

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 MARGINALIZATION AS THE PROCESS OF DEVELOPMENT

Marginalization, marginality, exclusion, negative labeling etc., is all about social suffering of minority people from actions being forced (implemented and justified/legalized or something considered as ordinary) from the center. Hence marginalization/marginality is a relatively broad concept that can be elaborated and supported by other concepts to give clear understanding of what marginalization/marginality is, and how marginalization/marginality has been used to debase and control the minority people. Marginality or marginalization is not only about spatial limitation, but it is also about the differences over access to politics, cultures, and economy as well as social and power relations between the state, majority people and minority people.

There have been many studies on marginality or marginalization, yet marginalization always occurs in every aspect of human life, not always in remote areas, but also in the major cities around issues such as conflict over access to economy, education, politics, etc., within majority communities. Marginalization/marginality is a complex concept that can be used to understand the social and power relations between those who have the power and those who are powerless. By using time flows, perhaps we can see how marginalization/marginality has been constructed in colonial time, post-colonial time and present time especially in the case of Indonesia.

Escobar (1995) states that marginalization is a result of an unequal development process between the first and third world. He argues that development has created marginalization by defining poor countries in Latin America, Asia and

Africa and compared with the first world. Thus, classifications of minority group/ethnic community with such negative labeling can be considered as marginalization. Scott (1985) points out that marginalization are a consequence of unequal economic growth between social classes. Thus, Diem (2004) in her thesis points out that marginalization can be applied in two dimensions; first, how development brings marginalization through class differentiation and second, in the context of nation-state, where marginalization occurs as a result of state natural resources control, such as territorialization and mapping by the state which in turn marginalizes the local people by power relations. However, marginalization is not a fix and deadlock situation; it is dynamic and fluid and can be negotiated through different strategies that could be employed by the marginalized.

Moreover, according to Bilson (cited in Grey, 1991) marginalization/marginality can be distinguished into three major criteria: cultural marginality, social role marginality and structural marginality. Cultural marginality can be described as "the process of cross-cultural contact and assimilation...[that] usually stems from a hierarchical valuation of two cultures in which an individual participates, so that relations between the two are commonly defined in terms of acceptance or rejection, belonging or isolation, in-group or out-group. While social role marginality is "the product of failure to belong to a positive reference group" and structural marginality refers to the "political, social and economic powerlessness of certain disenfranchised and/or disadvantaged segments within societies."

Marginalization can be understood as unequal power relations and the history of marginalization itself is attached in human "civilization and development" history. Therefore I would like to elaborate more on the process on how marginality or marginalization was invented and created to justify the action of the state or dominant power acts in different periods in the Indonesian context- (colonial, post-colonial and contemporary development period) - in marginalizing the minority groups, especially ethnic minority groups, by using cultural, social and political differences, to justify the state development process.

2.1.1 MARGINALIZATION IN COLONIAL TIME

In the colonial era in which the colonizers are superior to their colony, the colonizer set the rules and standards for their colony to obey so as to bring order, just as Edward Said (cited in Tsing 1993) emphasized how colonial discourse constructed “other cultures” to separate the colonizer and the colonized. He also shows how the idea of cultural difference has been used to debase and control the local people. The new settler from the colonizer side regards themselves as land owner (*tuan tanah*) and the local people as the slave/servant (*budak, babu*) for the landowner. Thus, the term “marginal” can be understood as social and power differentiation, whether it is seen from the major groups of people or from the center of the state which rules the nations.

Moreover, at that time villages, as the smaller unit of government systems, were romanticized and noted for the expanding “trade” business interest of the colonizer. These exercised powers over land and peoples became organized under the principle of territoriality (Breman, 1997). Also in those times, the creation of marginalization by the colonizer was based on the political and economic motives of the colonial administration which used territorialization to bind and limit people’s movement, space and power in regard to controlling the valuable natural resources and people for taxation purposes of the colonial administration.

