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**The Burmese in the History Textbook
Prescribed for Burmese Vernacular Schools**

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Abstract

This article explains how modern Burmese national identity has been portrayed in a history school textbook of British Burma. To serve this purpose, a history textbook prescribed in the vernacular schools is to be analyzed here. The textbook is composed of the historiographical accounts of different Burmese chronicles to form the new national concept "Burmese," compromising traditional concepts and colonial historical knowledge. Based on the textual analysis, this research is to shed light on the new concept on how the Burmese has constituted three conceptions: race, space and time. Ethnically, it is accepted that the Burmese is a hybrid of the Tibeto-Burman and the Aryans who claim themselves to be the descendants of the Buddha. British-Burma has been once the territory under the rule of a long line of Burmese kings since then. There had chronologically emerged three Burmese kingdoms - Bagan, Taungoo and Konbaung -throughout historic eras.

Focusing on three sectors which commonplace to observe national identity: the race, the territory and the periodization, this article argues that Burmese nationalism based on Buddhist culture, is a product of modern education initiated in the colonial period.

I. Introduction

It is well known that modern Burmese¹ nationalism emerged in the colonial period. To be exact, with the emergence of nationalist movements, Burmese nationalism was aroused in 1920² and

¹I use the term "Burmese" throughout this article for ethnic Burmese and Myanmar is a multi-ethnic and cultural nation including all ethnic groups in the Myanmar territory.

²YMBA transformed itself into GCBA to start political movement in 1920. [MaungMaung 1959, 15]

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reached its peak in 1930s [Mya Han 1999, 58]. Although outstanding researches which conducted on the historiography of Myanmar³ and defines the term of Burmese or Myanmar⁴ from both narrow and widely viewed, in Myanmar study especially throughout colonial to independent history are real flaw, there is no research analyzed powerful tools of enforcement such as school textbook which directly conveyed to Burmese widely, as far as I know. On the other hand, it is possible to see what Burmese national identity was in some history textbooks prescribed for vernacular schools.

U Ba Than's Myanmar-Yazawin (Prescribed Myanmar History School Textbook) is chosen here for the research, for it is thought that it contributes to the nation building process of the Burmese and had been published for several times up to 1990s. U Ba Than worked as a history teacher in Shin Buddhaghosa High School, Mawlamyaing and other vernacular schools. First, this history textbook was just a draft designed for the vernacular school and later published in 1930, with some improvements and corrections. After the publication, it was accepted as a history textbook in many schools. It was published for eight times between 1930 and 1952, with more corrections and amendments from year to year. In 1991, its final version, the 9th edition, was published with a view to motivating national consciousness. As to the final version of this textbook, U Tun Aung Chain, a former professor of the History Department of the University of Yangon remarked in 1991 thus" ...Depending on the traditional chronicle solely, U Ba Than has paid attention to the national integration of Myanmar in the contemporary interests..."[Ba Than 1991, 7-8].

It is found that, as compared to the research on national identity based on textual analysis conducted in other Southeast Asian countries, this prescribed text is obviously lack of Myanmar historical research. On the other hand, "School textbooks are a crucial organ in the process of constructing legitimated ideologies and beliefs" [Keith 2003, 5]. Therefore, it is thought U Ba

³ Blackmore 1964, Hall 1961, Hall 1968, Harvey 1919, Hla Pe 1985, Khin Hla Han 1997, Kirichinko 2009, Liberman 1976, Liberman 1986, Luce 1948, May Oung 1913, Myo Myint 1997, Ni Ni Myint 2004, San Nyein 1997, Taylor 1996, Tet Htoot 1961, Than Tun 1976, Thaw Kaung 2004, Thein 1918, Thet Tun 2004, Thet Tun 2004b, Tinker 1961, Tin Ohn 1962, Tun Aung Chain 2004, Selth 2007 and Watanabe 1991.

⁴ Kyan 2008, Khin Yi 1988 and Nemoto 2000.

Than's history school textbook is worth an analysis to explain how prescribed history textbooks can help arouse nationalism and keep national identity among the students.

To examine how the national identity reflected in the vernacular school history textbook, U Ba Than's history textbook is to be researched through the textual analysis method. Firstly, its historiography is to be examined. Secondly, the territory of Myanmar mentioned by it is to be studied. Finally, its periodization of Burmese history is to be discussed. In other words, to be able to shed sufficient light on the Burmese national identity, this article is made of six sections. The second and next section will focus on historiography of U Ba Than's school history textbook. The third section will discuss Burmese national identity. The fourth section will survey how this text expresses territory of Myanmar. The fifth section will analyze periodization of Burmese history. The final section will be the conclusion of the discussion.

II. Historiography of U Ba Than's Prescribed Myanmar History School Textbook

In order to know how this history textbook is composed, the brief survey of the configuration of this textbook's content is to be made. In terms of the content, it covers a long lapse of time extending from prehistoric times when people migrated into the region which is today officially acknowledged as modern Myanmar up to the 1930s. Though this text consists of 42 chapters, only the chapter on the historical events during the 1930s is the documents belonging to the colonial period. This book can roughly be divided into five periods: the earlier prehistoric period before Pagan period and Pagan period⁵, the second Myanmar kingdom (The Second Burmese Kingdom), the third Myanmar Kingdom (The Third Burmese Kingdom) and British Myanmar in the colonial period. In addition to these, there are some appendixes to sample questions, tables and photos.

As it is well known, a history textbook plays an important role in the nation building process. To clarify how the origin of the people of Myanmar, a "Nation," was supposed, and how "the

⁵The First Myanmar Kingdom: See the explanation on it in section two.

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Nation” was imaged in the time of Burmese kings, the subjects are listed up in the following chart extracting from the textbook.

Configuration of the Prescribed Myanmar History School Textbook

Chapter	Title	Subject
Chapter 1	Border and territory of Myanmar	Territory of Burmese kingdom
Chapter 2	Ethnic diversity of Myanmar	Origin of Burmese and Buddha's family, the ruler
Chapter 3	Pyu and Tagaung dynasties	The end of Pyu and the advance of Burmese
Chapter 4-5	Myanmar: To the end of Pyu Kingdom Pagan dynasty (1)	The end of Pyu, the foundation of Pagan kingdom and history of Pagan kingdom before King Anawrahta
Chapter 6	State building of King Anawrahta	The foundation of the first Myanmar kingdom by King Anawrahta
Chapter 7-9	Pagan dynasty (3-5)	History of Pagan after King Anawrahta and the end of Pagan
Chapter 10	Summary of Pagan dynastic history	Fate and annihilation of Pagan kingdom and the power of kings
Chapter 11	Mon ethnic (1)	Pagan and contemporary history of Mon Ethnic
Chapter 12-18	Pinya, Sagaing, Inwa city-states Period	History of non-Burmese kingdom as a history of city-state
Chapter 19	Summary of the history of the city-states	Misfortune of the king and division of peoples
Chapter 20	About Mon ethnic (2)	City-state history and contemporary history of Mon (1)
Chapter 21	About Mon ethnic (3)	City-state history and contemporary history of Mon (2)
Chapter 22-24	About alien (1) About Rakhine History of the second Myanmar kingdom (1)	Advance of alien History of Rakhine The foundation of the second Myanmar kingdom by the King Tabin-shwe-htee
Chapter 25-29	History of the second Myanmar kingdom (2-5)	King Bayin-naung's administration in the second Myanmar kingdom

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Chapter 30-32	Summary of the history of the second Myanmar kingdom About alien History of Kongbaung dynasty (1)	The prospect and end of kingdom by the kings' power The advance of alien The foundation of the third Myanmar kingdom by King Alaung-min-taya
Chapter 33-40	History of Konbaung dynasty (4-9)	History after King Alaung-min-taya up to colonial period
Chapter 41	Summary of Kongbaung dynastic history	Administration of the third Myanmar kingdom
Chapter 42	Myanmar and British government	The rise of national identity during the colonial period

The characteristic of U Ba Than prescribed Myanmar school textbook is that it was composed by the different historiography of traditional Burmese chronicles.

One characteristic of this textbook is the legitimization of the boundaries of British Myanmar. Although this text has established Burmese history based on "Hmannan Mah Yazawin Daw-gyi" (The Great Glass Palace Chronicle), it has also been claimed national consolidation. This text made a modern Myanmar territory home of all ethnics living in Myanmar. As has been mentioned above, the first chapter is written about "Border and territory of Myanmar⁶" and the second chapter is "Myanmar Nainggan-yin-tha" (Myanmar Nationals). In addition, it produces the historical era based on the military power of the kingdoms which could be organized as territories: "the Second Burmese Kingdom" and "the Third Burmese Kingdom⁷," unlike former chronicles which called the historical era after the cities they were based on.

The other characteristic of this history textbook is that it applies the concept, the origin of the Burmese. Emphasizing the highness of the exceptional position of the Burmese kings and kingdoms, it relates ancient Burmese kingdoms to modern British Myanmar. In the ancient

⁶U Ba Than has used the term "Myanmar" to refer to the ethnic Burmese.

⁷Though U Ba Than never use "The First Myanmar Kingdom" in his textbook, it should take that Pagan dynasty is the First Myanmar Kingdom as he describes that although people had diverse before, they became homogenous as a nation in the time of King Anawrahta [Ba Shin 1991, 45]. And Pagan dynasty is recognized as the First Burmese Kingdom in later Myanmar history.

Burmese society, the king was recognized as a special appearance hybridized [Young 1995] by the Burmese and the family of the Lord Buddha who is highly venerated mostly in Buddhism.

Another characteristic of this textbook is periodization of historical era. Though its chronology on Burmese kings follows the claims of the Burmese traditional chronicles, there are some attempts to compare the events in this book with some contemporary events occurred in China and Thai histories, both of which were brought into Burma during the colonial period, as western European scholars do [Ba Than 1991, 1/f, 30]. It is also found that there are some influences of colonial historical knowledge on the study of people's migration into the country during the prehistoric period and in making ethnic classifications based on the language.

Thus, U Ba Than uses different dimensions of historiography in the compilation of the prescribed Myanmar history school textbook and, no doubt, Burmese national identity has been conveyed by this textbook to the students since the time of colonial period.

III. Burmese: A Hybrid

In order to identify the Burmese, the concepts of a nation, the origin of the Burmese and the modern Burmese will be discussed in this section.

It is well known that the definition of the terms "Burmese and Myanmar" is interchangeable, depending on the period⁸. U Ba Than uses the term "Myanmar" in his book to refer to the ethnic Burmese [Ba Than 1991, 16]. Although he uses the term "Myanmar," it bears a different meaning from the modern use of Myanmar.

U Ba Than's history textbook on the origin of Burmese constitute his concept on the origin of the people and that of the ruling class. In this book, he claims that the royal family from India arrived at Tagaung and built a kingdom before the birth of Buddha [Ba Than 1991, 20]. On the

⁸DoBama Asiayone defined "Bamar" (Burmese) in a wider meaning [Dou Bama Asiayonn Thamine Pyuzuye Apwe 1976, 216] and Myanmar is used in this sense from shortly after the independence up to present day by Anti-Fascist People League and respective governments [MaungMaung 1959].

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basis of this idea, he explained that Buddha's families came to Myanmar two times, and got mixed with the local people and built a Burmese kingdom, making references to the names of ancient cities found in central Myanmar and flourishing of Buddhism throughout the successive historical eras [Ba Than 1991, 20-23]. Following the concept that the Burmese originated from Tagaung, he created the people called "Burmese" ruled by royalty hybridized by descendants of the Buddha's family and the Tibeto-Burman, indigenous people⁹. From the new perspective, recapturing the myth of traditional concept, the origin of Burmese has been produced.

The birth of the Burmese can be seen in the second chapter. U Ba Than also narrates the domestic migration of the ethnic people into Myanmar. Ascribing the origin of the Burmese and other ethnics to the western part of China, putting the hometown of the Myanmar there, the Burmese could be distinguished from the other ethnics by their domestic migration [Ba Than 1991, 16]. Based on historical knowledge introduced into British Myanmar during the colonial period¹⁰, the author has argued that the Tibeto-Burman who migrated from Gansu province, China to the regions became modern Myanmar.

