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The Dutch Science (*Rangaku*) and its Influence on Japan

Erlita Tantri

Abstrak

Pada tahun 1609, Belanda memperoleh izin memasuki Jepang bersama armada dagangnya VOC (*Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie-Dutch East India Company*) dan menempati wilayah di pelabuhan perdagangan Hirado hingga tahun 1940. Pada tahun 1639 Jepang menutup negaranya untuk berhubungan dengan dunia luar (era *sakoku*). Namun, Jepang masih mengizinkan Belanda untuk tinggal dan memindahkan perusahaannya (untuk mudah mengontrolnya) ke Pulau Deshima pada tahun 1941. Meskipun Jepang sangat melarang masyarakatnya berhubungan dengan Belanda atau sebaliknya, kecuali orang yang ditentukan dan pada kondisi dan waktu tertentu, namun rasa keingintahuan negeri ini terhadap perkembangan ilmu dan teknik Barat telah membawa keterbukaan Jepang untuk menggantinya melalui Belanda. Dimulai dengan mempelajari ilmu kedokteran, Jepang terus menggali dan mengembangkan pengetahuan Barat, yang proses ini dikenal dengan era *Rangaku*. Melalui proses *Rangaku*, Belanda secara tidak langsung telah menjadi pintu pengetahuan bagi Jepang dan Jepang secara perlahan berhasil mengembangkan berbagai ilmu untuk kemajuan sosial, ekonomi, politik, budaya, dan militer hingga Jepang siap berkembang ketika kembali membuka diri pada tahun 1853.

Kata kunci: Sakoku, sistem *Rangaku*, studi Barat, Jepang, Belanda, VOC.

*“If Japanese society,
which had been isolated from the rest of the world, was a solitary black box,
Nagasaki was like a pinhole, and
Holland was the faint ray of light shining in.”*
(Ryotaro Shiba (1996), Japanese historical novelist
in his work *Oranda Kiko* - “Travels in Holland”)

Introduction

The period 1640 to 1853 was era when Japan was completely closed and isolated from the outside world or called *sakoku* era. At that time, only the Dutch remained

staying among the Occidentals who had had contact with Japan before the *sakoku*. Although Japan was closed for any Westernization and Christians, it did not stop Japanese to absorb the Western ideas and techniques. The curiosity of Japanese to learn European knowledge and made contact with the Dutchman, the only Westerner who remained in Deshima, had brought the interesting relationships between the Dutch and Japan. Its relationship with the Dutch, beside China, resulted in increasing number and variety of books of translation - from Dutch to Japanese - as well as popularizations of Western knowledge which were formed through *Rangaku* system (Marius B. Jansen, 1957:568). As the result, the Dutch as the trader and 'the tutor' gave a new dynamism to Japanese social, politics, economy and culture.

Rangaku is known as a Dutch learning system or Western or foreign knowledge. It started in the eighth Shogun Yoshimune who was a successful administrator, reformer, and aware of the superiority of Western science and technique. The Japanese translated the Dutch works into Japanese, such as works on medical botany, medicine, medical treatment, astronomy, the world maps and geography, physics, chemistry, social science, and the military science and techniques (Katagiri Kazuo, 1982:1) and took the notes from these translations for their study.

Since the *sakoku* era, Japan obtained the European information through the Dutch as the only Western that allowed staying in Japan peninsula. The Dutch provided the Japanese for over two centuries as their 'window on the West' (Grant K. Goodman, 2000:231). Grant K. Goodman (2000), Anna Beerens (2006), C.R. Boxer (1956), Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi (1998), analyzed the obstacle and the impact of the Dutch activity in transferring Western study - especially for the increasing number of Japan intellectuals.

Concerning of a long *sakoku* system and applying of Dutch learning system as Western education bring this paper to find the influence of Dutch learning system (*Rangaku*) within 1641 to 1867 on Japan society. This paper would like to assess the influence of Dutch learning system. How did Japan open for western knowledge? What was the influence of western learning? It is interesting to know the foundation of modern Japan that shows nowadays by tracing from the origin contact between the Dutch and Japan; especially on *Rangaku* process. Surely, this paper does not wish to make something new on the impact of *Rangaku* system. Besides, it would like to analyze the difference ideas around the influence of *Rangaku*, especially from two ideas: Grant K. Goodman (*Japan and the Dutch, 1600-1853*, 2000) and Anna Beerens (*Friends, Acquaintances, Pupils, and Patrons; Japanese Intellectual Life in the Late Eighteenth Century: A Prosopographical Approach*, 2006).