The village people in lowland and upland areas of Java and other areas of the Indonesian archipelago were seen as the object that needed to be “developed” by the colonial ruler. Thus the colonial regimes forced them to change their traditional crops with more valuable and marketable crops such as coffee, sugar cane, spices and other valuable crop products like teak wood, which would bring economic benefit for the colonial state from international trade. The colonial power set such regulations and strategies to manage those valuable resources including the farmers in the lowland villages, peasants and minority peoples in the upland area (Peluso 1999).

However, upland areas in Indonesia were not an easy area for colonial rulers to control, whether because of geographical reasons or limited transport technologies.

Thus, historically upland areas were used as a base for people's resistance to colonial power, such as the Diponegoro war in Yogyakarta in 1825. Because of this, access to upland areas was not always as easy as access to the lowland. Moreover, many people from the lowland fled to the uplands to escape from slavery of abusive powers and taxation by the colonial rulers. The thick forest and wild animals of colonial-era uplands have resulted in upland areas being characterized as a space that was wild and "dangerous" for the civilized people. This negative label also included the upland people and ethnic minorities who lived in that area who were also considered dangerous, and in need of being civilized and educated by the colonial government.

2.1.2 MARGINALIZATION IN THE POST-COLONIAL TIME

In the post-colonial period, after many nations became independent from colonialism including Indonesia, some of the new born countries adopted the colonial law and administrative structures for running their country. Thus the vision regarding upland and ethnic minorities was still the same, and only the masked and costumes have changed and added by the attributes of nationalism such as national identities or national ideology to unify and give reason to gain controls over valuable resources and people within their borderland.

As a consequence, upland and ethnic minorities were still suffering from the state power in that the state sees them as the object rather than the actors. Additionally ethnic minorities were still perceived as an obstacle to the "development" process because of the stigma of backward, stubborn and traditional which the state used to explain who and what ethnic minorities and upland people were.

As state has defined ethnic minorities in negative terms where their cultures were regarded as uncivilized and not up-to-date, it has initiated the center to create new meaning on what national culture should be. Combined with the western views, nationalism and ethnic traditions were used in order to unite various cultures and traditions in their jurisdictions. Moreover, national ideology has forced and put ethnic minorities in the lower part of a national diagram on social and political relations.

Thus social relations among people in one country are determined by cultures, tradition and in some cases, by the ‘power man’, like in Indonesia as Tsing (1993) mentioned, “Javanese culture has been considered and put in the highest social rank compared to other Indonesian fellows, and this action has led to unequal social and political relations between the Javanese people and others who live in outer islands, especially those who are far away from Jakarta as the center state”.

2.1.3 MARGINALIZATION IN DEVELOPMENT TIME

In the postmodern world, it could be considered that global marginalization emerged with the Truman “point four” speech. He pointed out the developing and underdeveloped countries, and the need to develop the south as part of modernization and global development. In other words the south was seen as “economically backward”, thus differentiating the north and the south, the center and the periphery and the rich and the poor, creating the process of marginalization (Rist 2000).

Most of the definitions of development focus on long-term economic growth, based on ecological/environmental sustainability, without giving accurate definitions and interpretations. Some theorists and practitioners define development as a process of directed change. Development theory cannot be separated from the historical time lines; where over time development has brought different meaning and with different dimensions. Throughout the past few decades, people have tended to understand development through economics. Per capita income and development were usually viewed as being mutually dependent variables, however many failed to recognize that economic growth did not necessarily indicate full development.

Modern development emerged as the new pattern in the second and third worlds, after the Second World War, and differentiated the north and the south, the center and periphery, the rich and the poor and the modern and traditional societies. Thus, there was a need to promote the underdeveloped and ‘traditional’ countries and their “backward society” to the new era of development through what was termed modernization. This required taking part in the process of development that was led by the architect in western countries and using the funds that had been preserved for

those who agreed to join with and wanted to become as modern as the center world (Rist 2000).

