly the products of Western (Dutch) education. While, in Vietnam, they are influenced by the changes in the intellectual tradition that developed in China and not directly influenced by France. This happened because of the different political patterns of the colonialists; the Dutch implemented a policy of “westernization” while France adopted “assimilation”.

Western influence concerning new nationalism at the end of

the nineteenth century which had an influence in China echoed in Vietnam among scholars. One of the most important inspirations is Chinese Revolution in 1911 which has become a role model for young Vietnamese groups and led to the spirit of nationalism that actually had rooted before. The leading nationalist organization in Vietnam was Nam Quoc Dan Dang (Vietnamese Nationalist Partij). It was founded in 1920. The party was founded following the pattern of the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang Party) led by Dr. Sunyatsen. As the result of the influence of the Chinese Revolution, the Vietnamese party launched an attack on the French authorities in 1929 which resulted in the destruction of all French colonies (Bastin, p. 133).

Religious nationalist movements emerged in both countries, Indonesia and Vietnam. Religious movements emerged from the development of new school of thoughts in Buddhism. In 1920, the most widely accepted school of thought was the Cao Daisma, a school of thought which mixed Eastern and Western teachings, even with animist and Mahayana elements. The figures of this movement were people influenced by the West thoughts and the palace surroundings but were not satisfied with the French occupation in Indochina. In addition to this school of thought, there was other anti-Western school of thought, namely Hoa-hoa which has been supported by the peasants, tenants and workers in the palace area. (Bastin, p. 136).

Far beyond Indonesia, a nationalist movement in Vietnam in the next phase was influenced by Marxism. The thought of Marxism-Leninism influenced the intellectuals in Vietnam and Indonesia in the second decade of the 20th century. The influence of ideology has become a powerful driver in the nationalist, anti-capitalist and imperialist, even feudalism movements. The ideology

of Marxism became a lubricant in the emergence of the radical nationalist movements in these two regions.

The Vietnamese nationalist figure who got a strong enlightenment from communism was Nguyen Ai Quoc and who was more familiar with Ho Chi Minh. This figure had traveled a number of European countries. The most important thing is that he had traveled to a colonial country, France. It was from this colonial country that he gained a strong understanding of communism as a tool of struggle. He secretly became an expert on the Chinese Communist Party in Paris in 1921. After that, he traveled to Russia and Asia to finally become the leader of the international communist party in Asia (Bastin; 143). Ho Chi Minh had successfully brought Vietnam into an independent nation (Sena Utomo, 2014: 60).

In contrast to Indonesia, where the Dutch Colonial Government was somewhat flexible towards the emergence of nationalist movements, the French Government was very strict in silencing the nationalist movement. Therefore, the nationalist movement was carried out clandestinely, like Nationalist Party of Vietnam (*VNQDD*). It had planned a major raging resurgence and anti-French uprising in 1930 conducted by indigenous troops led by Yen Bay. As the result of this rebellion, the organization was annihilated by French Colony in Indochina. The destruction of this party gave an opportunity for the development of the communist party in Vietnam. Like the nationalist movement which in its development was influenced by Chinese Nationalism, Vietnamese communist movement was also influenced by the development of communism in China. One of the centers of communist development in the country was Kanton where Ho Chi Minh taught runaway youth at the Whampoa Academy used for years by the



Communists and was established with the help of the Soviet Union to train the members of the Chinese Communist Party.

In 1930, Ho Chi Minh had successfully established Indo-Chinese Communist party by combining small groups of Marxists followers. The founding of the party soon received wide support from the indigenous community. Three supporters who were originally refugees from abroad returned to the country and mobilized factory workers to conduct a strike in Benthuy, Northern Anam. The influence of Marxism has led to peasants' movement opposing the suppression of Western capitalism in Nge anh and Ha Tinh regions. (Bastin, 144) As the result of this movement, French government in Vietnam carried out repressive actions against such movement as labor strikes in Indonesia which was driven by PKI and peasants' movement which was driven by the Serikat Islam party.

Although resistance movement was under repressive pressure, the spirit of the Vietnamese never gave up. In the long run, the struggle of the movement had led to the liberation of the Vietnamese nation from the French occupation. The freedom gained through resistance had resulted in the dignity of the Vietnamese nation as Indonesian people in the eyes of the colonizers.