The Early Contact of the Dutch and Japan

1. The Dutch in Hirado

De Liefde ('Charity') was one of twenty-two Dutch vessels which set sail in the Far East in 1598. It captained by Jacob Quaeckernaek and piloted by the Englishman, Williams Adams. It had been blown by violent storms and buffeted by the pounding seas. It finally arrived at Bungo on the eastern shore of Kyushu on 19 April 1600 (Grant K. Goodman, 2000:9). Besides the Portuguese and Jesuit, the Dutch was permitted to remain in Japan. The arrival of Dutch seamen in Japan stimulated interest of the Netherlands in the possibility of opening trade and commercial relations with Japan. In 1605, Quaeckerneck (*de Liefde* captain) was allowed to depart and got a licence from the shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu for trading with Japan.

The story of Will Adams is the best known. He got in himself with Shogun (military ruler with hereditary system and the actual power in Japan with emperor as a nominal ruler) and taught the Japanese about navigation and shipbuilding techniques. He built around two or three Western style ships for the Shogun (Leonard Blusse', 2000:18). This shows the contact of *De Liefde* crewmembers with Japanese and their Shogun. However, Adams had made earlier contact with Japanese when he and Van Lodensteyn worked as informal advisors and interpreters for Shogun Ieyatsu and Dutch countrymen. Besides, there was captain Quaeckernaek who took the first steps toward the establishment the relationships between the Japanese authority and the Netherlands (*Ibid.*, 19) when he sailed to Pattani (Thailand) as the pilot of the junk of the Lord of Hirado in 1606.

In 1607, at least one of 13 ships that set sail to Indies - under the Admiral Pieter Willemsz Verhoeven, was instructed to sail to Japan. This one was responsible to send the letter to Shogun or Tokugawa Ieyasu from the ruling Prince Maurice of Orange (1567-1625) who intended to establish a permanent Dutch factory. On the 6th of July 1609, the two ships, *Roode Leeuw met Pijlen* (Red Lion with Arrow) and *Griffoen* (Griffin) arrived at Hirado harbor. The envoys of ship, Abraham van Broeck and Nicolaes Puyck, visited local *daimyo* to give the respect and letters to Ieyatsu then in retirement at Shizuoka (Grant K. Goodman, 2000:10). On 14 August, Shogun Ieyatsu received the Dutch envoy in Sunpu – at his castle. A few days later, the Netherlands got the reply for Prince Maurice and four passes to be used for the Dutch in the future. The letter was written in a friendly tone and did not show the haughtiness. Afterward, the Dutch was permitted to open the permanent trading in Hirado based on the written charter.

In 1609, the Dutch built their factories in Hirado for the first time until 1641 when they had to move to Nagasaki. The trade between Japan and Netherlands was more dominant than previous two Latin powers, Portuguese

and Spanish, because the Christianity brought by these Latin powers had caused more anxiety of shogunal while these missionary efforts would be destructive to the safety of the state (*Ibid.*, 11). Thus, in 1612, Tokugawa Shogun banned the propagation of Christianity. The 1616 were the end of Christian missionaries and free residence for Westerners in Japan, as well as the restriction of foreign trade in the ports of Hirado and Nagasaki. In 1624, Spaniards were completely banished from Japan and no Japanese Christian was allowed to leave the country. Portuguese were under the careful restriction and surveillance. Their ships could not stay in Nagasaki but had to come and go every year. Their contact with Japanese was limited strictly in the matter of trade and all cargoes had to be sold in fixed prices and only to officially licensed merchants from particular designed areas (*Ibid.*, 11).

On the 23rd June 1636, the Shogunate issued new instructions to the authorities at Nagasaki providing death punishment in order to ban Japanese vessel go out of Japan. Portuguese was banished. Then, the Dutch was the only Westerner who still had commercial relations with Japan. However, in the year 1631-1636, the Dutch also met the difficulties at Hirado. After the death of Shogun Ieyatsu, the Dutch requested a new arrangement of the trading to the new shogun, Hidetada, but, he did not perceive well and might change his mind or cancel it. The Dutch found their position more and more limited by various restrictions, both economically and personally. In 1637, a new law forbade any foreigner to travel in Japan and, finally, Japan announced the *sakoku* ('closed country') in 1639.

In 1639, the officer, François Caron, arrived in Hirado as the chief of factory. He led and taught the mortar techniques to Japanese. Essentially, Dutch government in Batavia disagreed with François Caron to teach the technique to the Japanese. However, François Caron thought that it would be advantageous for closer trade relationship with Japan by giving what the Japanese Empire wanted (Seiho Arima, 1964: 355).