However, in contrast to the above concept, U Ba Than, regarding the origin of the Burmese, records that the Sakkyans, descendants of the Buddha lineage, from the Majjhimadesa¹¹ of India, and Tibeto-Burman merged and the royal family, the ruling class of Myanmar kingdom, was born [Ba Than 1991, 20], as has been claimed by the traditional chronicles¹². In short, it can be taken that the Burmese is an ethnic civilized by the ruling people hybridized by the Buddha lineage and the Burmese since the times of ancient Burmese kings.

⁹Regarding the origin of the Burmese, there are two concepts. The one is "Origin of the Burmese is Tagaung" and the other is "Origin of the Burmese is Kyaukse." The former is the traditional concept of Myanmar chronicle [Kyan 2008, 84] and the latter is a result of research based on the language by Gordon. H. Luce, one of the authoritative foreign scholars in Myanmar studies [Luce 1969].

¹⁰A. Phayre published a history textbook titled *History of Burma* in 1883 and it introduced the migration of Burmese and other ethnics into Myanmar [Than Htut 1998, 41].

¹¹The center of Buddhist world.

¹²*Zatar-taw-pon Yazawin* [Tin Naing Toe 2001, 40] and *Hmannan Maha Yazawin Dawgyi*.

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With regard to the Burmese civilization, it is explained thus: As villages had been established after the settlements of the Tibeto-Burman, there might emerge the village-level administration. Local people were engaged in the hunting life and believed in some spirits and gods [Ba Than 1991, 19]. After founding Tagaung dynasty by King Abhiraja and his descendants, people lived under a single administrative institution exercised by kings and the culture had gradually evolved. Since then, literature, agriculture, technology and craftsmanship spread out and the number of Buddhists increased with the passing of time. Due to the lack of literature “Naing Ngantha,” a native Mongolian, learnt it from the “Mijjimadesa,” Tagaung royal family. The accounts when they had lived in China, therefore, are not recorded and it is said that solely things after the time of Mijjima appear to be the folklore for the Burmese [Ba Than 1991, 19].

In short, though the author had put the homeland of the Tibeto-Burman including the Burmese and other ethnics in China, he distinguished the Burmese from others based on the modern historical knowledge. In this regard, on the one hand, Tagaung royal family was born from the merging of Buddha lineage and the Tibeto-Burman, as seen in the chronicles. In this way, U Ba Than, influenced by the traditional chronicles, portrayed the image of the Burmese, a national who has Buddhist culture and is the hybrid of the Buddha lineage and the Tibeto-Burman.

IV. Burmese Kingdom: Territory of Burmese

To reveal the popularization of the territorial identity of Burmese, the way how the Burmese kingdom is narrated in the vernacular school history textbook will be seen here.

Regarding the territory of the Burmese kingdom (the first chapter), narrating the geography and climate of Myanmar, U Ba Than has projected the range of modern Myanmar border. In the introduction to Myanmar geography, he has described that Myanmar is surrounded on all sides by the neighboring countries-China and Thailand to the east, the Gulf of Muttama and the Bay of Bengal to the south, eastern parts of India including Manipal and Assam to the west and Tibet to

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the north [BA Than 1991, 13]. However, it can be said that the geographical setting which is assumed as Myanmar territory was mapped by the British in the colonial period.

With the existence of Myanmar with the definite national boundary in this way he has distinguished the domestic place of ethnics including the Burmese, the Rakhine, the Mon and the Shan from that abroad. It is written that though the Burmese, the Mon, the Rakhine and the Shan were ruled by native administrators in feudal times, Burmese kings put these areas under their rule when their military power was great enough to organize the country. Regarding the central Myanmar, which was called Myanmar Proper in the colonial period, U BA Than explains that Upper Myanmar was the area of the Burmese and Lower Myanmar was that of the Mon [BA Than 1991, 13].

By claiming the region which became the British Myanmar as the territory of Burmese kingdom, the author builds the Geo-body [Thongchai 1994] of Myanmar or territories of the Burmese kingdom.

To study how the history of the Burmese is expressed in the history textbook, the terms used in the First Burmese Kingdom (11-13 Century), the Second Burmese Kingdom (16-18 Century) and the Third Burmese Kingdom (18-19 Century), are to be explained here.

For the understanding of the term “Burmese kingdom” used in this textbook, first, it is necessary to make clarification of the regional framework of the Burmese kingdom. The Burmese Kingdom recognized by the author represents only the First Burmese Kingdom, the Second Burmese Kingdom [Chapter 24-30] and the Third Burmese Kingdom [Chapter 32-40]. The other dynasties and kingdoms are called after the names of the capitals of the kingdom as listed in the chronicles. It is noted that all kingdoms had not used the title of “The xxxx Myanmar Kingdom” by the author. The kingdom recognized as “The xxxx Burmese Kingdom” was the one which had the territory covering the territory of the British Myanmar.

For example, in the third chapter, referring to the chronology and chronicles, U Ba Than has called the kingdom after the city and ethnic named such as Thayekhitaya dynasty [Chapter 3, 4]

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which flourished in the area extending from Tagaung up to Central Myanmar before the 11th century, Pagan dynasty before King Anawrahta, Pyi and Taungoo dynasty [Chapter 18], Sagaing dynasty [Chapter 14], Pinya dynasty [Chapter 13] and Inwa dynasty [Chapter 15-17], Rakhine kingdom [Chapter 23] and about Mon ethnic [Chapter 11, 20, 21]. In addition, though Tagaung kings succeeded the Pagan thrones until the establishment of the Pagan kingdom, the author recognized these kingdoms as small ones. In this way, the author has claimed that the territory of British Myanmar is the Burmese kingdom.

Regarding the construction of Myanmar kingdom, the author has argued that the king's powers- military power, administrative power, and intellectual power- depended on "Bon" (Fate, cumulative result of past meritorious deeds) and that the territory had been changed by the king's military power, a kind of Bon [Ba Than 1991, 48-49]. The feature is that U Ba Than explains about the territorial changes and legitimacy of invasion to other ethnic areas using the concept of Bon. According to him, the territory of Myanmar kingdom could have been wider than British Myanmar when the king was strong and when the king was weak, it could be reduced to a small city-state [Ba Than 1991, 13]. In this way, the author attributed the size of the kingdom to the rise and fall of the king's power. It is clear that the territory of Myanmar had also been imaged as a state existed since the time of Burmese kings.

V. The Golden Ages of Burmese History

U Ba Than, as explained above, periodized the Myanmar historical era, based on the success of the kingdom. In other words, the Burmese kingdom could be assumed to enter its golden age [Smith 2000] when it enjoyed the prosperity of the economy, Buddhism and literature, having a wide territory and great military power. A division of the historical eras in this way seen in this textbook also serves as the basis of the State school history textbook of independence Myanmar, although the basic concept of Burmese and Myanmar kingdoms are later used differently.

1. Pagan Dynasty (The First Burmese Kingdom)

As mentioned above, the author's emphasis the role of the Pagan dynasty as a dynasty integrated the people as a nation in Pagan dynasty (11- 13 centuries) and part of this text from the fifth chapter to the tenth chapter is devoted to this kingdom. Emphasizing the time of the accession of King Anawrahta (1044-1077), the history of the Pagan kingdom where people lived as a nation of a great kingdom under the guidance of the king, has been described.

As regards the State building of the Pagan kingdom, it is first explained that it was originated and developed from 19 villages [Ba Than 1991, 26, 45] and it is then evaluated that successful construction of this great kingdom was due to the physical and intellectual power of King Anawrahta and his successors [Ba Than 1991, 29-36, 45]. Secondly, the construction of pagodas all over the country, flourishing of Buddhism, thriving of Buddhist literature, and the foreign relationship with India and Sri Lanka were included in these chapters [Ba Than 1991, 45-46]. Thirdly, in the respect of internal improvement, building forts to defend the Shan invaders, creating the royal guard system and parliament and using irrigation channels for paddy fields are recorded and it is appreciated to note that people's economy was developed by using of irrigation channels [Ba Than 1991, 29-36, 46]. Fourthly, flourishing of Buddhism was discussed and development of Pali and Burmese has been mentioned [Ba Than 1991, 29-36, 46]. Fifthly, the role of the king has evaluated through the analysis of religious monuments, the flourishing of Buddhism, inscriptions, documents and other materials [Ba Than 1991, 29-36, 46]. The author stressed that the great king was not only expanded the kingdom but also emphasized the development of the country such as the flourishing of Buddhism and development of Burmese literature, economy and administration. Sixthly, he assessed the accumulated skills and knowledge such as education, literature, mathematics, painting, fortune-telling and construction technology which had developed throughout the time of King Anawrahta [Ba Than 1991, 29-36, 47]. Seventhly, looking at the records on construction of pagodas, temples, painting and sea transportation, the author has made remarks that craftsmanship, transportation technology, knowledge on irrigation for the paddy, construction technology, painting, knowledge on medicine and gold and copper smiths in the Pagan Period were very high standard [Ba Than

1991, 29-36, 47]. Eighthly, referring to the pictures, mural paintings and frescoes drawn and inscribed in the Pagan pagodas, he has also pointed out that the clothes of Pagan people were similar to those of India. Ninthly, he explained that Myanmar could establish more relations with India, Srilanka, China, Malaysia, etc. improved its oversea relations on the grounds of Buddhism and due to the improvement of the maritime traffic [Ba Than 1991, 48].

In this way, this textbook aims at claiming that Myanmar was a nation who acquired quite high standard civilization during the Pagan kingdom, or the first Burmese kingdom.

2. The Second Myanmar Kingdom

The second Burmese kingdom means the kingdom ruled by the kings of Taungoo dynasty (1510-1600). This book explains the second Burmese kingdom by dividing it into two parts of 16 century history. Regarding the time of founding the second Burmese kingdom, it describes the period of King Tabin Shwe-htee (1530-1550) who organized Lower Myanmar, Upper Myanmar and Shan plateau[Ba Than 1991, 90-93] and the reign of King Bayin-naung (1551-1581) who succeeded the King Tabin Shwe-htee. The history of the second Burmese kingdom, the State building process , kingdom expansion and the success of Buddhist missionary by King Bayin-naung have been also mentioned here [Ba Than 1991, 94-100]. In addition, the author has narrated about the fate of the king who applied his physical and mental calibers to his possible extent in the construction of the second Burmese kingdom.

In founding the second Burmese kingdom, highlighting the State building by military power or military victories over the Shan plateau and Thai (1563 and 1568) [Ba Than 1991, 96-99], it is explained that the traditional belief in soul, that is , a sort of Animism, prevalent in Shan areas had been eliminated through Buddhist missionary.

Continuously, military success of King Bayin-naung during the war which broke out in 1563 is followed. Defeated by the Burmese, along with the Thai King, many people from Thailand including nobles, craftsman, celebrities and treasures such as gold and silver were brought to

Myanmar [Ba Than 1991, 96]. In this way, the elimination of belief in the soul and King Bayin-naung's State building of whole Myanmar except Rakhine has been elaborated by the author.

The latter part of the history of the second Burmese kingdom is about the building of Inwa which centered in Upper Myanmar by King Bayin-naung's sons. Here, the author has looked back on the history of four kings of Nyaung-yan dynasty (1600-1752) who were the lineal descendants of the second Burmese kingdom. The first account that King Nyaung-yan (1600-1605), the second son of King Bayin-naung and the first king of Nyanugyan dynasty, organized Upper Myanmar including Shan Plateau by military power has been described [Ba Than 1991, 107]. The second king of Nyanugyan dynasty is King Anaukphet-lon (1605-1628), the eldest son of King Nyanugyan [Ba Than 1991, 108-109]. Regarding the history of his reign, reorganization of Upper Myanmar and Central Myanmar by military power has also been stated. King Minyedeikba (1628-1629) was the third king of Nyaung-yan dynasty [Ba Than 1991, 109] and the fourth king was King Tharlon (1628-1648) [Ba Than 1991, 109-110]. Here, U Ba Than has described the history of this king's coronation, re-founding of the capital in Inwa and the unification of Myanmar.