### **Promoting the Values of Nationalism into Joint Ethos of Southeast Asia**

In general, Southeast Asian nationalism has the same root which is colonialism, except Thailand. The occupation of Western nations has given birth to a sense of unity among the Southeast Asian nations. They feel there is a common enemy in facing Western imperialism and capitalism. However, because the violence and intensity of pressure from the colonialists experienced

by each nation in Southeast Asia are different, the performance of nationalism is also different. Countries under British colonialism are different from those under Dutch, French and Spanish Colonialism.

Theoretically, nationalism can be an obstacle for the unification or integration of Southeast Asian economies incorporated in ASEAN. It is because the realm of nationalism and regionalism is contradictory. Nationalism emphasizes “love the nation” while integration emphasizes the aspects of regionalism. In nationalism, the nation-state can be the basis in the economic spirit to ignite the spirit of the nation in running the economy. Based on the opposite concept, ASEAN economic integration is still hampered because nationalism is interpreted as competition among nations in the Southeast Asia region.

Long before the colonialism period, Southeast Asia region had actually been united in trade unity. During the Age of Commerce (1450-1680), Southeast Asia was bound by a trade network between India and China which resulted in economic integration nodes with port cities as the center of it. Economic interests between countries, at that time, were the determining aspects for the integration of the nations of Southeast Asia. Under these conditions, Indian and Chinese cultures became a binding node between nations of Southeast Asia. One of the centers of integration is the City of Malacca. Southeast Asia free trade network, which has connectivity with China, India and Middle Eastern and Western countries, has been established through the city. In that city, various nations stopped by to carry out trade activities. (Reid, 2015: 3-75) Tome Pires notes that 80 languages are used, but the main language is “Malay”, which are the main language of Indonesia and the language used by Malaysia and most of Sin-

gapore.

The presence of Western nations that transforms free markets into monopolistic markets and colonialism is the factor in the emergence of integration in Southeast Asian nations (Roelofs, 2016). The greed of the Portuguese and Spanish nations to seize natural resources, especially spices in Maluku, has triggered the presence of other Western nations to get an economic cake directly in a number of traditional countries in the Southeast Asia region. The colonization in Southeast Asia region is as follows: Indonesia (Dutch), Malaysia (British), Singapore (British), Brunei (British), Singapore (British), Myanmar (British), Vietnamese (French), The Philippines (Spanish) followed by the United States, and Thailand specifically did not experience colonialism because it became a “bufferstaat” in the French hegemony in Indochina and British hegemony in Myanmar.

By learning from Europe, in fact, nationalism does not have to be an obstacle to Southeast Asian economic integration. The writings of Vincent van Grandelle (2018) explore the theoretical debate on nationalism and unification in Europe. Philosophical studies of nationalism and the unification of the European region came to the conclusion that nationalism can be taken from its positive values that lead to European unification. This is in line with the opinion of Madalina Galance (2012) who said that the ideas of nationalism actually strengthen the idea of European unification. In the case of the European Union, national economic and political interests develop together with European identities and their economy and culture. According to the Western history, the nationalism in Southeast Asian nations can be a spirit in the formation of Asean Economic Community.

The spirit of nationalism in the past, in the form of “the

spirit of facing common enemy” namely the Western occupation, can be promoted as a joint issue of the union of Southeast Asian countries. With that spirit, it will generate a formula of economic integration and revitalization of Southeast Asian cultural identity. At this time, it has been started with a visa-free policy in the Southeast Asia region. In the future, by learning from Europe that uses English as the language to communicate with the others, Malay language could be proposed as the alternative language in Southeast Asia. In the case of trade exchanges, the use of a common currency in Southeast Asian countries can be proposed. It is also necessary to establish a central bank in Southeast Asia that can control joint finance in Southeast Asia.

### **Closing**

Based on the description above, it can be concluded that Southeast Asia region was once an integrated region during the Age of Commerce (1480-1680). It occurred because of the similarity of culture and interests in trade between nations in Southeast Asia. The integration was disbanded due to Western monopoly and colonization.

The Western colonization repression has led to the awareness of the nations of Southeast Asia, especially Indonesia and Vietnam. That awareness had emerged armed resistance and modern nationalism in the form of counter ideological development towards the colonists' ideology. The nationalism that succeeded in forming a new identity of the nations in Southeast Asia had resulted in the nation-states that were different from traditional states before the colonial period.

The nationalism of Southeast Asian nations, in the case of Vietnam and Indonesia, can be promoted to become a greater

spirit for the integration of Southeast Asian nations. The integration is carried out in the form of unification of economic areas and the establishment of a shared identity.