In the development process, both exclusion and inclusion of people can emerge in different ways; it depends on the situation and condition of states and its people. If people are integrated in the process of development and they cooperate well, then there is no problem with the relationship between the state and the people. However, if some people are being excluded by the state and by the majority of people as well, because they have differences, then it turns into the practice of marginalization, bringing gap, resistance and conflict between both sides. In short, marginalization considers class differentiation, social status, cultural differences and political power relations between inferior and superior.

Hence there was a need to develop and catch up with global modernization where the industrial sector plays a major role in economic growth; the center government implemented their country's development programs more intensely, according to plans and schedules adopted from developed countries and international donors such as the Asian Development Bank (ADB), the World Bank (WB), and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Again villages/upland regions were a focus as smaller government system became an object of state practices through the introduction of what we called "the green revolution" of cash crops, to fight against hunger and poverty. More importantly the forest where upland people live and conduct their subsistence agricultural practices has been viewed by the state and multinational companies as harvestable resources in seeking high profits in their international business. This has interfered with the village/upland people's way of life, since some of the ethnic minorities have lived for generations in that particular area, with their knowledge and traditional practices. Those who are not aligned with the state program are easily marginalized by the state, whether through cultural differences, social and political relations or more often by military power to control the minority groups in the name of national development.

2.1.4 MARGINALIZATION BY CULTURAL DIFFERENCES

Culture of minority people has a significant emphasis on marginalization, since the colonial period up until now. Cultural differences have been used to marginalize ethnic minority people by the center state or by the majority people, as Tsing (1993) mentioned in her book about Meratus Dayak an ethnic group who lived in Borneo Indonesia. The culture of Meratus Dayak has been label as “hillbilly” culture or outdated by the center state and also by majority people who lived next to Meratus Dayak.

Moreover Tsing (1993) argues that, marginalization can be described as exclusion, displacement, and dehumanization of certain groups of minorities within the majority groups. This integrates a different kind of conceptual framework, where in such a framework marginal people become old survivors. Additionally Tsing states that, the cultural difference of the margins is a sign of exclusion from the center, but is also a tool for destabilizing central authority. Tania Li (1999) who also worked with upland people in Indonesia states that the association of the uplands with cultural difference, and the negative rating of the difference, has a very long history in Indonesia, and reflects changes taking place in the lowlands, especially along the coast.

Therefore according to Donnan and Wilson (1999), “ethnicity set fears to many states these days.” Thus relocation, arrest, and forceful threats have become commonly accepted methods for solving the “troubles” believed to be caused by the so-called “hill-tribe” people (Pinkaew, 2003). The reason of this oppressive action by the state is because the people who live in the margins, are maintaining their traditions and cultural practices, such as subsistence agriculture, by opening new land through burning of the forests for farming, which from the state view is destruction of the forest and a cause of environmental degradation, and not in line with the state development program of land use and allocation.

In Indonesia, as Tania Li (1999) states, the uplands people are defined, constituted, imagined, managed, exploited and “developed” through a range of

discourses and practices. State or academic intellectuals have perceived the upland/remote village as a marginal domain, socially, economically and physically removed and excluded from “development”. She also stated that marginality is a relational concept, which involves a social construction, where margins and centers are constituted as a hegemonic project. The social construction of marginalization/marginality involves a process through which particular spaces become subject to description and practices by state which is simplified, stereotyped and contrastive and also rated according to the criteria defined at the “center” of development.

2.2 SPACE AS SOCIAL PLACES TO CONSTRUCT IDENTITY

In the past, social scientists gave more attention to time. Most of them thought that time was a more attractive concept than space, hence most of them believed that time was more fluid and dialectic. They also assumed that space is dead, fixed and stagnant. According to Kuper (1972), Durkheim and Mauss were the first scientists who used the concepts of social space in sociology theory. For Durkheim, “classification was a universal phenomenon of social origin, derived from the collective representations of a society and even ideas as abstract as those of time and space are, at each point in their history, closely connected with the corresponding social organization”.