In brief, he recognized and commended the king's success in military and economy, the development of religion and literature.

3. The Third Burmese Kingdom

The kingdom, stated as the third Burmese kingdom and the last dynasty of Myanmar, is Kongbaung dynasty (1752-1885) which flourished from the 18th century to 19th century. The development of Buddhism, glory of literature and State building by military of this dynasty have been described from chapter 32 to 41 in this section.

Relating to the history of State building of the third Burmese kingdom, the accounts on the King Alaung-mintaya (1752-1760) [Ba Than 1991, 124-132], King Naungdaw-gyi (1760-1763) [Ba Than 1991, 133-134], the eldest son of King Alaung-mintaya, and King Sinphyu-shin (1763-

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1776) [Ba Than 1991, 135-140], second son of King Alaung-mintaya, have been narrated. In this part, the author describes the military success of the kings such as invasion to Ayutthaya, Chiang Mai, Assam, Manipur, the conquest of Rakhine that had been finally integrated into the Myanmar kingdom during the third son of King Alaung-mintay, and the victories in the wars with China [Ba Than 1991, 135-140, 144-146]. The military success especially over Chiang Mai and Manipur in India and the invasion of Ayutthaya have been explained in detail in this textbook. It is mentioned that Myanmar waged wars with the Chinese for four times and defeated them in the final war [Ba Than 1991, 137-140].

Regarding domestic affairs, State building of King Alaung-mintaya, developments in agriculture, trading, and administrative system especially on tax have been mentioned [Ba Than 1991, 171-172]. For development of the religion and education, over 100 books written in several languages were imported from India, thereby highlighting the development of education and glory of Buddhism [Ba Than 1991, 144]. In addition, it is evaluated that the conquest of Rakhine by the eldest son of King Bodaw-phaya (1782-1819) was an effort to incorporate Rakhine into the Burmese kingdom [Ba Than 1991, 144-145].

Finally, while criticizing the historian who had evaluated the performance of the aristocratic rulers in the era of prosperity on the one hand, the author appreciated the kings' position, on the other hand [Ba Than 1991, 169-173]. The concept of the author is that the kingdom had been glorified by the ability and fate of the king.

VI. Conclusion

1920's history education was an education which intended to motivate national identity and spirit, based on the Burmese chronicles. What this text firstly claim is the origin of the Burmese. The sameness of the origin of the Burmese and the king can be seen here. According to this history textbook, it can be assumed that though the origin of Burmese was from Gansu Province, China, the Burmese was reborn as the Buddha lineage and the rulers of Myanmar, only after they had met

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with the people from the Majjimesa. It means that the Burmese is a hybrid of Tibeto-Burman and Buddha descendents. Next, assuming the existence of the king of the kingdom, it can be supposed that the Geo-body was the territory of British Myanmar which was mapped in the colonial period. As the Burmese kingdom, not from the beginning of Pagan period, the kingdom of King Anawrahta, as wide as British Myanmar organized by military power, was named the first Burmese kingdom. The second Burmese kingdom was also recognized as the Taungoo period when the Burmese kingdom, due to its great military power, could be bigger than the British Myanmar. Konbaung dynasty, the last Burmese dynasty, could maintain its territory which became the British Myanmar later. Since the time of King Alaung-mintaya, this kingdom had been titled the third Burmese kingdom. As regards the golden age which flourished in the past, pointing out to cultural and economic developments of these eras, the author has claimed that these were prosperous eras owing to the leadership of the kings and the efforts of the Burmese. In this way, this textbook portrayed the image of the Burmese of British Myanmar as a nation which has been in existence without any break since the time of Burmese kings.

From the discussion so far, the Burmese national identity which was portrayed in colonial period can be analysis as follows. The Burmese is a hybrid of the Tibeto - Burman and Buddha descendent. British Myanmar was the territory of Myanmar kingdom governed by Burmese kings without any break since the time of Burmese kings. There were three Burmese kingdoms such as the first Burmese kingdom, the second Burmese kingdom and the third Burmese kingdom flourished throughout historic era.

In summary, this historical textbook is composed in the form of national history by newly initiated historiography in the colonial period. In other words, Burmese nationalism based on Buddhist culture, was also a product of modern historical education initiated in the colonial period.

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Paper 2

**DEFINITION AND REDEFINITION OF JAVANESE TRADITION IN
YOGYAKARTA AND SURAKARTA**

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Abstract

This paper deals with how traditions are being redefined and activated for tourism in contemporary cities. I will compare two case studies, Yogyakarta and Surakarta, both of which are popularly referred to as the centres of Javanese culture but suffered different fates after the Indonesian independence.

The result shows that politics are important in the process of redefinition and activation of 'tradition'. Yogyakarta, whose special status enables it to have a territory at provincial level, to have the king of the kraton (royal court) holding the executive authority of the territory and to have the kraton retaining its property, remains kraton-centred in tourism development. Other 'traditions' are being developed as secondary to the kraton. Surakarta, by contrast, has the political power of the kraton abolished and therefore that local government has a freedom in redefining the tradition. The 'Javanese tradition' is being redefined to fit the interests of the stakeholders of traditions which in turn marginalise the role of the kraton of Surakarta and Pura Mangkunegaran on an urban scale. Both royal courts are currently being considered as heritage, along with other non kraton-related traditions such as those of traditional kampong and the Chinese minority. The local government of Surakarta plays the role of '*mengayomi*' which used to be claimed by the kraton's role. The same role is still being held by the kraton of Yogyakarta, which leads to the strong legitimacy it has in its people.

Key word(s): Javanese tradition, tourism, power.

I. INTRODUCTION

Yogyakarta and Surakarta are two Javanese cities, located only 60 kilometres apart. Both of them are ancient cities, which refer back to the greatest of Javanese kingdoms, Mataram. In 1755, due to

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internal conflict, Mataram was divided into two. Surakarta occupies the location of the centre of the Mataram kingdom at that time, while Yogyakarta occupies an area close to the ancient site of Mataram¹. Each of them has a royal court whose palace act as the centre of the city. The two layouts are mostly similar, and are claimed to be cosmological with hierarchical circles and with a cosmological axis connecting distinct natural features such as mountain and sea.

After Indonesian independence on 17th August 1945, both kratons were granted special status which means that each king of the royal court can retain his position, territory and properties. However, in 1946, the special status of Surakarta was abolished due to riots that took place from 1945 to 1946². The territory of Surakarta was then set to be a city rather than special region³ like Yogyakarta. The king of the royal court of Surakarta lost his political power, territory and property. He only acts as a cultural leader. Yogyakarta, in contrast, has a territory of a region with a similar status to a province, consisting of five districts. The king of Yogyakarta acts as the governor of the region, and he can retain his property. Despite the contrast between them, both cities are generally accepted as the centres of Javanese culture and the main source of Javanese tradition.

As tradition is currently being regarded as 'heritage' whose definition is attached to tourism (AlSaiyyad, 2001), the Javanese tradition is also recognised as heritage. Yogyakarta has long been a tourist attraction since the early 1900s. Surakarta however, was not preferred by the Dutch⁴ and it was not much recommended for tourism. The preference of Yogyakarta over Surakarta continued in the reign of New Order in which Yogyakarta was placed as the second main tourist destination after Bali in centralised Indonesia (Dahles, 2001). However, after the fall of New Order regime in 1998, decentralisation which was passed in 1999 gave Surakarta a chance to develop its own tourism. New festivals and cultural events were created along with international network and city branding. The branding both cities have adopted for tourism mainly deals with their Javanese-ness. Yogyakarta has a brand of 'the real Java', while Surakarta claims itself to be 'the spirit of Java'.

¹ The Islamic kingdom of Mataram in Java had moved its capital for several times. The first site is Pajang which was then moved to Kotagede in the north side of the current city of Yogyakarta. The next capital is Karta, Plered, Kartasura and the last is Surakarta (Adrisijanti, 2000; Prayitno & Qomarun, 2007).

² By that time, Yogyakarta, in contrast, was the temporary capital of the republic therefore had a significant position to the newly built nation (B. R. O. . Anderson, 2005).

³ The special region refers to the previously set territory of the kraton, called a *karesidenan* –which means that the territory was under the supervision of a Dutch 'resident'.

⁴ Dutch occupied the archipelago –which is now called Indonesia- from 18th century to 1942.

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How the current Yogyakarta and Surakarta use their Javanese-ness for tourism is interesting. This relates to the socio political situation in both cities. This paper will examine the use of 'tradition' for tourism in both cities and relates it to the socio-political situations of both cities, particularly the political power of the royal court or *kraton*⁵.

II. ON TRADITION, HERITAGE AND TOURISM.

Tradition relates to long-established customs or beliefs that have been passed on from generation to generation⁶. It is generally perceived as unchanged over time. The term 'heritage' derives from Old French *heritage*⁷ and Medieval Latin, *hereditarius*, meaning something that is passed down to the next generation or "property that is or may be inherited; an inheritance"⁸. Both 'tradition' and 'heritage' have similarity in that they can be passed down or inherited from one generation to another. The term 'tradition', however, is actually invented as "modernity's negative definition of the 'other' as lacking and disadvantaged" (AlSayyad, 2001: 19). The term 'heritage', in contrast, appears in a different situation, where the nations compete economically which leads them to use any resources that they have, including cultural resources one of which is the 'tradition'. 'Tradition' is an aspect of 'heritage' and both of them are often used to refer to the same things, particularly in cultural tourism. Understanding the meaning of those terms and their relations to tourism is important to make sense of the situation in Yogyakarta and Surakarta. In the next subsections I will focus on the issues of authenticity and ownership in cultural tourism and how these issues relate cultural tourism with the issue of power.

A. Authenticity

The tourists look at the object or the place they come to with anticipation of something pleasurable. This is what is called 'tourist gaze' (Urry, 2002). Contemporary tourists seek authenticity and truth "in times and places away from his/her own everyday life" (AlSayyad, 2001, pp. 3–4). The tourists ignore the fact that what we call 'tradition' –which is 'genuine' and 'authentic'- is actually invented as an opposition of modernity (AlSayyad, 2001). They try to construct the local traditions to fit their expectations on authenticity. This leads to "the creation of stereotyped notions of 'others'" (AlSayyad, 2001, p. 17) which

⁵ The term 'kraton' refers to both the institution and the palace. in the rest of this writing, I will use 'kraton' to refer to both of them.

⁶ www.oxforddictionaries.com

⁷ ibid

⁸ ibid

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may be different from the local people's notion on themselves. Local cultures, then, are "encouraged to 'dress-up'" (AlSaiyad, 2001, p. 19) – as the 'authentic'- for the sake of tourist industry just like those in Bali (Vickers, 1989). Therefore, they are invented to be 'authentic' from the tourists' point of view.

The concept of 'authenticity', then, has to be considered as something invented. This authenticity is very important not only for tourism but also for culture in general so that if a cultural display meets tourists' expectation, it will be considered as 'authentic' both by the tourists and natives (Smith and Robinson, 2006). The traditions or cultural products accepted as 'authentic' by tourists will be the "parameters of legitimacy and authenticity for native audiences" (Smith and Robinson, 2006, p. 213). It is an act of constructing cultures by constructing the images for tourists, something partly similar to the concept of 'exemplary centre' (Geertz, 1980), in which the king displays the image of the ideal community to construct the community. This concept is also close to Anderson's concept of 'imagined communities', in which cultures or traditions are distinguished "by the style in which they are imagined" (B. R. O. Anderson, 1991, p. 6). Tourism, then, can be considered as a means to gain legitimacy on something to be 'authentic', and –at the same time- to construct the culture.