In 1640, the inspector general Inoue Masashige came to Hirado as the representative of Shogun. He informed to *opperhoofd* François Caron about the Shogun Iemitsu's orders. The Shogun instructed to demolish all the Dutch warehouses on Hirado and they were moved to Deshima island in Nagasaki Bay in the following year. The reason of this move was because the Dutch had been associated with Christianity as Portuguese and Japan had to prevent Christian dissemination. *Opperhoofd* François Caron did not protest against the order of Shogun. Caron thought conversely that the demolition of warehouse was because of the building itself. The warehouse was strong and built from stone. The Shogun, which in this period was establishing the system of national defense, considered this building as a threat; as well as combined by powerful guns of the Dutch ships and it could become a military power (Yukutake Kazuhiro in Leonard Blussé', 2000:27).

2. The Dutch in Deshima

On the 24th July 1641, the Dutch moved their position from the trading port in Hirado to Deshima, a small peninsula in Nagasaki - the south of Japan which was such an isolated place for outsider in order to easier to be controlled. The Dutch were not allowed to leave Deshima without the permission of the Japanese authorities. Japanese were also strictly forbidden to set foot on the island. Company servants were only in touch with staff of Japanese day and night watchmen, their officers, coolies, and also prostitutes. Dozens of Japanese interpreters took care of communication, since the Dutch were not allowed to learn Japanese (Els M. Jacob, 2006:146).

Deshima literally means 'projected island'. It was built for Portuguese in some five years before the harbour of Nagasaki on the shore of Edo-machi (Grant K. Goodman, 2000:18). Nagasaki was territory under the direct control of *Bakufu* (government warrior) and *bugyo* (the Dutch called him *Gouverneur*) who appointed by Edo, as the government of the city. The *bugyo* had nominal authority over the internal administration of the city. However, his real control of local affair was strong in the *machidoshiyori* (town councilors, called *Stad-Burgemeester* or *Burgemeester* by the Dutch). He also controlled the conduct of trade by working as inspectors in the market places (Itazawa Takeo (1935) in Grant K. Goodman, 2000:18).

The rent of the Deshima island was 55 *kamme* (1 *kamme* is 8.27 pounds) of silver per year or around more than 15,000 guilders (Itazawa Takeo (1949) in Grant K. Goodman, 2000:19). The buildings were built for the residences and warehouses of the Dutch & several residences of Japanese officials such as the supervisors, the interpreters, and the guards. Additional necessary buildings were also built by the Dutch expenses. The buildings were a place for the sale of goods, two 'fireproof' warehouses, a large kitchen, a house for deputies - appointed by *bugyo* to direct and control the trade - and for the interpreters (Grant K. Goodman, 2000:20).

The number of the Dutch in Deshima was varied from year to year. Generally, the Dutch who stayed in Deshima were *opperhoofd* (captain) or *opperkoopman* (chief) - after 1640, the *Bakufu* regulated the annual rotation to prevent them having a friendship with Japanese; *onderkoopman* (vice-chief) - usually 1 man; *pakhuismeester* (warehouse guardian) - usually 1 man; *schrijver* (secretary) - usually 1 or 2 men; *oppermeester* (doctor) - 1 or 2 men; *ondermeester* (medical assistant) - 1 or 2 men; *boekhouder* (bookkeeper) - 1 or 2 men; *assistent* (assistant) - any number, also including gunners, shipwright, carpenters, and slaves (Itazawa Takeo, 1935). Essentially, the number of Western residents - the Dutch in Deshima island, was limited to eleven persons.

For these small and isolated Hollanders, the Japanese developed an overgrown bureaucracy. Some officials (Japanese) in Deshima were in Dutch financial responsibility. These officials as described by Engelbert Kaempfer

(1651-1716) - at Deshima in 1692, were (Engelbert Kaempfer, 1906: 5 gate guards (*monban*), plus their servants, whose duties are to guard the gate from Deshima to Nagasaki (also harbor guards, spies, and deputies to town officials); 6 night guards (*mawariban*) who watch for thieves, fires, or accidents, 1 chief officer (*otona*) - supported by a deputy, 5 secretaries, 15 colliers supervisors, 36 treasures, a chief Japanese official who takes care the Deshima government, the supervisor of trade, the jurisdiction over all servants and general control of the Dutch; 24 landlords of Deshima (*Deshima chonin*), who control Dutch tenants; 150 Dutch interpreters (*Oranda tsuji*), who will prevent the Dutch to learn Japanese; 17 commissioners for victualling (*kaimono tsukai*) with their families, who provide the island with the food, household goods, and prostitutes; officers of the kitchen (*daidokoro no mono*) - 3 cooks, 2 kitchen chores; and small number of personal servants and boys as messengers.