Moreover the Durkheimian analyses are extended and modified but the limitations and essentially static quality inherent in structural-functional model have motivated several anthropologists to develop situational analysis, which become elaborated in terms of network and extended case method. Social space is analyzed as part of the total system which can be expressed at different levels and through different models of organization. Some have been concerned specifically with symbols and values evident in spatial arrangement, while others with the manipulation of social relations in a territorially defined area (Kuper 1972)..

A fairly different orientation to “space” was initiated in the cultural approach of Malinowski who considered space and time as essential components of the

“context of culture.” His theoretical problem was how to get from the basic “biological needs” of the individual shared with animals, to the observable facts of culturally organized behavior and he also considered territoriality, locality, propinquity, and contiguity as principles of grouping.

Foucault states “space was treated as the dead, the fixed and the undialectical, the immobile. Time, on the contrary, was richness, fruitfulness, life and dialectic” (cited in Kahn 2000). In shifting the attention to space, he argues that the concern in modern time has to deal with space, rather than time, because space is more dynamic than it has believed and there is no hesitation that it’s more enormous than deal with time. Moreover in modern time technologies have improved so time is no longer an obstacle to humans like in the past. Another scholar, Henri Lefebvre who also gives attention on space argues “space embraces a multitude of intersection, desiring to create a theoretical unity between fields that are apprehended separately (the physical and mental), but interact with influence on one another” (cited in Kahn, 2000).

Space can be defined and described differently, depending on the purpose of the writer. However, according to Lefebvre and Foucault (cited in Kahn, 2000), space can be distinguished into three categories, *First Space* as physical space or perceived space, the *Second Space* as mental space or conceived space and *Third Space* as social space or lived space. The concepts of space are very broad where sometime it is overlapping because it is interconnected with the others. Similar to this idea is that of Edward. T. Hall (1968), but he uses the word “Fixed” to describe the idea of physical space, “Semi-fixed” for mental space and “Dynamic” to describe the idea of third space or social space. He argues that “in general, walls and territorial boundaries are treated as fixed features. However territory may be a seasonal affair ... and therefore territory can sometimes be classified as semi-fixed or dynamic”.

Physical space is the place where we stand and where we see everything as concrete objects such as room, market, and library. Mental space lies in our minds, as we think or conceive things (abstraction) in our head such as ideology, concepts and theories that can be described. Social space is the place where we create space

through interaction with other people. Social space gives certain values to certain space because of social and personal experiences (Kuper 1972). According to Kahn (2000), the notion of third space was introduced and formulated by Lefebvre and Foucault and employed by Edward Soja from the 1980's to 1990's. Soja (cited in Kahn, 2000) stated that the concept of third space refers to the social practices, which have a constantly changing (dynamic) setting of ideas, events, forms and values.

Ferguson and Gupta (cited in Bourque 1997) mention that people's association with space and boundaries is negotiated, contested and changes over time. Thus it is difficult to discuss place without considering identity, where individual and group expressions of community membership make use of traditional symbols and where it reflects a desire to remain distinct from other people and institutions outside of their community in spite of the increasing economic link with the outside world. As Field, Urban and Sherzer (cited in Bourque 1997) mention "ethnicity and the creation of ethnic space should be understood as a process, whereby collective self-representations are transformed through time as groups to respond to others".

However, through the introduction of development and other western thought, and because of the increasing need for rural resources, land became more valuable, and capitalist property relations in rural land hardened and became more exclusionary. This has shifted the meaning of land/landscape from social to more personal/individual meanings (Abramson 2000).

The concepts of space here will be used in the expression of space as place of living (land), which is also as the place where the people generate their identity both for the individual and shared identity as community as well as a place of social relationships. Place of living/landscape generates dependences from the people who are used and embedded to the land where they also perceived the land as social space for them, in the sense that people are users and keepers of the land.

Everyday practices of the people who use the land will tie them to the land, not necessarily with title deed, while communications and understanding among the users can be defined and justified by their practices of using land, especially among

the user who has similar thought and ideology about territory and communal importance, like the Baduy community which uses the land for their subsistence living by practicing swidden farming. Hence they shared a similar ideology about land uses and they also conserve the forest in the surrounding area for common uses. Moreover everyday practices of land use can also be strengthened by rituals and practices in order to strengthen their traditional practices.