There seems to be an inequality in this construction as the parameters of legitimacy and authenticity are set by the tourists' images on authenticity. Tourist industry, then, is mostly equal to the king in the concept of 'exemplary centre' as the 'authority' who decides the way in which a culture or tradition to be constructed. However, local people have an active role in tourism, in which they invent the 'tradition' and propose it to the market to be accepted as 'authentic'. The more contrasting their invention is to the tourists' everyday experience, the more 'authentic' it will be in the eye of tourists. The contrast is not the only parameter of 'authenticity', though. The tourists need a kind of authorisation to accept something as 'authentic' (Smith and Robinson, 2006). This authorisation is mostly conducted by experts, but as the tourists are not exposed to experts they turn to 'official' institutions. These institutions, in the case of Surakarta and Yogyakarta, are the *kratons* or the Javanese royal courts. The *kratons*, then, have a central role in influencing the tourists' acceptance of something as 'authentic' and therefore set the parameters of authenticity and legitimacy.

We need to be aware though that the position of the 'official' institution to authorise authenticity is not permanent. It will not be left unchallenged in struggle for status. The presence of other courts, local and national governments, global power and NGOs can affect the position. The process of creating

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authenticity, therefore, is reciprocal. On one side authenticity will give legitimacy, but in the other side, to be authentic something needs support from a legitimate institution.

B. The issue of ownership

As mentioned before, 'tradition' and 'heritage' are defined as something that can be passed down to the next generation, so the issue of ownership is very important. Along with the issue of ownership, comes the issue of the right to manufacture heritage for consumption. Graburn in Alsayyad argues that 'heritage' needs "a sense of ownership", while the consumption of heritage needs "a sense of permission" (Alsayyad, 2001: 68). This concept is problematic in that it is possible to have more than one party claiming ownership over one heritage or tradition.

This issue of ownership used to be a big issue for the kratons of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, in which both of the kratons claimed themselves to be the true "inheritor of the great tradition of Java" (Shiraishi, 1990). This resulted in a flourish of cultural development. Both of them developed their own styles in culture and arts, they competed for their culture to be regarded as the Javanese tradition to find out which one of them can produce the "most elaborate spectacles" (Spiller, 2004, p. 84). This rivalry, which used to be worse, is not an issue at present even though there is an effort to prevent overlapping on the 'heritage' sold for tourists⁹.

Today, the issue of ownership is more complex that it involves not only the two kratons, but also other ethnic groups, the state and others. Cultural tourism, then, can be seen as the field of struggle for power between the stakeholders in which the power can extend beyond the field of tourism but into politics in general (Singh, Timothy and Dowling, 2003).

III. YOGYAKARTA – SURAKARTA COMPARISON

The tourism sector in Yogyakarta has been developed earlier than that of Surakarta. It benefited from national policy from 1966 to 1998, in which it was set as the second tourist destination after Bali.

⁹ The mayors of both cities made an agreement on which kinds of art are to be developed in each city. It is said that Yogyakarta has developed more on fine arts while Surakarta focuses on performing arts (<http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2008/10/29/joko-%E2%80%98jokowi%E2%80%99-widodo-changing-face-surakarta.html>). However, browsing through the list of the cultural events of both cities, I find that there are still several events related to performing arts in Yogyakarta.

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During that time, the kraton of Yogyakarta is one of the main destinations in the city. Surakarta, by contrast, just started to develop its tourism in the last decade.

I will focus the comparison on two aspects: tourist destinations and tourism events. The main destinations in the city of Yogyakarta consist of 18 objects, nine of which are kraton-related, four relate to the struggle for independence¹⁰, and five others which are of private or institution-owned¹¹. The kraton of Yogyakarta has been listed in the tentative list of UNESCO's world heritage since 1995. In addition, even though the kraton is not in the list of World Heritage List of UNESCO, the city of Yogyakarta benefits from its location which is close to Borobudur Temple¹² and Prambanan Temple¹³, both of which have been recognised by UNESCO as World Heritage¹⁴.

The main destinations in the city of Surakarta are the kraton, Mangkunegaran palace, Radyapustaka Museum, batik kampong of Kauman, batik kampong of Laweyan, Klewer market, Triwindu antique market, Sriwedari Park, Jurug Park, Taman Budaya Surakarta, Surakarta Institute of Arts and School of Performing Arts Surakarta¹⁵. Five of them are related to kraton, two are related to the minor court of Mangkunegaran and the other five are state-owned. None of them has been submitted by the state to UNESCO, not even in the tentative list. There is also no UNESCO recognised heritage close to the city of Surakarta, which makes it impossible to gain benefit from heritage status like Yogyakarta¹⁶.

From the number of tourist destinations in each city, it is clear that the kraton in each city still has dominance upon the others. This is a logical consequence of being the nucleus of the city from which a

¹⁰ This relates to the contribution of Yogyakarta, particularly the king Hamengkubuwana IX, in the struggle for Independence between 1945 and 1949.

¹¹ The 2010 tourist-destination list from Tourism Office consists of the kraton, Fort Vredeborg, Malioboro, Beringharjo Market, Water Castle, Gedung Agung, Kotagede, Sonobudoyo Museum and Batik Museum (kraton-related), Museum Perjuangan, Museum Dewantara Kirti Griya, Museum of General Sudirman and Museum TNI-AD (struggle for independence-related) Taman Pintar, Biological Museum, Batik Museum, PASTY and XT Square.

¹² This Buddhist temple is located in the regency of Magelang, to the north west of Yogyakarta.

¹³ This Hindu temple is located in Brambanan, a village to the east of Yogyakarta.

¹⁴ Both temples are located in the province of Central Java. However, in its advertisement, Yogyakarta always relates itself to them.

¹⁵ The Tourism Office of the city of Surakarta, however, focuses more on tourism events than tourism objects. This list is based on a leaflet from the Tourism Office. The tourist events listed by the Tourism Office, however, use more space than those on the list such as Balekambang Park, Ngarsopuran area and Fort Vastenberg which are regarded as heritage.

¹⁶ The current local government of Surakarta proposes a concept connecting the city with other destinations including Borobudur temple, and Selo, a place considered to have a great view thus potential to be a tourist destination. However, this concept is not so popular in practice. Most travel agents prefer Yogyakarta than Surakarta.

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city was born. Tourism events, which will be explained in the next paragraph, will show more dynamics of contemporary life in both cities.

Browsing through the list of tourism events of Yogyakarta in the past three years, we can see that there are about 40 to 70 events being held every year¹⁷. Many of them are organised by private sponsors. However, some of the biggest events are government-sponsored such as Yogyakarta Art Festival (held annually since 1989), Biennale Jogja (being held every two years since 1988), ART Jog (held annually since 2007) and Jogja Java Art Festival (the city anniversary celebration, being held annually since 2008). The kraton organises its own public rituals such as Sekaten¹⁸, Grebeg, Lampah bisu and Labuhan which are held annually.

The division between the 'traditional' and the new is clear in Yogyakarta. The traditional includes those held by the kraton which are mainly the pre-existing rituals along with performances being held inside the kraton for tourists and other 'traditional' performances being held outside the kraton by the government or by kraton-related people. The new tourism events in this city mostly deal with contemporary art. However, as the king of the kraton of Yogyakarta is also the governor of the Special Region of Yogyakarta, big events such as Jogja Java Carnival always involve the king in their processions. City-scale events such as Jogja Java Carnival are also held in the Malioboro Street¹⁹ and sometimes include the north alun-alun²⁰ of the kraton.

This situation is quite different in the neighbouring city, Surakarta. Local government has listed tourism events held in the city for each year. In the last three years, the number of tourism events in the city increases, particularly with new festivals and carnivals. There are 36 events in 2010, 37 in 2011 and 47 in 2012. This increase is intentional for city promotion particularly for tourism. The creation of new

¹⁷ Because of the high number of the events, it is impossible to list it in this paper. However, the list of events is available online in official website of the Tourism Office of the city of Yogyakarta:

<http://pariwisata.jogja.go.id> .

¹⁸ This annual event is currently organised by local government on behalf of the kraton. The Grebeg Besar which culminates Sekaten, however, is organised by the kraton.

¹⁹ This is the street that represents the north-south cosmological axis of the kraton. Located right to the north of the kraton, it is also the busiest shopping street and a main tourist destination in the city of Yogyakarta.

²⁰ Alun-alun is a square attached to the kraton. In the case of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, there are two alun-aluns, the north alun-alun and the south alun-alun.

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festivals and carnival is new to Surakarta as this city has just started to develop its tourism after decentralisation²¹ and those events bring promotional means.

The tourism events listed by the government which are attached to the kraton tradition consist of eight main rituals: Sekaten, Grebeg Maulud, Grebeg Besar, Grebeg Pasa, Kirab satu Sura, Jumenengan, Mahesa Lawung and Malem Selikuran and one festival called Festival Keraton Surakarta which is government-sponsored. Other 'traditional' events can also be found in the minor court, Mangkunegaran in a smaller number²². Other listed events are government sponsored some of which relate to the kraton's cultural products such as batik, wayang and dance and some others are related to 'tradition' in a particular way such as 'ethnic music', 'ancient childhood toys' 'traditional food' and *gethek* (a kind of water transportation, considered as 'traditional'). This shows that there is a selection process to decide which ones are considered as 'tradition' to represent Surakarta or in other words: to redefine 'tradition'.

Those new inventions are mainly held in several locations including Slamet Riyadi road, Sriwedari Park and Balekambang Park. Slamet Riyadi road is an ancient road that was already present before the kraton of Surakarta was built²³ (Departemen Pekerjaan Umum, 1997). Sriwedari Park used to belong to the kraton, while Balekambang Park used to belong to Mangkunegaran. The events, which are promotional in intention, are intended to promote not only the 'traditions' but also the space²⁴.

I would like to highlight the presence of two new events in Surakarta named Grebeg Sudiro and Grebeg Pangan. These two events use the term 'Grebeg'²⁵ which is the name of the kraton's ritual involving a *gunungan*, a mound of food or vegetables arranged in a particular way and paraded. The people fight to have parts of the *gunungan* as they believe that it can bring blessings to their lives. The new *grebegs*, however, contain other missions. Grebeg Sudiro²⁶ takes place in the area around the *Pasar*

²¹ Decentralisation Act was passed on 1999 to the level of district. This gives districts and cities freedom to develop themselves. For Surakarta, it is an opportunity to develop tourism. For Yogyakarta, however, this brings some problems related to the control over the districts around the city.

²² There are currently only two events attached to Mangkunegaran, the pre-existed Jumenengan and Kirab satu Sura.

²³ This road is east west oriented. This in some way breaks the –generally accepted- concept of north south cosmological axis. An erection of a new landmark in this road which is much bigger than the kraton's *tugu* shows the importance of this road.

²⁴ This is shown in the efforts of local government to restore many long-abandoned 'heritage' such as Fort Vastenberg and Balekambang Park.

²⁵ Grebeg, however, can also be found in other places such as Ponorogo. But this grebeg is also a new invention dates back to 1987 with an intention to preserve the Reog 'tradition' (LESTARI, 2011).

²⁶ The name 'Sudiro' is taken from the neighbourhood where the grebeg takes place: the *kelurahan* of Sudiroprajan.

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Gedhe or the Big Market²⁷, which is usually regarded as the Chinese area, and this event is conducted by putting together Javanese 'tradition' and Chinese 'tradition' in a single event. The *gunungan* is brought by a number of people, some of them wearing Javanese *lurik*²⁸ clothes and some others wearing Chinese-style clothes. This event involves some 'traditional' Javanese Chinese food and 'traditional' Javanese and Chinese attractions. It is created particularly to bring social integration between Javanese and Chinese-descent people²⁹. *Grebeg Pangan* is organised by the Office of Food Security of Surakarta. This event takes place every 16th October to celebrate the World Food Day in the main road of Surakarta, Slamet Riyadi road, and it intends to promote healthy local or 'traditional' food³⁰. Both of them are new inventions, which draw on the earlier culture of the *kraton*, but neither of them involve the *kraton* or the minor court. Instead, both involve local government, in this case is particularly the mayor of Surakarta³¹.