Deshima is near Nagasaki city. The island and city were connected by a stone bridge, but the high wall prevented someone to make contact outside Deshima area.

The contact and communication between the Dutch and Japanese in Deshima were very limited. Change information looked scarcely, since only particular people could communicate with the Dutch, like said before such as interpreters, staff of Japanese day and night watchmen, their officers, coolies, and prostitutes. Japanese was not allowed to come closer or enter Deshima except certain person with certain appointment and at specific time. The guards in the gate prevented the Dutch to all communication with the city of Nagasaki. They could not come and leave Deshima without official authorization which was given only on the special occasion (Grant K. Goodman, 2000:21).

Since 1609, annually, on the first day of the eight month of each year, the Dutch were required to visit the Shogun. They had to pay homage directly to Shogun and in the beginning of the new year, they had to present the gifts to Nagasaki officialdom. It was accustomed in Japan that the *daimyos* had to make pilgrimage to the capital to pay respects and make presentation to the Shogun (*Ibid.*, 25). The visit was known in Dutch as *De Hofrais naar Edo* and in Japanese as *Edo Sanpu* or *Sanrei* (*Ibid.*).

The journey became customary event. From 1790, the visit reduced to once every four years. Until 1859, there were 166 court journeys and every trip took nine days. This journey was the opportunity for the Dutch to know anything about Japan outside of vicinity Nagasaki. For Japanese, this journey could be a major factor for Japanese public to recognize the existence of the Dutch and Western world.

The present of Dutch in Hirado to Deshima such as modern ship, army and administration indirectly had attracted Japanese attention to western technology instead of European threat to Japan's authority, especially Japan's

motivation to improve (national) social, economic, and political conditions. Nevertheless, Japan kept really careful and strict in controlling all Dutch activities in Japan to prevent any circumstances from outsider.

The Shogunal Policy

The significant Shogunal policy since the Dutch remained in Japan was the *sakoku* and *Rangaku*. *Sakoku* was the reaction of the Japanese ruler to the spread of Christianity and *Rangaku* was the Western learning which was carried out by the Dutch. There is current consensus among Asian historians that even though Japan had been isolated from outside world but Tokugawa Shogunate succeeded in carrying out a state formation process in which old feudal concepts were combined with new social and political ideas, and guiding Japanese to the modern period (*kinsei*) (Leonard Blusse', 2000:13).

1. Japan and Sakoku Policy

Sakoku is represented with a variety of nuances. It translates literally as 'closed land' and the word by simply mean as 'closing country'. The *sakoku* era defined as the period of isolation. Based on Tashiro Kazui (1982:283-284), the word *sakoku* was not strictly of Japanese origin. It was used only in 1801, when a Nagasaki interpreter named Shizuki Tadao translated part of The History of Japan - by the German physician Engelbert Kaempfer (1651-1716), and called his work *Sakoku ron*. Then, *sakoku* was Shizuki's own invention, a word formed by reversing the characters for *kuni o tozasu*, an expression coming out in the translation. The usage of the *sakoku* word soon spread, and it was as the opposite of *kaikoku* (literally, 'opening the country'), which usually used by Bakumatsu intellectuals before (Itazawa Takeo, 1959:552-60).

The *sakoku* policy finally applied, preceded when Portuguese expelled from Japan. At that time, the *daimyo* or feudal lords were instructed to strictly guard the entire coastline of Japan. Essentially, the prohibition of Portuguese ships was not only a single legal measure, but also the implementation of the defensive system to prevent the foreign ships to reach Japan (Reinier H. Hesselink and Matsui Yōko in Leonard Blusse', 2000:35). For the Dutch, they still had chance to stay in Japan and it was more of trading factor than other reasons. The Dutch moved its factory (VOC) from Hirado to Nagasaki, one of cities under the direct jurisdiction of the *Bakufu*. The shift to Nagasaki was the first step of the relationship between Japan and Netherlands, or, more specifically, between the *Bakufu* and VOC. Even though, it was believed that Nagasaki was the only place where Japanese and foreigners had any contact, however it was not only Netherlands and China that had relations with Japan, but also Korea and Ryukyus had similar relations with Japan.

2. The Implementation of Rangaku System (1641-1867)

Rangaku implies extensive knowledge related to the West and the Western techniques, including the Dutch language, medicine and medical botany, astronomy and geography, military science, and human sciences (Katagiri Kazuo, 1982:1). Japanese began to study medicine in seventeenth century when medicine was not always scientific and reliable, but it was the core knowledge to study the body. The Dutch played the role of transferring the medical technique, particularly surgery as the basic medicine in the West. However, East Asian ignored it because they generally believe that surgery would damage the body which inherited by the ancestors (Marius B. Jansen, 2002:211).