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# Elementary teachers' perception about Stake-Holders' Attitude towards subjects assessed by Punjab Examination Commission in Pakistan

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## Abstract

The major Purpose of the study was to explore the elementary teachers' perception around self-perceived and stake-holders' attitude towards assessed subjects by Punjab Examination Commission (PEC). All the elementary teachers who are teaching in elementary public schools of district Sialkot were included in population of the study. The systematic sampling approach was applied to select a representative sample for this study.

The data collected form 163 teachers of Sialkot public elementary schools. A researcher used developed questionnaire for used by researcher to conduct surveys. The item vise was gained from t test if inferential test and standard deviation, frequencies and Mean. Therefore, the null hypothesis was rejected.

There is significance difference between elementary male and female teachers' perceptions about self-perceived and stakeholder attitude towards assessed subjects. The finding of the study shows that teachers' perception about stakeholders' attitude towards PEC assessed subject are hard-pressed and uncomfortable. The government may revise teachers' evaluation policy, which is only based on students' scores. The teachers' evaluation criteria may be broadened and some other factors also be considered while evaluating teachers.

## Introduction

Teachers are not only one factor who related to the problem in teaching and examination process, which are many other factors such as stakeholders (Students, Parents and Head teachers) attitude towards the learning process (Nawaz & Awan, n.d). According to the finding of (Shabbir, Shariff, & Shahzad, 2016) it was stakeholder attitude and behavior to effect on the any support system and organization. Punjab government selected to set up a new self-sustaining institution (PEC) to run the percent examinations (Hasan, 2016). Punjab examination commission (PEC) was worked Overall conduct examination of elementary level in Punjab and done research on item development and research after results on available data and developer of software, websites and maintenance, database and financial management (Matters & Toon, 2012 ).

Punjab government decided to delete the elective subject from the PEC paper and PEC conducted only five subjects (Science, English, Urdu, Math and Islamic study) for the scholarship programs. No one nation in the world which conducted a large quantity of subject's examinations in their elementary education (Iqbal, Ali, & Hassan, 2015). He said PEC did not have the capability to hold the sort of huge centralized examination as there were continually court cases of leakage of question papers (Malik, 2014). The stakeholders (Parents) criticize the Punjab examination commission policies and have objected to the barely credible examination conducted by PEC (Masood, Hameed, & Tatlah, 2015).

The Punjab government has reduced the number of subjects to solve the problems of scholarship examinations as well as the national scheme of studies, which plans to award scholarships to



students (Ahmed, 2010). This research focuses on the elementary teachers' perceptions about stakeholder attitude towards assessed subjects by PEC. The researcher also finds out the difference between male and female attitude towards assessed subjects by PEC.

### **Statement of the problem**

Teachers, students, heads, and parents just have focused on the PEC assessed subjects. Teachers and heads give importance because they are assessed and punished and rewarded because of PEC results (Malik M. , 2013). The study will try to investigate teachers' perceptions about self-perceived and stakeholder's attitude towards the subjects assessed by PEC. The researcher will compare the male and female teachers' perception about stakeholder attitude towards assessed subjects by PEC.

### **Objectives of the study**

- a) Find out elementary teachers' perceptions about stakeholders' attitude towards the subjects assessed by PEC.
- b) Find out possible difference between male and female elementary teachers' perceptions about stakeholders' attitude towards the subjects assessed by PEC.

### **Null Hypothesis**

Ho 1: There is no significant difference between the male and female elementary teachers' perceptions about stakeholder attitudes towards the subjects assessed by PEC in public elementary schools of Tehsil Sialkot.

## **Alternative Hypothesis**

H1: There is significant difference between the male and female elementary teachers' perceptions about stakeholder attitudes towards the subjects assessed by PEC in public elementary schools of Tehsil Sialkot.

## **Literature review**

### **The Need for Establishing Punjab examination Commission**

For making the qualitative assessment transparent, institutional arrangement should be workable and feasible (Hasan P. , 2016). The Punjab Examination Commission evaluated the (SOLO) students learning outcomes at the stage of Primary and Elementary levels. PEC organized results schools wise and subjects wise (Malik, 2011). On examination, the system of supervision was very poor. This created rooms for crimes related activities such as coping and cheating in schools (Khattak, 2012). Students' performance was affected by paper setting of the poor quality and marking criteria (Malik, 2011). The elementary education system is very important and all stakeholders longstanding focused on the assessment level of elementary education. The elementary education assessment in the province of Punjab is the responsibility of PEC, the stakeholders' attitude towards PEC who conducting elementary examination is high risks in nature (Masood, Tatlah, & Hameed, 2018).