From the description above, we can see that the tourism events in Yogyakarta are clearly divided into traditional and arts, in which the traditional refers to those which belong to the *kraton*, which are considered as authentic with the *kraton* as one of the legitimate cultural institutions. Other institutions include local provincial and national government which support the *kraton* including submitting it to the tentative list of UNESCO. The domination of the *kraton* negates the existence of other kinds of 'tradition' so that even the existence of the minor court of Pakualaman³² is marginalised and hidden³³. This shows a process of inclusion and exclusion (Diamond, 2008) which serves the dominant groups, investors and tourists while ignoring the others (AlSayyad, 2001) so that the presence of other 'tradition' is excluded. As a result, the only 'tradition' in the city is of the dominant *kraton* of Yogyakarta³⁴, thus represents the

²⁷ This market is identified as part of Javanese urban layout (Adishakti, 1997).

²⁸ *Lurik* refers to a kind of stripy woven cloth, usually worn by male in Javanese society. This kind of clothes, however, is not for those with high status..

²⁹ Surakarta has been destroyed by many riots, one of which is on 1998. Some of those riots had Chinese descents as the object in which Chinese shops, Chinese people and everything considered to represent Chinese ethnic were attacked.

³⁰ <http://www.solopos.com/2011/solo/grebeg-pangan-sehat-kampanye-unik-melawan-produk-pangan-impor-119833>

³¹ The current mayor of Surakarta, Joko Widodo, is very popular with his good reputation. He has been awarded several times by national magazines and praised for his practice in Surakarta. He has won the mayor election twice, in which in the second election he beat the candidate from royal family 90 to 10.

³² The minor court of Pakualaman was created by Raffles in 1813 out from the *kraton* of Yogyakarta. It collaborates with the *kraton* to form the present Special Region of Yogyakarta, in which the prince of Pakualaman is automatically being appointed vice governor. The existence of this court remains secondary to the *kraton*.

³³ Despite the fact that the Pakualaman palace is also open for tourism three days a week from 9.30 am to 1.30 pm, it is not listed by the government, therefore it remains hidden.

³⁴ Interestingly, in the *kraton* of Yogyakarta, the real life of the royal family is being put backstage. There is no access for tourists to view the 'traditional' royal family in the *kraton* except on cultural 'stage' in rituals and ceremonies.

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'authentic'. Retaining the 'traditional', however, needs some efforts. This can be seen in how the kraton of Yogyakarta set the stage of the 'traditional' and hide the real life of the royal family backstage. The kraton of Yogyakarta compounds consists of seven main courtyard, all of them are open to the public except several small parts which are still in use, particularly those of sacred buildings, offices and royal family living quarters. No tourist can see the everyday activity of the royal family. What they see in the kraton is the stage of the traditional with all the traditional costumes, manners, offerings, performances, vehicles and the like. There is no clue for tourists in the kraton to know that the royal family in reality uses Baby Benz instead of royal carriage or that many members of the royal family get higher education abroad. More importantly, the 'stage' shown in the architecture and the kraton people's habitus (Bourdieu, 1990; Hillier & Rooksby, 2005) contributes to the society as an ideology, a silent one which is the strongest kind of ideology (Bourdieu, 1977). Together with its accumulation of capital through history, namely the contribution to the country, the position of the king in the government, the property and legitimacy the kraton gained by giving³⁵ some property to the people, thus considered as *mengayomi*³⁶, it contributes to the legitimacy of the kraton. The preference of the kraton as the only 'traditional' institution in Yogyakarta shows that it has enough power to dominate the discourse of 'tradition', therefore it is the only one to be considered 'traditional' and 'authentic'³⁷. In addition, events such as those of the city anniversary or minority ethnic always involve the king Hamengkubuwana. This, shows its domination over the others.

In contrast, in Surakarta, many new tourism events are created, including those considered as 'traditional' by redefining and inventing new ones. Unlike that in Yogyakarta, the existence of the minor court of Mangkunegaran is being shown up along with other previously marginalised 'traditions' such as those of marginalised kampong and Chinese minority. Even though there is still a process of inclusion and exclusion, this does not result in a single kraton-dominated 'tradition'. The authenticity issue in this case is problematic. As the kraton has no power anymore³⁸, the most legitimate institution in the city is

³⁵ Giving or generosity, according to Bourdieu, is the only way to dominate others (Bourdieu, 1977). In the case of the kraton of Yogyakarta, it is clear that this generosity is used to legitimate itself. Most people in Yogyakarta know that all the land in Yogyakarta belongs to the king and that they are allowed to use the land because of the generosity of the king.

³⁶ *Mengayomi* is a Javanese word to refer to protecting and keeping others safe. It is usually used to describe the quality of an ideal leader, thus is usually used to legitimate a king.

³⁷ Even when some changes given to the Grebeg Mulud in 5th February 2012, in which one more *gunungan* was produced for a new grebeg site, the governor office, there is no question on its authenticity.

³⁸ The internal conflict on 2004 between two sons of the previous king, Paku Buwana XII to claim the throne has been open to public. This contributes to the list of bad reputations of the kraton, including the unresponsive attitude

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the government. It is the government who legitimates an invention to be a 'tradition'³⁹, sometimes by using academic research to support the argument⁴⁰. The government accommodates the interests of the kraton, Mangkunegaran, kampongs, Chinese minorities and others. This role is mostly similar to *mengayomi*, making all the aspirations of the stakeholders accommodated. As the kraton does not dominate the 'tradition', all the stakeholders are free to invent traditions. The use of 'grebeg' style without any involvement of the kraton shows this as a problem of ownership. The grebeg which used to be organised by the kraton only, is now also being organised by the people and local government. The people and local government have a sense of ownership of the grebeg style despite the fact that it is an effort to make it 'Javanese' and 'traditional' by using recognised attributes. The kraton does not have enough power to turn down the new grebegs to insist its ownership over grebeg.

It is worth looking closer at the kraton of Surakarta as a tourist destination, to complete the comparison with that of Yogyakarta. Having a similar layout to the kraton of Yogyakarta, the kraton of Surakarta has fewer parts open to the public. Unlike that in Yogyakarta, the tourists can see the members of the royal family lazing or receiving guests in the area of Kedhaton⁴¹. Some children of the royal family can also be seen during the day, playing in the sand covered courtyard along with their nannies. This shows that there is no clear division between the 'stage' and the 'backstage'. Poorly presented stage is worsened by the condition of the architecture which is not maintained very well. The spokesman of the kraton of Surakarta insists that the kraton has no enough money for maintaining the palace⁴². The area around the kraton itself is a very busy one, but all of them mostly relate to batik trading in the Klewer Market⁴³ located in the west side of the kraton (Ruwaidah, 2008). At present, there is an effort to gain more benefit from tourism by opening three new batik shops inside the kraton⁴⁴. However, there seems to be no significant contribution to tourism activity in the kraton. The addition of shops inside the kraton which sell similar products to the Klewer market nearby, batik clothes –which is claimed to be made by

toward independence in 1945-1949 and the conflict with Mangkunegaran. In addition, the mayor candidate from the royal family was lost 10 to 90 in the election against Joko Widodo, the current mayor.

³⁹ This is shown particularly in Grebeg Sudiro, in which it is created by Chinese descent people and legitimated by local government.

⁴⁰ Local government provides funding for research on particular aspects such as 'traditional market' and 'batik kampong' to support the policy.

⁴¹ Kedhaton is the central courtyard, considered as the most sacred and the core of the kraton.

⁴² The kraton of Surakarta insist that there is not enough money, despite the fact that it gets more fund from the government than the kraton of Yogyakarta. Even there is not enough money to pay for electricity bill.

⁴³ The site of Klewer Market used to be the kraton's land but was appropriated by the state. This market belongs to the state, and recognised as the biggest batik market in Java.

⁴⁴ Those shops belong to members of the royal family.

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the kraton's *abdi dalems* - can be seen as an effort to sell an 'authentic' product by attaching it to the kraton thereby suggesting that those offered in the market are 'inauthentic'. These shops not only fail to make a profit, but also to regard themselves to be the 'authentic'. With the poor situation of the kraton, together with other aspects such as the bad image already gained during 1945-1950 in which the king was unresponsive to the struggle for independence, the loss of property, political status and territory after Independence, the internal conflict on 2004 which resulted in one [more] division of the kraton with another king currently residing in the Kotabarat area, the kraton of Surakarta has very little left to survive. This powerless kraton, of course, does not have enough influence to negotiate with others in the discourse of 'tradition'. This gives others chance to dominate the discourse of 'tradition', a chance which is taken by the local government to hold the supremacy.

IV. CONCLUSION

The comparison between Yogyakarta and Surakarta in cultural tourism shows a significant difference between them. This relates to the power level of the kraton in each city. The powerful kraton of Yogyakarta has its influence over others in Yogyakarta resulting in a kraton-centered discourse in cultural tourism. This will reproduce the domination of the kraton. Surakarta, in contrast, has the kraton in a very weak state with no political role, territory and property. This has resulted in the incidence of previously hidden minorities in the production of tradition and heritage, which are then considered in an equal position to that of the kraton. As in Yogyakarta the king still dominates the special region, in Surakarta, it is the local government who gets the legitimacy.

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Paper 3

**Bornean Post-Colonial Dilemma:
Between Indigenous Right, Identity and Outsider**
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Abstracts

Uncontrolled logging and other changes in the environmental have far-reaching implications on the lives of the Penans and now has become a very pertinent issue in Borneo. The impact on political economy and political development in the Bornean society is obvious in the post-colonial era. This research examines "Voices from the Jungle", a novel written by Jong Chian Lai from Sarawak, Borneo, who is the winner of the contemporary Southeast Asian Writers Awards (SEA Writers Award) in 2006. This text analyses the Penan and logging issues based on texts and realities to show for hire are in the quagmire. The Penan is a nomadic indigenous tribe living in Sarawak and only a few are living a modern lifestyle. Most of the Penan people consider the green jungle as their bank, hospital and recreation in their daily life. In this research, an eclectic approach encompassing Sociology of postcolonial literature and reading are used to analyze the text. The analysis of the Penan people reveals that a post-colonial experience between tradition and modernity dilemma, underdevelopment and the hastening of capitalism, hegemony and subaltern groups. The authority discourse and ordinary discourse evident in the power discourse in the text has the Penan mind held captive. In this context, the author opens up a bigger space for readers interpretation to interpret the truth for themselves based on imaginative and creative texts. The factual data also gives expanded facts for the reader to think about the truth between texts. In reading and listening, this text also mentions Bruno Manser, an allusion to the Bruno Manser who is Swiss by nationality and notorious for his work in protecting the Penan people and also the rainforest in Sarawak. A comparative study between text and contexts in Borneo Island introspect allows an outsider of the right and into the indigenous identity of the Penan group in dealing with the post-colonial resistances.

Keywords: Environmental issues, post-colonial, Borneo, the Penan and Ethnicity

Introduction

Borneo is the third largest island in the world, after Greenland and New Guinea Islands. Australia is considered the country's second largest island of the world when taking into account the environment is surrounded by ocean. But, unlike the whole of Australia under Australia's island, the island of Borneo is

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no longer governed by a single government in the modern world. Borneo is separated in the form of political boundaries that make it as states of Sabah and Sarawak form part of Malaysia, part of the territory belongs Indonesia and Brunei. All these territories are originally in the Malay world. This creates some uniqueness of Borneo. Borneo, surrounded by the South China Sea, Sulu Sea, Celebes Sea, Makassar Strait, Java Sea and the Straits Karimata. The diversity of interpretation of the ocean itself provide community relations in Borneo with the surrounding region. Borneo has a size equal to the combination of Germany and Poland according to Henry Ling Roth (1896) has an high exotic value. The size of Borneo island, according to Hugh Low (1870) lead to the indigenous population except for the Malay community and those living in coastal alone knows that the region they inhabit is an island. This statement is actually more of an analogy written by the colonial writers. Keeksotikan Borneo attracted the world's leading authors of English literature, such as Joseph Conrad (1857-1924) who wrote the first novel, *Almayer's Folly* (1895) also Borneo as a background in his writing. However, the British never made Borneo as their permanent settlement, and only after 100 years late, did the British made in their early settlement in Banjar Masin in Southern Borneo in 1706.