Through the chief of Dutch factory, Colonel Jon Willem de Sturler (1823-1827), Japanese studied military technique and gunnery (Seiho Arima, 1964:361-362). Then, many books of gunnery and strategy were translated to Japanese for example: *Ensei kakō seisen* (A Selection of Works on Western Gunnery) translated by Namura Motoyoshi in 1841 which the original was written by Sessler in 1823 and *Sampei senjutsu sho* (Strategy of the Three Military Forces) translated by Takano Chōei, Suzuki Shunzan, and others which the original was written by Decker and Brandt in 1831. Japanese also learned the iron-casting that important for gun industry and some other useful knowledge such as electricity, chemistry, steam engine, telescope technology, mapping (geography), surgery, and soon.

The *Rangaku* started when the eighth shogun Yoshimune attempted to reconstruct the declining of *Bakufu* (A shogun's office or administration - Tokugawa Shogunate) by carrying out a reform - called "Kyoho" and by encouraging the practical learning (*jitsugaku*). The shogun Yoshimune was practically aware of the superiority of Western science and technique and he was interested and excited to introduce the Western knowledge to Japan. He actively invited talented men to come to government service and ordered his men - as scholars, such as Aoki Kon'yo (1698-1769), a Confucian scholar, and Noro Genjō (1693-1761), an herbalist, to interview the Dutch. It became the starting point of the practical learning of *Rangaku*. The achievement of scholars, besides the former study of Dutch language and the latter's translation of Dutch works on medical botany, are significant (Katagiri Kazuo, 1982:8). Furthermore, they translated the Dutch works to Japanese and took the notes from these translations for their studies.

Commonly accepted (received official permission from Shogun Yoshimune), that the interpreters¹ could study some special Dutch books for specific purpose. These interpreters acted as mediator and transferred the knowledge; then they became the scholars in their own right and had role in spreading of Western sciences. The *Bakufu* never issued a general prohibition

1 Japanese interpreters for the Dutch were known as "Orando Tsuji"

of Western books and Western language which was almost universal in Japan between 1640 and 1860. Books were prohibited in which works related to Christianity or science treaties composed by Jesuit in China (C.R. Boxer, 1950:62). Influentially, the Nagasaki interpreters became proficiency in Dutch, oral and written. They began the origin of the *Rangakusha* or amateur Dutch scholars (Dutch scholars – the Japanese who studied the Dutch and its knowledge).

The *Rangaku* activities were created by *Bakufu* and *han* (territory governed by a *daimyo* - the most powerful landholding – feudal rulers) lords with good rewards. Effectively, the scholars could translate various fields of Dutch knowledge such as medicine, medical treatment, astronomy and geography, physics, chemistry, the military science and techniques, etc. Finally, more than 200 years closed from outside world until the Meiji Restoration, Japan had already had intellectual sources and ideas.

The diffusion of knowledge in Nagasaki and Edo showed the curiosity of the increasing number of scholars, which was being aroused about foreign system, products and customs (Grant K. Goodman, 2000:49). Started by Yoshimune, the *Bakufu* adopted an official policy from Western idea. This was a part of Yoshimune's Kyoho Reform (*Kyoho no Kaikaku*). Kyoho itself was the name of year period 1716-1735. This period was the increasing prosperity of merchant class, the spread of economy, the entry of the farm village, commercial economy, and the growth of capital. However, it aroused the decreasing of holding down commodity prices. Thus, the national treasury was depleting and the controls were strengthening. This tightening control stimulated the stagnation and the decrease of rural population and the emigration of peasant to the city. These conditions were later directly threatening the stability of the system. Conversely, the era of *sakoku* and the *Rangaku* system was the part of Japanese histories that shape the development of Japan in the next of the nineteenth and twentieth century.

Rangaku and Japan (1641-1868)

1. Historiography

Rangaku is important to be noted as the new development in society and a momentum to a number of original thinkers (*Ibid.*, 44). In Goodman, Western 'scientific' study (*Rangaku*) were the principal new intellectual undertaking which appeared alongside the official orthodox Chu Hsi Neo-Confucianism which became the essential part of Tokugawa effort to indoctrinate literate sector of Japanese society (*Ibid.*, 4). Goodman tried to describe the role of *Rangaku* intellectuals, for example by translating Dutch medical and science books. Goodman observed the spread of the Western knowledge and application of *Rangaku* knowledge in private school or in Japanese society. By

investigating the intellectual history, Goodman found the problems around that could be categorized as *Rangakusha* and what was the actual effect of the research, writing and teaching that they had carried out.