According to the study of UNESCO (2007), the primary educational evaluation system in Pakistan failed due to the basic skills that are necessary for elementary learners. Of course, its main reason was poor teaching and assessment (Ali, 2014). This outcome of the poor elementary assessment system is poor, teach-

er' training system is unstable, and management and supervision system are also effected by the poor-quality elementary education system. There was no quality assessment of children in elementary schools (Siddiquah, 2017).

### **The need of Establishment of PEC**

According to the PEC official announcement that Punjab government decided to worked on the elementary assessment in Punjab province according the world skill testing on elementary level in 2005. The autonomous body established as the PEC with the approval of the governor and organized new assessment system with new setup establish with a challenging task (Khatoon, 2011). The UNICEF association persons of Australia Vine & Ted came into Pakistan for paper setters prepared instructions.

According to Dr Ken Vine (2006), in more than a few meetings, the meeting held with the education and school secretary and secretary decided that the in the 2006 the examination held on the primary level. This decision is taken in the light of presence in the aspects of the organization of the PEC. According to (Nisa, 2016) the senior research fellow admitted that Dr. Munawar Mirza and Muhammed Jamil Najim attend the several meetings with Dr. ken vine to establish the PEC. Munawar Mirza worked as a National consultant in the establishment of PEC. Munawar Mirza worked with the organization of UNICEF, who had funded the shift to the SOLO taxonomy (structure of observed learning outcomes). Munawar Mirza was in designing, in a team of two, the PEC (Alkharusi, 2008).

The Punjab elementary examination was established in 2005, they reached in Lahore and rearranged commitments to other UNICEF members (Aijaz, 2001). The plans set for or-

ganized PEC and its accomplishment, even that the governing council appointment would be made after the completion of the primary exams of that year. Jamil Najam had appointed as the Acting Operational Manager (Vine, 2006). A commission was established on the recommendation of a report prepared by the foreign education consultants and bureaucrats' and National team likes as subject specialists, educationalists' and researched. (Ali, 2014). PEC was established on 16 January 2006. A civil servant, the CEO Mr Javaid Akhtar established new setup with challenging and to organize a Grade give examination 2006. International Consultants organized training of paper setters based on SOLO Taxonomy and trained the setters in making scheme (Klute, Apthorp, & Harlacher, 2017). Master-Trainers team was developed for further providing training to the field staff (Blog, 2011). According to Najim the SOLO taxonomy adopted in the PEC by the Punjab government and this organization is founded by foreign, but this system is not fruitful for Pakistan (Manan, 2010).

*The Punjab Education Commission functions too:*

1. Design, build up, implement, keep, observe and evaluate an examination system in elementary level.
2. PEC made policies and functions for to conduct examinations in Punjab.
3. PEC accumulates data for research, its purpose in order to search out improved of curricula and teaching methodology.
4. PEC was recommending strategies for teachers and educationists.
5. It made the capability structure of the elementary teachers, and elementary assessment system of learners.

6. PEC recognized such kind of areas where teachers and educationists were not upgraded. PEC gives them training for improvement.
7. PEC maintains public negotiations on issues affecting to elementary education.
8. PEC advised the Administration and policy maker that all policy matters involving in the objectives of the meeting.
9. The annual budget and research program are permitted by the PEC (Punjab Examination Commission , 2020)

In Punjab school, education Department has prepared for PEC examination necessary for all registered private and government school students to promote a next class. In 2010 PEC, improve the policy. PEC promotes the standardized system of examination, improvement the accessible system (Caffrey, 2009). All EDO have a responsibility for marking fair answer-sheet and exams conduct fairly. Cluster centers are made in high secondary schools. The question paper who provided by PEC are based on SOLO taxonomy according to the national standards (www.dawn.news). PEC was organized teachers training courses according to the new pattern of PEC examination.

### **PEC assessed subject**

Punjab government decided to change in the policy of the Punjab Examination Commission. Punjab government decided to delete the elective subject from the PEC papers. The Punjab government introduces the new policy about subject exams for the scholarship programs. PEC subjects consisted of following subjects (Commission, 2020).

- a. Science
- b. English
- c. Urdu
- d. Math
- e. Islamic study

This list of papers is compulsory for the examination of PEC.