Borneo-Kalimantan

There are numerous ways of how the word Borneo were being spelled and pronounced. Among them are Buruneng, Bornei, Burneu, Burney, Borneo, Bruneo, Burne, Bornui, and Mount Van, the differences of spelling and pronunciations of the name does not mean the place is different. These differences are triggered by factors such as the speaker's accent vis-a-vis the Italian, Dutch, Portuguese, English, Chinese, and others. Of course, there are stark contrast in the pronunciations and spellings, but it carries the same meaning, and it is believed that the term 'Borneo' is actually derived from Brunei and the European were responsible for the use of the word Borneo in the context and popularized the name with some different understanding. But, Indonesians in Kalimantan are somewhat less comfortable with the use of the term of Borneo. For them residents of Kalimantan, Indonesia the term is less accurate as more Borneo specifically refers to Brunei in terms of its historical fact.

Sarawak in Borneo-Kalimantan Perspective

Sarawak is the largest state in Malaysia and it is one of two Malaysian states in the island of Borneo, the other state is Sabah. Sarawak is also known as the Land of Hornbills or Sarawak Darul Hana (in Malay

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Muslim mind), it is located in the north-west of the island. Based on 2010 census, the population of Sarawak is almost 2.4 million and the 4th most populous state in Malaysia. But Sarawak has the lowest population density in Malaysia. There are more than 40 sub-groups with different ethnic languages, culture and lifestyle. The major ethnic groups are namely; Iban Chinese, Malay, Bidayuh, Melanau, Orang Ulu (Kayan, Lun Bawang, Kelabit, Kenyah, Penan and Bisaya) and and 'other' (Kedayan, Punan Bah).

Table No. 1. The Total and Percentages of Ethnic Groups in Sarawak from 1947 to 2010

Year	Ethnic Groups							
	Iban	Chinese	Malays	Bidayuh	Melanau	Other Bumi	Others	Total
1947	190,326 (34.8)	145,158 (26.6)	97,469 (17.8)	42,195 (7.7)	35,560 (6.5)	29,867 (5.5)	5,810 (1.1)	546,385 (100.0)
1960	237,741 (32.9)	229,154 (30.8)	129,300 (17.4)	57,619 (7.7)	44,661 (6.0)	37,931 (5.1)	8,123 (1.1)	744,529 (100.0)
1970	303,461 (31.1)	293,949 (30.1)	181,426 (18.6)	83,612 (8.5)	53,379 (5.5)	50,699 (5.2)	9,746 (0.9)	926,269 (100.0)
1980	368,508 (30.3)	360,553 (29.5)	248,757 (19.7)	104,914 (8.2)	69,813 (5.7)	67,152 (5.3)	15,856 (1.3)	1,235,553 (100)
1991	483,468 (29.4)	447,525 (27.2)	350,570 (21.3)	135,595 (8.3)	93,721 (5.7)	100,088 (6.1)	14,632 (0.9)	1,642,771 (100.)
2000	603,735 (29.1)	537,230 (25.9)	462,270 (22.3)	166,756 (8.1)	112,983 (5.5)	117,690 (5.7)	8,103 (0.4)	2,071,506 (100)
2010	693,358 (30.2)	560,150 (24.4)	551,567 (24.1)	192,960 (8.43)	119,897 (5.23)	152,074 (6.64)	160,61 (0.70)	2,288,607 (100)

Source: Lam Chee Kheung (2009:28), Awang Azman Awang Pawi (2008,32), adapted from Sarawak Population Census Report 2011

The Penan

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The Penan are classified as into the same category of the Orang Ulu for some political reasons, the Orang Ulu means "people of the upper river. The Orang Ulu is a complex cluster comprising of 27 ethnic groups in Sarawak. Firstly they are divided into two groups, the first group lead a nomadic way of life, they lived in huts or hut, made from materials obtained from the forest, and, the second is a semi-nomadic or live in a designated area and plant hill paddy planting, they are subsistence agriculture and are also engaged in hunting and gathering as their main source of livelihood. They lived there temporarily for period a time until the resources run out. For those who reside permanently they plant crops and are famers (Langub, 1989). But today some of them have live a modern lifestyle.

Researchers such as Needham (1972) divides the Penan into the eastern and western. Penan who live in the east are known as the eastern Baram Penan and those who live around the Rajang basin around Silat in the Baram River known as the Western Penan. Linguistically there are only some small differences in languages spoken by eastern and western Penan community. There are about 16 thousand Penan who live in remote areas of northern Sarawak. The forests are the main source of foods such as wild sago, fish and local fruits. The main source of cash income are also derived from the forest: such as from Rattan which are weaved into mats and baskets which are sold in the market, and trade items such as sandalwood (incense wood) and ketipe (a wild rubber), a popular item need for gluing (Langub, 2011:2)

The Penans are also involved in barter trade with traders from the nearby Kayan and Iban longhouses, but they are often being exploited. It has also been noted by Ermen (cited in Langub, 2011:3) that their partners gain from 600 to 1000% from such transactions. Thus, in 1906, the Brooke government made ruling where a 'pasar tamu' or living markets were created and the market were supervised by the traders from longhouses and Penan to ensure that there was no persecution in the business. However, the Living market system ended in 1976 due to unknown reasons (Langub, 2011:4) After the independence of Sarawak many development projects undertaken to help uplift the livelihood of the Penans. The most important is the large-scale loggings activities, however large-scale loggings activities has far-reaching implications on the lives of the Penan.

The Penan protest of 1987

According to one source, since the 1970s about 70 thousand hectares of forests were cut down while in the 1980s the acreage has increased to 240,000 hectares. This means that 266 trees are cut down each day,

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this made Malaysia to be among the country's largest exporter of tropical timber in the world. During that period, about 40 percent of world exports of wood were from Sarawak and logs exported to Japan, Taiwan, South Korea and the United States.

The highlight of the Penan anger against logging was in 1987 when around 150 people protested and they were led by a journalist Peter Popham of The Sunday Times. They marched towards the logging concessionaire headquarters in Long Napir, the Limbang. The Penan protesters were given RM2000 and they were asked to stop the barricade that they have erected. Brunor Manser, who was previously with the Penan organized a wooden fortress and 'human wall' as a way of protesting the repression activity of the land which they claimed as their heritage. The Penan are armed with blowpipes, but they never use it. The Penan are regarded as primitive because do not want to be embrace change. But to them the forest is the source of their economy, but to the loggers, they see the forests as a source of income to be earned and need to be logged on a large scale. The Kayan and Kelabit also participate in the protest and they closed 23 sites located in the Baram and Limbang region. It was estimated that around 2500 Penans from 26 settlements took part in the protests which lasted for 8 months. These efforts of the indigenous communities namely the Penan has the support of both local and foreign NGOs. Logging of timber is the main source of income for the state of Sarawak in the 1970's and 1980's. However in 1990's with the introduction oil palm, many virgin forests are cleared to pave way for oil palm plantations the in Sarawak.

Penans Protest Against Logging

In River Apoh / Tutoh In Baram Region 2000

On August 11, 2000, more than 100 Penans from Apoh / Tutoh in the Baram district in Long Kevok gathered to the protest because large-scale logging in their forests. They built wooden fortresses on roads frequently used by Rimbunan Hijau Sdn Bhd and Shin Yang Sdn Bhd and Raywood Sdn Bhd (refer to Sahabat Alam statement). The aim is to prevent logging operations independently. To prevent their operation is the only way in which the Penan can get the loggers come and see them and to listen to all their problems. They claimed that the logging company had violated and invaded their forest reserves.

Sahabat Alam Malaysia reported that the Penan resorted to the blockade because *“They resorted to this action after the companies continued to ignore their rights of access to their natural forest resources. Their numerous complaints to the authorities and the logging companies regarding their claims to the forest resources and the problems caused by logging have fallen and deaf ears. Having no other*

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alternative and being compelled to bring attention to their plight, the Penan natives have resorted to staging this protest which is still continuing”.

The grievances of the Penans with regards to logging can be summarised are as follows:

- Both companies Rimbunan Hijau and Shin Yang acted very arrogantly in relation to their claims.
- They have simply bulldozed their planted fruit trees and graveyards without paying anything for the losses and damage that they have suffered.
- They also do not render any assistance to the Penan community who seek their help to send those who are ill to the nearest clinic in Long Bedian in cases of emergency.
- The companies simply encroached into their Communal Forest Reserves and carry out logging activities here, without any consultation and consideration for their source of livelihood.

http://brimas.www1.50megs.com/PENAN_PROTEST_AGAINST_LOGGING_IN_APOH.htm

In other words, the Penan felt that their rights to the land and forest have been challenged and they foresee that there is a need to defend their rights. However, the act of protesting by using wooden fortress or ‘human barricade’ was described as 'weapons of the weak' as the phrase once coined by Scott (1985). Anti-logging protest continues to occur until February 2004, in Long Benali where the protestors prevent logging and the Penan began the delineation of their territory. Logging was done by Samling Plywood (Baramas) Limited. According to community reports sent to the Bruno Manser Foundation of Switzerland (BMF), Malaysian government officers announced that the blockade would be dismantled in July 2006. Logging companies have dismantled one Penan road blockade and are mobilizing to break another. Riot police are searching for the organizers. Separately, workers of Interhill Logging Sdn. Bhd., dismantled a Penan road blockade near Ba Abang, Sarawak in July 2006. The Federal Reserve Unit, a police unit specializing in quelling riots and dispersing "unlawful assemblies," was searching the area for those who had confiscated two company chainsaws and erected the blockade in early June (Pancoast, 2003:16).

Timber industry in Sarawak

Timber industry is one of the major contributor to Sarawak Gross Domestic Product. In 1986, timber (saw logs and sawn timber) export earnings exceeded RM4 billion, compared to RM5.4 billion for petroleum, rubber and RM3.2 billion for RM3.0 billion for palm oil. Malaysia's impressive growth record, since

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Independence in 1957 until the early 1980s, and the government efforts to promote industry, have disguised the significance and susceptibility of continued reliance on primary commodity exports - albeit more diversified - particularly the increased significance of depleting resources such as petroleum and timber, as well as natural (petroleum) gas and tin. While forestry is theoretically renewable, those familiar with logging activities in the Malaysian forests and the country's track record - especially in the eastern or Borneo (Kalimantan) states of Sabah and Sarawak. By the end of the 1970s, depleting forest resources and heightened public awareness of its grave environmental consequences has caused reduced logging in Peninsular Malaysia, but this has been compensated by increased production in both Sarawak and Sabah. By 1985, Sarawak accounted for 270,000 or 40 percent of the 670,000 hectares logged in Malaysia, and 39 per cent of total Malaysian log output –(Jomo, 1989:Vii). This implies that Sarawak became the major export of timber, followed by Sabah.

Another factor that enhanced the increased logging activities in Sabah and Sarawak is the Malaysian revenue system. Most state revenues are collected and controlled by the federal government, with the state Governments only constitutionally allowed to collect land revenue related, including Terms and Conditions of export timber. To encourage the local timber industry, higher export duty is collected on saw logs than on sawn timber. However, to maximise revenues, the state Governments of both Sabah and Sarawak prefer maximizing the log exports, therefore the revenue system encouraged more logs to be exporter but do not wood-based manufacturing activities in the two states (Jomo, 1989: VII)

In the tussle of power which is often dubbed as a clash of political elite in Sarawak between Tun Rahman and the Chief Minister of Sarawak which culminated in the Ming Court, the Chief Minister Taib Mahmud announced that he had frozen 25 timber concessions for 1.2 million hectares or 3 million acres worth about MR22.5 billion (US\$9 billion), nothing that the concessions were 'concentrated in the hands of a few' - which most people took to mean the relatives and friends of Tun Rahman. Tun Rahman's on the other hand, retaliated by exposing a group of Taib associated companies which had timber concessions for 1.6 million hectares . Jomo (1989) estimates that at least 206 million ringgit (about US\$80 million) was spent in the 1987 electoral contest by both sides.