Goodman (2000:2) emphasized the obstacles – both the Dutch and the Japanese – in which the limitation of Western knowledge that applied by the Dutch. The conclusion suggest that to very great extent Dutch studies in Japan were superficial phenomenon which seriously limited by the Neo-confusion philosophical commitment on the part of educated Japanese; the set down by a powerful government; by unsystematic method – information from the West entered to Japan; and by the mercantile preoccupation of the Dutch who never saw themselves as cultural mediators.

Since the *sakoku* era, Japanese obtained the European information through the Dutch that provided the Japanese for over two centuries as their ‘window on the West’. However, because of the disruptive effect of Christian mission in Japan, the *Bakufu* wanted to set specific limit on the scope of Western knowledge in Japan.

The achievement of knowledge was promoted mainly by a group of Japanese scholars who interested themselves in certain Western techniques. Even though the political power of this group was non-existent and they subjected to often oppressive atmosphere of feudalism and isolation. However, their achievements gained sufficient prominence and respect to be given the general designation ‘Dutch studies’ (*Rangaku*) (*ibid.*, 223).

Rangaku was never a ‘grassroot’ movement and did not reflect any support from below. It came from above, such as economic necessities that forced the desire to improve agricultural productions. However, Goodman observed that *Rangaku* tended valuelessness. Dutch Studies was “a kind of miscellaneous collection of practical data and techniques without cohesive structure or inner meaning.” Its limits were set early on and maintained, sometimes ruthlessly, by an accepted willingly and, indeed, voluntarily reinforced by a scholarly community which was bound to an almost universally permeating Confucian ethos (*ibid.*, 228).

The development of *Rangaku* seemed to conform to the system. They did not express the critical thinking, because of the threat of persecution and lack of interest in politics. The rigorous government supervision and intense government cooptation affected that self-supervision that also greatly weaken the potential critical thinking in *Rangaku* (*ibid.*, 229).

Goodman (*Japan and the Dutch, 1600-1853*, 2000:233) thought that the *Rangaku* in single study (such as medicine) in which it became most advanced was unable to provide an ease entry into the full modern Western science. Without the foundation in Western scientific theory the *Rangakusha* - Dutch scholars’ classified translation of a randomly chronological and relevant

collection of books from Netherlands were insufficient for an understanding of such disciplines as physics or mathematics. Therefore, *Rangaku* can by no means be called as adequate preparation for Japanese to face the Western science in the post-Perry era.

In line with Beerens (*Friends, Acquaintances, Pupils, and Patrons; Japanese Intellectual Life in the Late Eighteenth Century: A Prosopographical Approach*, 2006:276), *Rangaku* and the educational reform were less giving impact to the whole Japan's intellectual community, but it were because of the role of the intellectual that sometimes did not have support from the samurai. However, Anna Beerens emphasized the intellectual dynamism of the period that was positive and actual. Moreover, it is undeniable that the social movement took place, and intellectual activities offered opportunities to increase social mobility; opportunities to gain wealth, respect or prestige, or all, and even to completely change the path someone's life. However, it did not affect all their fields and occupations especially for the intellectuals.

Both Goodman and Beerens pointed out that *Rangaku* was less to force the creativity and initiative of *Rangakusha* since they faced and followed the conformity of feudalism. However, *Rangakusha* had a significant role since they had chance to study and translate Western books until it was socialized the knowledge to the Japanese. It showed that *Rangakusha* tried to be flexible to the condition.

Nevertheless, Goodman (2000:234) looked the attitudes which under restrictions, officially and intellectually, had still cultivated the curiosity about the West and which led to extensive development of Tokugawa. *Rangaku* was clearly attitudes which were the values of modern Japan in its quest for international equality. For the *Rangakusha*, it was assumed that the high degree of adaptability which surely facilitated Japan's rise to leadership in international, political, economic, science, and military strategic areas. It was at least in part of result the *Rangaku* product. Nevertheless, an exaggeration of the importance *Rangaku* and a misunderstanding of its true character that the variety of curios research by *Rangakusha* into limited parts of Western technology, had provided a foundation on the basis of the arising Japan's rapid modern and economic growth.

In Beerens (2006:276), in spite of existing ideologies concerning geographies mobility (migration) and 'heredity system' (comes from the same family), there is evident that making use of someone's talents for art, literature and/or learning was one of the way to improve and develop someone's conditions, both materially and socially. People used their knowledge to improve their condition and it showed in Tokugawa period. Anna Beerens underlined – as explained before, the intellectual dynamism of the period was positive and true which offered opportunities to gain social mobility, wealth, respect or prestige.