2.3 EVERYDAY PRACTICES AS NEGOTIATION

According to Lund (2002), a key term in winning a claim is negotiation. While negotiation may take place as formalized and ritualized in court or a village hearing, negotiation is also something else and more. Negotiation comprises all sorts of tactical and strategic maneuvers that affect the outcome in terms of changing, transforming or solidifying a claim. Furthermore Lund argues (2002) traditional practices to claim a property or resources are informal and are produced and invented through local institution construction using whatever options are available. He also states that they are composite or syncretistic practices combining, with more or less ambiguity, operations issuing from the range of contract, documents and market exchange with operations stemming from “customs” and interpersonal relationship as they are dynamically lived in local society. This way, local practices that are technically non-legal are tolerated by state and “claim” was produced for the ethnic groups or ethnic community.

The term everyday practice was first introduced by Certeau as the investigation of ways in which users operate or ways of operating/doing things. Certeau states that everyday practice should not be concealed as merely the obscure background of social activity, but that it is necessary to penetrate this obscurity and to articulate it in everyday life. The purpose of everyday practice is to make explicit the system of operational combination which also composes a culture and to bring to light the models of action characteristic of users as the dominated element in the society or to disguise the term consumer (Certeau 1984).

In the Dictionary of the Social Sciences, Calhoun (2002) defines practice as the ability to produce/create new social actions without directly thinking them through, based partly on the internalization of objective social structures through experience. He also states that practice, as central to Pierre Bourdieu's work, tries to represent an attempt to theorize the space in which individual actors meet with larger social influences such as norms, rules, and/or structures. Furthermore, Calhoun states that the practice is a set of durable and transposable dispositions that mediates between 'objective' structures of social relations and the individual 'subjective' behavior of actors (Calhoun, 2002).

According to Swartz (1997) the term "everyday practices" is conceptualized in a different way on various works, but the most important conceptualization comes from Pierre Bourdieu's works. The center of Bourdieu's theory of practice is the notion of practice, which is seen as a principle to produce and to organize practices and representation. Moreover he argues "practice is a product of history and it is produced from a context associated with a particular class of conditions of existence, such as, social conditions or power relation. It is a matrix generating responses modified in progress to all objective conditions equal to or homologous with the (past) conditions of its production; it adjusts itself to a feasible future".

Swartz (1997) also states that the responses of practice are firstly defined in relation to objective potentialities in connection with feasible things to do or not to do, things to say or not to say. But practices are also included in a strategic estimation formed by multifarious processes of calculation or thought come from evaluation of chances, part experiences, expected objective and so on, which is deposited in each organism in the form of schemes of opinion, thought and actions.

According to Bourdieu (cited in Swartz 1997) practice transforms social and economic 'necessity' into 'virtue' by leading individuals to a 'kind' of immediate submission to order. It legitimates economic and social inequality by providing a practical and taken for granted acceptance of the fundamental conditions of existence. Bourdieu (cited in Swartz 1997) emphasizes the collective basis of practice, stressing that individuals who internalize similar life chances share the same practice.

Furthermore Swartz (1997) argues that the character of practice represents an informal and practical, rather than a discursive or conscious, form of knowledge. This practical evaluation and informal knowledge of life chance occurs unconsciously.

Everyday practices can be seen in the form of negotiation, bargaining and cooperation and in the form of resistance. Everyday practices are the negotiation and cooperation in the sense of conflict solving and avoidance, where in everyday life conflicts almost occurs everywhere where people live and are connected to others, since conflict, bargaining and cooperation need two or more actors on social relations. Everyday practice itself can refer to the way local people manipulate their knowledge, situation and cultural idioms and relationship to compromise and to claim and re-claim their rights over valuable resources.