An environmental study reports that: From 1963, the year of Kontak, to 1985, 2.82 million hectares, or about 30 percent of Sarawak's forest land been logged limit. By the end of 1984, an additional 5.8 million hectares, or another 60 per cent of Sarawak's forest land, the limits been given out as timber

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concessions. Of the 3.4 million hectares in the Fourth Division, where popular resistance to logging is Greatest, 2.46 million, or 72 per cent, the limit been given out by 1984. In 1985 alone, 270,000 or 40 per cent of the 670,000 hectares were logged throughout Malaysia in Sarawak, Which accounted for 39 per cent of total Malaysian log production. At this rate, an average of 1850 acres were being logged out in Sarawak every day (Jomo, 1989: ix). The government was not happy with the interference of the NGO in the logging industry in Sarawak and this prompted the then Prime Minister Dr Mahathir to write to the NGO in New York. In his letter, Mahathir (1988) wrote *'You are wrong If you think giving the forests to the indigenous people will save the trees. The indigenous people practice slash and burn cultivation . and vast tracts of forests have been completely i obliterated by shifting slash and burn practice. Logging of selected mature trees allow the forests to regenerate quickly. But of course it will not sound noble to condemn the tribal people. It Is much more romantic to fight for their rights against the Government.'*

Export of timber and timber products Sarawak has now grown to one per cent to RM3.71 billion during the first six months of 2011 compared with RM3.67 billion in the corresponding period in 2010. The increase was the result of a prolonged shortage and strong demand from overseas buyers, especially from Japan. Plywood is a major contributor, at 56 per cent or RM2.1 billion of the total export value, followed by timber (25 per cent or RM0.9 billion) and sawn timber (9 per cent or RM 0.3 billion). Timber are exported to India, Taiwan and Japan contribute 85 percent of the total export value from January to June 2011. The Second State Minister of Planning and Environmental Resource, Datuk Amar Awang Tengah Ali Hasan said the export value of timber and timber products can reach up to RM7.4 billion this year compared to RM7.2 billion last year if the market remained stable in the third and fourth (Bernama, 2011).

Oil Palm

In general, after timber, the palm oil industry become of the major contributions tp Sarawak GDP. The palm oil industry is expected increased by 20.4 percent compared to RM49.6 billion in 2009. Oil export earnings increased by RM10.11 billion or 20.4 per cent to RM59.77 billion from RM49.6 billion in 2009. Crude palm oil (CPO) increased by 20.5 per cent to RM2, 704.50 per tonne. Palm oil imports rose by 19.6 percent to 1.11 million tonnes. In 2010, the area planted with oil palm in Malaysia reached 4.85 million hectares, up 3.5 percent compared to 4.69 million hectares in the previous year. Of this amount, the maturity is 4.2 million hectares or 87 per cent and young area of 0.65 million hectares or 13 percent.

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Peninsular Malaysia has an area of 2.52 million hectares or 52 percent, Sabah by 1.41 million hectares (29 percent) and Sarawak of 0.92 million hectares (19 percent) (Berita Harian, 5 Feb.2011).

The state in Peninsular Malaysia experienced 6.1 percent drop in production to 9.50 million tonnes and Sabah declined by 2.5 percent to 5.32 million tons, Sarawak showed an increase of 9.3 percent to 2.18 million tonnes. Total export earnings surged Malaysia RM10.11 billion or 20.4 per cent to RM59.77 billion from RM49.66 billion in 2009 due to the increase of export prices of palm products. The country's palm oil exports to Pakistan, Egypt, European Union, the United States, UAE and Vietnam have increased tremendously (Berita Harian, Feb 5, 2011). By 2010, the State Government's target is to open one million hectares of oil palm, however in 2008 a total of 543.399 hectares of palm oil plantations have been developed. Since the development of Customary Land (NCR) was introduced in 1995, more than 27 areas have been developed for oil palm cultivation (Merdeka, 2009).

Mimicking Literature and Sociology Literature

What is the relevance of literary texts and reality? Literature is a reflection of society as per the classical masters. This reflection is not only to be seen and perceived by the society but the shortcomings and mistakes can be corrected. Of course, this is the earliest ideas of Plato (427-347 BC) which demonstrated that all types of literature is imitation of what happens in real life. The imitation theory is then extended by Aristotle based on life-style impersonation of *katarsis* effects. This reflection brings the good values that can be used as a lesson and a good example to be emulated, or rejected. Writers who lived together of the community often use the resources available to them in their literary works. Whether fully replicated or not, it shows the picture of the observed society on the question of how thinking, feeling, attitude, words and even the view of the society.

Eagleton (1988: 469) states that there are two ways in which sociological literary tendency can be viewed. Firstly "literature is in fact deeply conditioned by its social context, and any critical account of this fact it omits Which is therefore automatically deficient". Secondly is the "pragmatist literature is in fact shaped by all kinds of factors and readable in all sorts of contexts, but its social determinants highlighting is useful and desirable from a particular political standpoint. Leo Lowenthal (1987: 5-6) once said that ...“ *Sociology of literature rightly understood should interpret what seems most removed from society as the most valid key to the understanding of society and especially of its defects.... the role of a critical sociology of literature in the analysis of the social ambience of the intimate and the private, the*

revealing of the sociological determination of such phenomena as love, friendship, the relationship to nature, self-image, and the like.... Literature teaches us to understand the success or failure of the socialization of individuals in concrete historical moments and situations..."

Albrecht (1954: 425) examines three characterizations of this relationship: 1) That literature reflects society; 2) That literature influences society; and 3) That literature functions to maintain or justify the social order, and in effect exerts social control. The works reviewed can be said is a reflection of the Penan perennial problems. Displaying works of this kind can provide some understandings and can create awareness to the public. At the same time the novel under review also serves to articulate the mind of the readers to form according to the authors' ideology. As Eagleton (1979:63) noted, "*Ideology, then, is not to be reduced to miscognition, but is to be seen as signifying a set of practical relations with the "real"*".

Voice of the Jungle: Analysis of Penan Thought

The analysis of the Penan thought is based on the work of Jong Chian Lai⁴⁵. Jong Chian Lai has the tendency to produce work based on the world's marginalized ethnic groups in the development, but he writes it in the creative context. But the creative work cannot be divorced from realities. Much of Jong earlier works is focused on development and ethnic issues such as novel *Pindah, Gugurnya Langit Hijau Nangga Tiga*. This can be seen in the context of sociological literature which are popular in the 1960's and 1970's. This research examines "Voices from the Jungle", a novel written by Jong Chian Lai from Sarawak, Borneo, who is a winner of the contemporary Southeast Asian Writers Award (SEA Writers Award) 2006. This text analyses the Penan and logging issues based on texts and realities to show their predicament The Penan is a nomadic indigenous people living in the interior of Sarawak. Most of the Penan consider the green forest as their bank, supermarket and place of recreation. In other words the forest is the main source of livelihood of the Penan in Sarawak.

⁴⁵ Jong Chian Lai (1960-) born in Sarawak is a Chinese. Since 1980 until 2010 he has written short stories and novel hingga 2006. Some of his short stories and novel are *Musim Terakhir* (1988), *Bunga Rimba* (1998), *Menganyam Kedukaan* (1999) and *Dunia Sebayang* (2005). The novels include *Gugurnya Langit Hijau Nangga Tiga* (1986), *Pindah* (1988), *Buaya Putih Buaya Kudung* (1992), *Pemberontakan* (1994), *Meredah Ombak Keributan* (2001), *Long Busang* (2005), *Suara dari Rimba* (2006), *Kota Larangan Qui* (2006) *Ensera Marga Timur dari St. Anthony* (2009) *Ok Ok* (2010). His works is also translated to Mandarin and English. He has won numerous award such as *Hadih Sastera Malaysia* and other creative writing contests. The novel *Voice of the Forest* (*Suara dari Rimba*) originates from the *Lakei Rimba* manuscript which won the *Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka* award in 2000. The highest award won by him is *S.E.A Write Awards 2006* from the government of Thailand.

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On one hand, logging activities and the cultivation of oil palm are the major sources of income for the State. In a sense, these activities generate income and employment opportunities for people in Sarawak. On the other hand, these activities have a far-reaching implications on the ethnic population whose activities are very much associated with their traditional and the forest. Logging is a major issue in the context of the environmental destruction and the depleting resources from the forest. Excessive and unplanned logging activities destroy the forest ecosystems. The depletion of animals and other resources and extinction of food are the major concerns to those who are dependent on the forest and this also affect their source of income. Not just among the Penan community, but can also among other rural communities residing in the interior of Sarawak, Malaysia, Borneo. Polluted rivers such as the Baleh River in Upper Rejang which was highlighted by the international media is also a major concern of the rural community (Borneo Post, 12 Oct, 2010). Supply of fresh water fish from the river has dwindled because the river has been contaminated and soil erosion is common.

The Penan are facing food shortages because of their forest resources have been destroyed by logging excessive activities. Jungle produce, vegetables and fruits are difficult to find. Some even said they had to eat rice with salt only. They are also confronted with the problem of mass land has been acquired for the development of oil palm plantations. In the novel *Suara Rimba*, Jong writes about the predicaments of the Penan community as a result of logging activities. Previously, they lived peacefully in the forest, but the logging activities has affected their livelihoods and there is a clash between the Penan with development. A Swiss environmentalist in the person of Bruno Manser has help them and masterminded the Penan resistance. Bruno defended the traditional Penan way of life and that these traditions should not be destroyed by the fast phase of development. This is where the author presented a dilemma faced by the people of Malaysia who are so called developed, but, on the other hand the Penan seemed to be left behind in development process.

This clash of character makes James Ritchie⁴⁶, a journalist, who is the descendants of Welsh Iban and Chinese to disagree that the Penan should not preserve the traditional way of life. In actual fact,

⁴⁶ James Ritchie, 60, is a journalist of 35 years. He was recruited as a cadet reporter by the New Strait Times in 1972 and he worked as a sports reporter before joining the NST Crime Desk in Kuala Lumpur. After a two year stint as a correspondent in Seremban he was transferred to Kuching as NST correspondent. During his 28 years in Sarawak, Ritchie has written numerous stories, articles and special reports on local affairs. He later joined the Sarawak Chief Minister's Department as a Public Relation Officer, the Borneo Post as a media consultant and at worked with the Sarawak Tribune, Borneo Post, The Star and Eastern Times. Ritchie has a penchant for writing about politics, famous Sarawak personalities and historical figures. He has authored several books which include Bruno Manser:

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James Ritchie who is also a veteran journalist is well connected with the political elite in Sarawak. In this text, James Ritchie who made the task to find why the Penan are against development. He directed the Datuk Edward Randi, a politician who has a timber concession to prove anything published by the Mansel Brueno is false and an attempt to confuse the world James Rich know that no politician is honest (Jong, 2006:8). He endured a variety of experiences during the task. He was surprised with the admiration of Penan community who are willing to defend Bruno Manser from being arrested by authority. The author describe the attitude that James Ritchie displays in the dialogue below:

"You know what? I fought for the fate of the Penan in writing in the newspapers. Just write ... do not act follow what is written. It is as though we see ourselves in the mirror. Then I want to do something about ourselves."(Suara Rimba, 2006:61)

For James, the Penan in Sarawak are not as poor when compared to any communities in the other parts of the world especially in the malnourish countries in Africa. He had seen Europe's most poor, homeless and needy Indians and they are hundred times poorer than the Penan in Sarawak. (Jong, 2006: 249). This reveals the James's attitude and the attitude of the author of this novel. As an experienced journalist, James Ritchie has also a vast experience in urban life. He realized the money as powerful as he admitted that *" in the city there is no one who will chase a penniless man with a gun, but with kickbacks.* (Suara Rimba, 2006: 86). But in the real world, it is the capitalists from the city destroy the life in the interior by uncontrolled logging. As a professional journalists who is well connected with the ruling political elite in Sarawak James Ritchie tries to convince that his moral duties are to assist the Penan community through his relationship with the political elite.