Urban character is one of the most prominent features of early modern Japan to give an illustration of castles and towns during the seventeenth century. Besides, Japanese shed their military grab in town and it became a center of manufacture, commerce and culture. Port, towns and religious center (*monzen machi*) likewise joined in the bustle of urban activity and a leading part in these developments is Kyoto, Osaka and Edo urban communities (*ibid.*, 15).

In her research, Beerens (2006:19) used prosopography method; known as 'collective biography', 'collective life histories', *quantitative personenforschung* or *biographie sérielle*; which is "the investigation of the common background characteristics of group of actors in history by means of a collective study of their life." She selected biographical data of 173 individuals and limited her studies in three metropolises, Kyoto, Osaka, or Edo. She 'encountered' individuals who had regular contact with the Japanese intellectuals between 1775 and 1800 that mentioned in their biographies and very much as they met each other. For the sources, she used sufficient published material, few unpublished sources; most material is a biographical nature. She also used monographs about individual artists and scholars, and also Chinese and Japanese texts.

Berrens (2006:275) tried to see the image of late eighteenth century intellectual life; modern scholarship may in fact have contributed to the 'factional' image of Tokugawa period intellectual life. She wrote that the commodities available in urban centers were scholarship and art both products and practices. The fact that modern scholars distinguished three main courses, the Chinese, the 'native', and the Western, in orderly fitted it. Besides, there was attractive condition that these courses also seemed to offer explanation for Japan's spectacular modernization after the development of Bakumatsu period² and the Meiji Resolution.

In this narrative, however, Goodman looked the relations between Western learning and the Japanese by looking at research, writing and teaching that were carried out by *Rangakusha*, as well as the manifestation of knowledge through study and translation of Western or Dutch books into Japanese. Beerens also described the impact of Western learning by observing the intellectual life in Tokugawa period. She looked at the networks of scholars and artists. She paid attention to the relations between Western learning and the Japanese. For example she looked at the social mobility which belonged to the *ex-Rangakusha*.

Goodman showed that, in 1811, the *Bakufu* established an official translation bureau, *Banshowagegoyo*. This bureau had role to spread *Rangaku*. Knowledge of *Rangaku* was transferred from the senior *Rangakusha*, mostly was the senior interpreters, to the junior *Rangakusha* by giving them a lecture or provided them with Western or Dutch books and its translations. For

2 Bakumatsu is the final year of Edo period and the end of Tokugawa period.

example, Otsuki Gentaku (born in 1757), was one of the greatest *Rangakusha*. He had many writings in many disciplines. Gentaku was the son of the Dutch trained physician of the Ichinoseki *han*. He studied with some earlier *Rangakushas*.

Between 1794 and 1814, Gentaku had contact with the Dutch six times at Edo for studying medicine. In 1783, Gentaku made first work about *Rangaku kaitai* (Steps to Dutch learning). It was about European language that was ever composed and printed by the Japanese and became the essential text for someone who wanted to study Dutch tongue (Grant K. Goodman, 2000:121). In 1790, Gentaku completed a translation of *Yoi shinsho*, a new book on surgery which published in 1825. In 1792, Gentaku wrote *Ran'en tekiho* (Picking Blossoms from a Field of Orchids). It was a collection of essays, translated from Western materials, official reports, and various remarks on medicine, pharmacology and natural history (*Ibid*, 125), and as well as many others of his works.

Private school, such as a school as Otsuki Gentaku's Shirando, was one of places to transfer Dutch studies. Shirando private schools had given influence by giving experience and extending their role as well as educator to the feudatories (feudalism) who sent their young samurai to study. The schools became centers of the study of botany and chemistry, military science, artillery techniques, etc (*Ibid*, 175).

Beerens (2006:18) looked that the transferring knowledge did through contact between the *Rangakusha* as the earlier scholars and the next generations. The contact was important to intellectuals in the society without university. Then, people were brought together in private academics, salons and gatherings, and network of friends and acquaintances, patrons and clients. However, Beerens emphasized the explanation more on the intellectual image, and the intellectual life rather than the impact of Western learning itself to the Japanese.

According Beerens (2006: 290), "the network sufficiently demonstrates people's aspirations to take part in cutting edge research; to tackle new (recently rediscovered) ways of dealing with texts of all kinds; to do away with the 'presumptions' and 'empty' pastimes associated with old elites; to find new artistic idioms and new way of expression, or to give new forms to old ones. It is important to realize that in the process of the 'Western', the 'Chinese', and the 'native' operated exactly the same level." It gives a description that the network tried to develop previous works and ideas which were more significant, modern, and available to improve.