Everyday practice is flexible and general according to time and space. Different groups of people have different practices to survive or to make a living, to solve conflicts as well as others problems raised in their dynamic living environment. Also at different periods of time, people will use and apply different kinds of strategies to deal with their problems of living.

Moreover, Moore (1993) and Rose (1994) explain that people can serve as story tellers. People from certain communities (mostly hill tribe people or ethnic minority groups) may tell their descendants and outsiders the story of their ancestral experiences and history, their heroic bravery and victory in the war and also the myth or magic that their community or some of their elders have. This can be in order to show their uniqueness and capability of maintaining their livelihood in a particular area using their history, knowledge and myth. As Moore (1993) has stated, the everyday practice of local people can be seen in terms of negotiation, trade and storytelling. Thus stories and myth of magic of particular groups are also created in order to gain access to valuable resources and also to rationalize their action in their “contested” land, similar to other strategies that they necessarily applied to negotiate with the current situation of their living environment. In addition, ritual practices can also be seen as form of negotiation and symbolic resistance of the margin people. As

Komatra identifies, ritual practice constitutes an important cultural form in which counter-hegemonic consciousness is codified (Diem 2004).

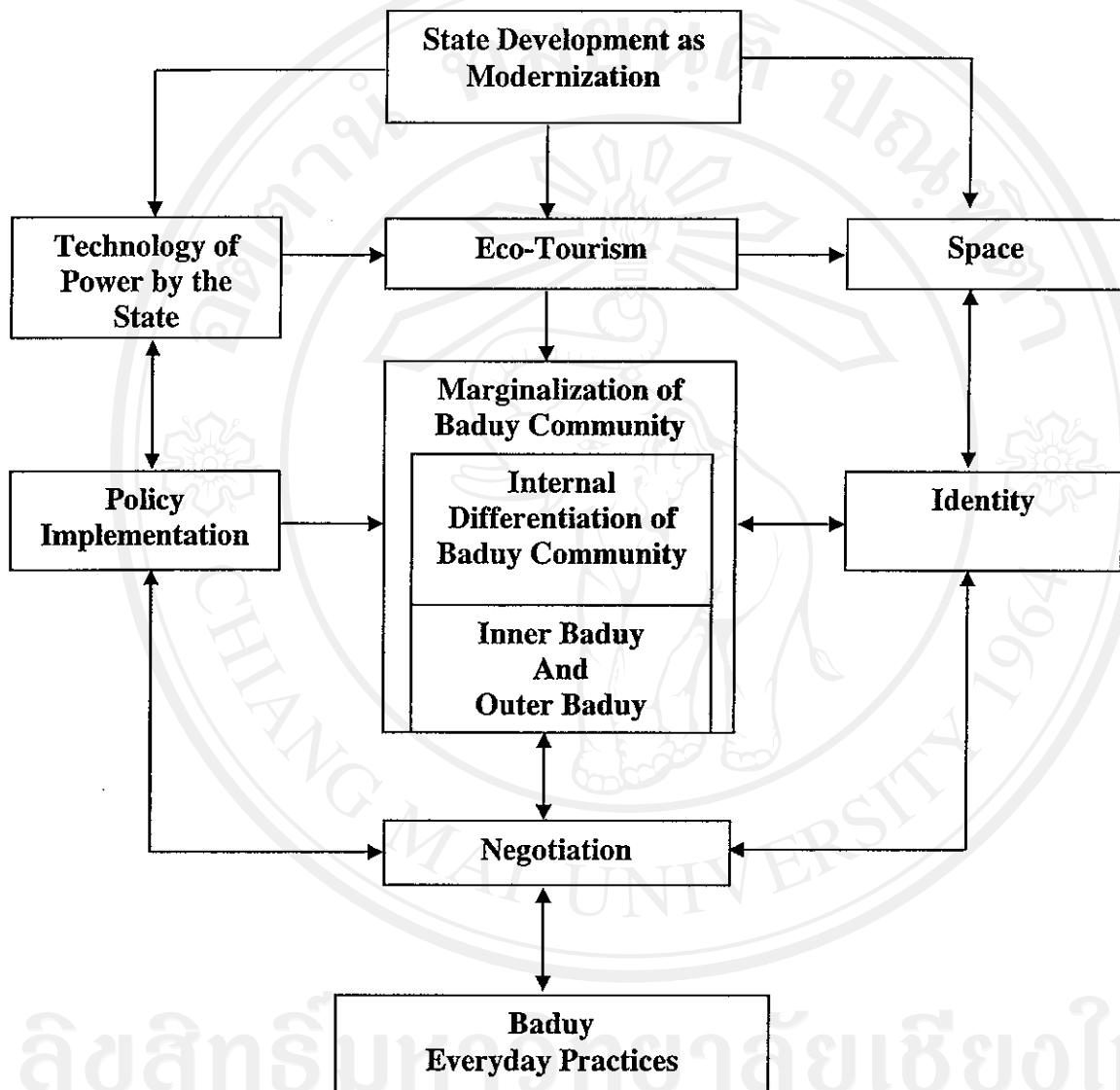


Figure 2.1 Conceptual Framework

2.4 RESEARCH CONCEPTUALIZATION AND FRAMEWORK

From the background and literature review in the previous section and conceptual framework of the concepts of marginalization, space and everyday practice above, I propose to use the conceptual framework for this study as follows:

The concept of marginalization will help in terms of understanding the impacts from the state policy and development practices and how the Baduy people have experienced being marginalized by the state and have dealt with that kind of situation and how it has influenced the identity and space of the Baduy people. The concept of identity is being added here and used in order to understand how Baduy identity was constructed and how the Baduy people use their identity to negotiate with the marginalization from the development process. The concept of identity also helps in terms of understanding the notion of space where identity of Baduy people is also connected to their place of living.

The concept space will help to understand how the Baduy perceive their space of living and how it has affected the social interaction among the Baduy people and with outsiders as well. Additionally it will help to understand how space has influenced the Baduy in terms of generating their identity, since place also plays a central point in constructing identity as group or individual. Moreover, the Baduy place of living not only contains history but is also a place where the Baduy conduct their everyday practice to survive.