James had said this to the Penan, *"you hear this why is logging mportant? The government has the timber revenue. If we sell overseas, the money from the sales of timber becomes our revenue in Malaysia. We gain. Many people can be employed. The village people and you can also be employed. The timber company build the road. The government build clinics, schools ... all of these come from timber taxation. If there is a way, the Penan can be developed and modernise like other communities in Sarawak."* But this view is opposed by Along Sega, *"James ... what we see is far worse than you have expected."*

The Inside Story, A Gentleman's victory for Taib Mahmud, A political Saga, Sarawak Awakens – Politics Of Development, Changes and Challenges 1998, Life Story of Temenggong Koh, Honour Before Self, Tun Ahmad Zaidi – Son Of Sarawak, Man Eating Crocodiles of Borneo, Abdul Taib Mahmud – 41 Years in News, Who Gives a Dam – The Bakun Odyssey, Limbang – the Crown Jewel of Sarawak and Temenggong Oyong Lawai Jau – A Paramount Chief of The Baram.

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Although James Ritchie (in fact and fiction) is a descendant of English, but, he does not like outsiders to interfere with the internal affairs of the state, especially the NGOs who oppose the on-going logging activities in Sarawak. He is always suspicious of those Europeans who want help the Penan. He said, *"the European do not like the community to be modern and sophisticated in their own country. They want to suppress us. But we do not know. If there is anything good, that person will be used by you for your good but not for our good."* (Suara Rimba, 2006: 86). He also stated that its ability in many things and said the inability of the community. He said to Uncle Agan, *"Can you live in a longhouse? Can you plant rice, fish in the river? Can you plant cocoa, pepper or palm oil or tap rubber? Can you do all these? Can you allow the children to go to school?"* (Jong Chian Lai, 2006: 91). James seemed to be the representative of the political elite and this is clearly reflected in this dialogue: *"I can give you the long house, school, electricity, clean water. If you can learn to grow rice and fruit ... if you agree ... everything can given if you agree to move ... I can talk to the authorities concerned..."* (Jung, 2006: 94).

But Pegak Beluluk replied, *"...You can not help get rid of them centipedes (bulldozer) that destroyed our forests. That's what you can not do."* This statement demonstrates that the Penan do not want to be disturbed and they want to keep their traditional life intact. James began to see the pain Penan with a more humanistic eyes. He realized that the Penan are not violent and uncivilized people. Also, you never heard that the Penan killed anyone. (Jung, 2006:92) Finally, James Ritchie began to understand the real demands of the Penan.

Soul of the Penan

The marginalized Penan also want to be in the mainstream of development. However, the development that they want will address their needs. Agan the character in Jong's book is Jeluan group indicated that the Penan do not reject outsiders. Outsiders, in this context is the government and the foreigners from outside the country. The government officials are considered outsiders because come with luxury, but not able to fulfil their promise. Agan said Jeluan group, *"the city has enough people who came by helicopter, told us many good things to help them, but they never fulfil their promises."* (Jong, 2008:67-68). They were fed up with outsiders who like to take advantage of them. These outsiders told them that the trees are about hundreds of years old and are worth hundreds of millions, but the compensation they receive just worth a few hundreds of dollars. These loggers received millions of dollars but the Penan are still poor, (Jong, 2006:250).

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The Agan Jeluan group also criticized the local and foreign journalists who like the Penan 'exotic' look which made them popular press, but again these journalists never take further action to highlight the plights of the Penan. Agan Jeluan said, *"they took pictures of the pentanes lamin, lamin jau, sulap, they used the blowpipes, took picture of the trees, hills and flora and fauna, and sold around the world. They become famous, but the Penan pople remain poor."*(Jung, 2008: 69). About James Rich and the government Agan Jeluan also said: *"You (James) ... can not do anything except write and take pictures ... then back, and writes in the newspaper. Do not talk .. the newspapers never reached them in the jungle. And what can the government do ... the government issued licenses to Lau to cut down the trees."*(Jong, 2008:81). It is clear that the Penan are angry with government for issuing licenses to extract the timber. The logging activities would cause them to flee to other places and this causes them to compare the present government with that of the colonial rule. They felt that *"the white man never chased them out of this forest* (Jong, 2008: 86)".

Irregularities that occurred in logging activities can be detected in this novel through the character played by Gerawat Megud who James Ritchie has help to pay for his son milk. He was convinced by District Officer that the timber company did not destroy the forest, but fell trees that are only authorized by the forest department personnel only. But Gerwat did not believe because many other trees were cut down. The District Officer asked Gerawat, *"how the trees are transported to the logging camp.... fly?* (Pg.363). Gerawat felt that he is often being manipulated for financial gain. Many loggers extracted the forest resources. Gerawat remained firm: *"This is our land! We have the right to speak. We have never use poisonous blow pipe to kill other. We heard the sound of helicopter and thought the government came to help us. But when you talk like they do not want to hear us. We always being cheated ... the Chief Minister should come, so we can hear what he said. We are poor, you're happy* (Jong, 2008: 364)."

When the minister came, they saw, the Minister comes to catch fish, hunt deer and wild boar, not to work and solve problems. The Penan people say, *"He (the Minister) waste public funds by travelling in helicopter. Maybe he can see how many trees are being felled* (Jong, 2008: 365)." This clearly shows the bad attitude of government officials who just came to give a bad perceptions to the Penan. Bruno Manser as described by the author as an European man who came to help the community. This can be seen in the following dialogue:

"I'm Swiss race I did not want to be shame because I want interrupted you. Why? Because I want you to forgo your low self-esteem. Learn to be a bit rude. Learn to become rough. Learn about human rights.

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This jungle ... is your right! You remember the forest is being damaged by the greedy loggers. You look at yourself. You your self can see it. You should be aware now! Where are you going to live if this forest is exploited? Niah Caves, Mulu Caves? (Jong, 2008:387)."

Bruno Manser also organized a peaceful protest and helps to collect the signatures of the Penan against a rapacious logging. He was sure the world will know the problems of the community. He also pointed that there are many Penans who do not have identification cards and the importance of their identification cards for the purpose of electing their representatives who really help the people and the community. Peaceful protest had to be organised when it appears there the government are not willing to solve their predicaments. Through the outcry in the international media would be able to create the awareness of the international community on the plights of the Penan (Jong, 2008:392-393). For the Penan, Bruno Manser is not the man responsible for erecting the blockades against the logging activities. They said, *"No one instructed us to erect the blockades. Not Bruno. Not even our leaders. We do because the companies are too arrogant. Our forest is being encroached upon. We are hungry. The hunger faced by us motivates us to set up the blockade. We are united to do it. In the past the forest is cold, but now it is getting warmer, the river murky, there are less animals to hunt, the fruits are fast depleting, timber for us the make our boats and build our houses are difficult to find..."* (Jong, 2006: 445).

Analysis and Discussion

The Penans are more comfortable with traditional way life after the postcolonial era., For them the forest is the source of their livelihood. But to foreigners, their nomadic life pursued by the Penans made them less developed, although the government provides various ways to bring them in the mainstream of development and this is their choice. The question that is often asked is why do the Penans like to live in their traditional nomadic way of life of and are these actions justifiable? By not to send their children Penans to schools is something good to the future of the Penan! Do we allow the Penans to live a nomadic life throughout the and will it benefit them. The time has come for the Penans to think for themselves that they should given proper facilities and that their rights are recognized.

In fact, the state government has done a lot to help the Penan .Among them are in 1990, the State Government set up a committee, the Penan Affairs to facilitate the needs and identify the problems faced by this nomadic community. Any problems in the context of the implementation of development

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programmes can be overcome by this committee. Bakun Trust formed to ensure that education and socio-economic development of the ethnic groups can be improved. In fact, recently an attempt was made by the Education Division in Sarawak to in which it set aside a special qualification for the Penan students to enter Teachers Training College. Actually there are successful Penan businessmen, Datuk Hassan Sui is the first millionaire among the Penan. He even managed to send his children to study in the United States. There is also a Penan who have graduated in the field of political science and now works with the Chief Minister's Department.

A collaboration between UNIMAS and the Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation (MOSTI), and MIMOS Berhad have the launched E-Lamai or ngerabit @ Long Lamai in a remote area in Baram. This enables the Penan to surf the internet and get connected with the globalized world. Under the 9th Malaysia Plan, the Poverty Eradication Programme was launched and implemented by the Implementation and Coordination Unit of the Prime Minister. The program was aimed at addressing the plight of the Penan, provides a new environment, addressing the needs and way of life of the community in which around 1.783 Penan who lived under extreme poverty in Limbang, Baram and Belaga were assisted.

The Penans are now more receptive to development undertaken by the government. There are about three thousand Penans in primary schools, including pre-school, while there are a thousand Penan in secondary schools. They also receive educational assistance through the Trust Fund for Poverty Students and in 2009 about 300 thousand were spent on Penan students in the Baram. They also receive other assistances such as the Tuition Voucher Scheme, Textbook Loan Scheme, Food Supplements Program, scholarships, school uniforms and Yayasan Sarawak Milk Program. Some are millionaires dealing with timber and oil palm as Datuk Hasan Sui, others are university graduates such as Ezra Uda, who graduates with political science from UNIMAS and is now working at the Department of Sarawak Chief Minister and the Planning Unit (SPU), which deals specifically and directly with plan development in Sarawak.

However, the fact that widespread logging needs to be addressed as a whole so as not to destroy the forest and flora and fauna. What exacerbate the problem is that when law enforcement agencies are seen to be ineffective to address people's problems. The issue of illegal logging, weak enforcement which made the Penans feel that they are exploited by the network of higher authority can be seen in the following text: "You are wrong! Why are the companies no wrong? You need to arrest the boss of the company for stealing the timber our forests. Arrest the Police because they failed to arrest the owner of the companies

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who stole our timber. Arrest the officer from the Forest Department because they let the timber companies stole our timber. Arrest them or you have a full belly!. Look ... they took the money stolen from our forests. "(Jung, 2006: 492)

This situation represents a subaltern voice and a form of hegemony by people in power from the eyes of the Penan. The voice in daily discourse in this novel is the voice of ordinary people that need to be defended and appropriate actions need to be taken so that their voice can be heard. The indigenous rights are critical issues in Sarawak and a major political issue in the state. The form of resistance should not be seen as at absolute resistance to the government, but more to express feelings that need to be heard by the government. This situation is always apparent in any developing countries.

Conclusions

Based on this novel it can be seen in fictional situations and relations with real life situation. There seems to be a close relationship of the events that really happened and was written based on the situation of the Penans community actually faced. Even some of the names of the characters found in the novel are only changed to specify the nature of fictive Sarawak, but readers can easily guess the characters created by author. Clearly, the author links situations and settings as suggested in the sociological literature. Discourse of political elites and the media shaped the life of ethnic hegemony that gripped the community. But there is room for resistances of the hegemony although difficult to beat. Power play and the language that appears in this novel show that literature is still a relevant source to study the zeitgeist Penan community and ethnic *weltanschauung* is against development. It must be emphasised that development could not be avoided and the question of dealing with the development is more relevant and that all communities must not be marginalized from the mainstream development. Apparently, the problem of logging and opening up of more land for oil palm plantations are the two main issues in Sarawak which can have to far-reaching implications in the context of political, economics and social development in Sarawak.

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