### **Research Procedure**

The design of this study was descriptive and quantitative data collection procedure was used to conduct the study. This research was a descriptive survey. The survey study is easy to administer. All public elementary school teachers who work in Sialkot public elementary schools were included in the population. According to the list of elementary public schools of Tehsil Sialkot which was taken from the office of the education department of District Sialkot, there were 144 teachers who teach in elementary school of grade 8 registered by PEC.

The simple random technique used to select the sample size of elementary public-school teachers. English, Math and Science subject elementary teachers selected for the sample of the study. Questionnaire was used as the instrument for the study. The elementary teachers' perception towards the stakeholders with the Likert scale attitude measured was thought suitable for the data collection of the study. The levels of the scale ranged from strongly disagree to the strongly agree.

Researcher developed one questionnaire; Questionnaire for Assessed-subjects Teachers. The reliability of the instrument was established by calculating Cronbach's Alpha through SPSS. Any statement with a value below 0.75 was discarded from the

instrument during the process of finalization of the instrument. Researcher found the reliability of the final instrument as Cronbach's Alpha = 0.89 Alpha for the Questionnaire of elementary Teachers perceptions about stakeholder attitude towards assessed subjects.

### Data Analysis and results

Elementary teachers' perceptions were sought about their own attitude, students' attitude, head-teachers' attitude, and parents' attitude towards assessed subjects. To analyze the data, researcher calculated mean and standard deviation.

Table 1. Elementary Teachers' Perceptions about Stake-Holders'

Attitude towards Assessed Subject		
Factor	M	S.D
Teachers' self-perception of their attitude	4.12	0.79
Teachers' perception towards students' attitude	3.94	1.01
Teachers' perception towards heads' attitude	3.87	0.70

According to the pre-determined criteria, teachers have a high level of teachers' self-perceived attitude towards assessed subjects. Moreover, the table reveals that Overall, the teachers'

Table 2. Teachers' Self-Perceived Attitude towards Assessed

Item	Subjects	M	S.D.
I am motivated to teach		4.23	0.70
I prepare my lesson regularly		4.17	0.78

I use diverse techniques to motivate students for learning	3.93	0.77
I prefer this subject to the subjects not assessed by PEC	4.01	0.88
I take classes regularly	4.28	0.79
I give extra time for teaching this subject	3.96	0.81

This table reflects that the most respondents give the highest priority ( $M = 4.28$ ) “I take classes regularly” and the least priority is given to ( $M = 3.93$ ) “I use diverse techniques to motivate students for learning”. The table reveals that teachers’ own perception about assessed subjects was mostly at a high level.

Table 3. Teachers’ Perceptions about Students’ Attitude towards Assessed Subjects

<b>Items</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>S.D.</b>
Students are motivated to learn this subject	3.96	0.70
Students give full attention to learn this subject	3.82	0.67
Students do extra effort for this subject	4.07	4.01

The table illustrates that the respondents agreed students’ attitude towards assessed subjects at a higher level. The mean scores for elementary teachers’ perception about students’ attitude ranged from 3.82 to 4.07. Overall, the respondents agreed that students attitude towards assessed subjects was at high level.



Table 4. Teachers' Perceptions about Head-teachers' Attitude towards Assessed Subjects

<b>Items</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>S.D.</b>
Head-teacher puts extra emphasis for teaching this subject	3.90	0.82
Head-teacher gives proper guidelines for teaching this subject	3.87	0.80
Head -teacher has much concern for this subject	3.90	0.77
Head-teacher takes feedback about this subject properly	3.89	0.82
Head-teacher give full attention for this subject	3.78	0.92

The table illustrates that the respondents agreed heads' attitude towards assessed subjects at a higher level. The mean scores for elementary teachers' perception about heads' attitude ranged from 3.90 to 3.78. Overall, the respondents agreed that heads attitude towards assessed subjects was at high level.

Table 5. Teachers' Perceptions about Parents' Attitude towards Assessed Subjects.

<b>Items</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>S.D.</b>
Parents give much attention to this subject	3.41	1.08
Parents are involved for the learning of this subject	3.30	1.10
Parents are curious about the result of this subject	3.28	1.12
Parents arrange home tuition for this subject	3.30	1.04
Parents put emphasis for teaching this subject	3.25	1.06

The table illustrates that the respondents agreed parents' attitude towards assessed subjects at a higher level. The mean scores for elementary teachers' perception about parents' attitude ranged from 3.41 to 3.25. Overall, the respondents agreed that parent's attitude towards assessed subjects was at high level.