The concept of everyday practice is used here to investigate and understand the traditional practices of Baduy people. The everyday practice can be seen as their strategies of negotiating the social suffering and as one of the tools to construct the identity of the Baduy. Everyday practice is a carefully arranged strategy that is not only applied for economic reasons, but is also used to gain recognition that can justify the action of the Baduy people.

This framework is used to investigate and to understand the relationship between the actors involved, how the governments through their technology of power create policy that marginalized the Baduy and how the Baduy people perceive their land and space, in addition to how the Baduy adjust to the current situation, through the negotiation process of everyday practices.

2.5 SUMMARY

Marginalization of ethnic groups, especially the ethnic minority in development is a very complex and dynamic topic. But on the other hand it is necessary to study this issue. Therefore I employ three main concepts in order to understand this matter based on the current situation and conditions in the regional framework to explain the complexity of conflict and way of negotiation which is derived from the development and marginalization.

The concepts of Marginalization as the Process of Development which I employed is to understand how the development process in Indonesia besides creating good progress of development, also marginalizes its stake holders of the state, namely the ethnic minority, who has been perceived as backward society by the state and majority of people. The marginalization created by the state is also to justify and control the minority people by the state to bring about order and unify the state members. Culture and traditions become the main part of the development, where the state has put certain culture and traditions in the higher rank of the society and in the social relationships as well.

The concepts of Social Space as a Place to Construct Identity, is used to understand the local cultures and traditions of the ethnic minority; How they generate and use their identity as an ethnic group and how they maintain their identity and the Baduy community, who reside in the remote area, limited by distances and rough hilly terrain from the rest of the regions.

The third concept, Everyday Practices as a Way of Negotiation, is used to understand the way the Baduy people are negotiating the current situation and condition from marginalization in the development in their area and surrounding region as well; how their traditions also limit and maintain strong members of the Baduy community.