Table 6. Difference between Male and Female Teachers' Perception towards Assessed Subject

	Teachers' Category	M	S. D	t-value (df = 316)	P ( $\alpha = 0.05$ )
Motivated for teaching	Male	4.02	1.17	3.24	0.00
	Female	4.38	0.82		
Take classes regularly	Male	4.01	1.13	4.55	0.00
	Female	4.48	0.72		
Have necessary teaching material	Male	4.06	1.10	2.40	0.01
	Female	4.30	0.80		
Well prepared for lesson	Male	3.96	1.21	1.67	0.09
	Female	4.50	3.65		
Give extra attention to subject	Male	4.06	1.07	1.92	0.05
	Female	3.83	1.00		
Give proper time to co-curricular activities	Male	2.35	1.11	2.80	0.00
	Female	2.02	1.00		
Give extra time to subject	Male	4.01	0.91	2.05	0.04
	Female	3.80	0.93		

The attitude of female participants was significantly better than that of male participants towards assessed subjects. Assessed subjects' female participants were significantly more motivated ( $M = 4.38$ ,  $SD = 0.82$ ) than male participants ( $M = 4.02$ ,  $SD = 1.17$ ). The statistically difference was significant,  $t(316) = 3.24$ ,  $p = 0.00$ , at alpha level 0.05. Female teachers' ( $M = 4.48$ ,  $SD = 0.72$ ) regu-

larity assessed subject classes was better than that of male teachers' regularity ( $M = 4.01$ ,  $SD = 1.13$ ). The difference was significant at alpha level 0.05,  $t(316) = 4.55$ ,  $p = 0.00$ . The female teachers' ( $M = 4.30$ ,  $SD = 0.80$ ) perceptions about using necessary teaching material in their teaching assessed subjects was better than male teachers ( $M = 4.06$ ,  $SD = 1.10$ ).

The difference between male and female was statistically significant,  $t(316) = 2.40$ ,  $p = 0.01$ , at alpha level 0.05. The male teachers' ( $M = 3.96$ ,  $SD = 1.21$ ) perception about preparing lesson plan for assessed subjects was significantly less than that of female teachers ( $M = 4.50$ ,  $SD = 3.65$ ). The difference was statistically significant,  $t(316) = 1.67$ ,  $p = 0.09$ , at alpha level 0.05. Male teachers ( $M = 4.06$ ,  $SD = 1.07$ ) level of agreement to "giving extra time to assessed subjects' classes" was higher than female teachers ( $M = 3.83$ ,  $SD = 1.00$ ). The difference between their perceptions was statistically significant,  $t(316) = 1.92$ ,  $p = 0.05$ , at alpha level 0.05.

## **Conclusion, Discussion and Recommendations**

Actually, the teachers and administration at the elementary level give value to the subjects assessed of PEC. Teachers, students, heads, and parents just have focused on the PEC assessed subjects. Teachers and heads give importance because they are assessed and punished and rewarded because of PEC results (Malik M. , 2013). Parents mostly focus on the subjects, which are assessed by the commission, because parents' concern is on the scores in the exams. It implies that government should revise the assessment policy on primary and elementary level. Otherwise, the objectives of curriculum will remain unmet.

The findings are not alien because the whole school personnel and other stakeholders, like parents and students, pay more

attention to exam scores, especially, the exam which is a pathway or is conducted by third party not by the school herself. Teachers' perceptions about the other stakeholders like parents, teachers, head-teachers, and students are the same as mentioned above. It means all the stakeholders only focus on the subjects, which are assessed by the PEC otherwise they don't give proper attention to the subjects which are not assessed by the PEC. It is quite alarming for the curriculum objectives formulated by the curriculum wing.

Female teachers had more perceived motivation than that of male teachers, but the same in the case with the subject attention attitude that male teachers had more subject attention attitude than that of a female. Female teachers had more perceived subject preparation than that of male teacher. The male teachers should be given some workshops of motivation, so that the teachers may become motivated to teach the subjects. The workshops may be devised on the subjects who are not assessed by PEC, and the importance and role of these subjects in the development of the child and their role in the society should be established into the minds of teachers, so that they may take it seriously and teach these subjects with dedication

### **Recommendations**

1. This study has shown that elementary teachers feel pressure in their attitude towards teaching assessed subjects, which means the heads and teachers' only focus is on assessed subjects teaching and learning. The concerned authority may revise the exam policy of the eighth class in particular and for primary in general.

2. Some of the study may be conducted using other sources of data collection and research methods like interviews or qualitative research techniques which may give us insight into the problem under study.

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