Generally speaking, the *Rangaku* system had stimulated a variety of new intellectual manifestations. According to Goodman, even in under restrictions, officially and intellectually, *Rangakusha* had cultivated interest and curiosity towards the West, which had led to extensive development of Tokugawa and

it had possible contribution for Japan's future. Then, Anna Beerens underlined that the intellectual dynamism of the period was positive and real, which had gained significant social movement and intellectual activities. However, both Goodman and Beerens seem to see the role of the Dutch, the knowledge, and the *Rangakusha* as Dutch scholars. Moreover, Goodman looked more to the spread out the knowledge to the Japanese development in economic, social, and cultural, which obviously existed in the late of nineteenth century.

2. Japan (started Modernization) in the 19th Century (1800s)

Generally, the main line of Western learning, such as medical botanical and astronomical-calendrical, was to improve Japanese life toward the end of the eighteenth century. It was a great period of activity of Edo *Rangaku* (Grant K. Goodman, 2000:119). During the nineteenth century, the *Rangaku* and its usefulness were extended. This era was an era of a general expansion of Dutch studies and also the emergence of outstanding individual scholars whose encyclopedic knowledge covered several fields. Even only the small number of scholars involved in the *Rangaku* movement and also the limitation of their works, much information on medicine, pharmacology, physics, chemistry, astronomy, cartography, geography, military science, science - mathematics and surveying, and art was spread widely (*Ibid*, 119). Therefore, from early nineteenth century (1800s) Japan started to develop especially sciences, military power, and culture (art).

Actually, in almost every case Western learning in the *han* was stimulated by the presence of interest and curiosity of *daimyo*. The greater interest of those *daimyo* who sponsored Western study, intended to use this knowledge to improve and develop the conditions of two main practical directions: defense and technology. The military preparation was applied by *Bakufu* to have a soft military control and to encourage the *daimyo* enlarge their local defense. Technology was necessary, not only for military built-up, but also to find appropriate answer to economic problems, such as to develop and diversify agriculture, to develop natural resources, to set up industrial enterprise, to better health conditions, also to reclaim land. Thus, *Bakufu* had succeeded to relate the Western studies with the application as the increase of agricultural production and the building up of coastal defenses (*Ibid*, 190).

Western knowledge in science, ship, military technique and gun, had supported Japan to have a modern arm power in Asia in the twentieth century. Japanese material culture also developed. Japanese intellectual improved with their own right with more productivity and creativity, such as art and painting. Furthermore, the economic growth and the succesful agriculture system brought well Japanese standard of living when technology also helps them to gain profitable commodities for Japan. However, the growth of

military technology and economic stability (including the demand of natural resources) were other factors that lead Japan to one of imperialist countries in Asia in the late nineteenth centuries.

Since Japan opened for Western study and knowledge which were not in line with feudal Japan, Japan was ongoing on roads of modernization. Besides, the feudal system of Tokugawa period indirectly was conducive to accept the penetration of Western knowledge on political and economic realms which have led Japanese to the economic growth. Japan started its modernization by taking free of assistance or making indebt to other superior countries. The aid that Japanese had was the knowledge from Western studies. In line with Edwin O. Reischauer (1963:306) that “in the nineteenth century Japan dared not borrow very heavily, because at the time of rampant imperialism, it was dangerous to become heavily indebt to more powerful countries.”

Furthermore, the development of native Japanese culture was overshadowed by the influence of European. The stability of Tokugawa shogunate for 265 years had made him to pay off in productivity and creativity by the end of seventeenth century (Martha Chaiklin, 2003:5). Thus, population increased in-line with the agricultural productivity and created the standard of living. Important technological movements were made in handicrafts industries such as textiles and porcelains.

In 1853 and 1854 was the coming of Commodore Matthew Perry which was the first American contact to Japanese at the end of *sakoku* period. The knowledge supported Japan to do many changes after the end of Edo period (besides the treaty with Commodore Perry to open the Japanese port for trading) and the new ruler of Emperor Meiji. The change was carried out by the *Rangakusha*, the technicians and the bureaucrats. The change existed especially in social, political and economical spheres. In 1868, Japan began opening the main ports for foreign trades. Then, they created civil society and abolished the feudal institution (David S. Landes, 1999: 372). In Meiji Restoration, Japan tried to catch up with western development, especially in economic improvement. The modern economic was applied in heavy works, such as the machines and engines manufacturer, ships and locomotives, railroads, ports and shipyards (*Ibid.*, 380). Japan also hired the foreign technicians, scientist and other experts to build together Japan. On the other sides, they sent their chosen people to study in Western countries to get more significant knowledge for Japan development.

Furthermore, Japan succeeded in rapid industrialization by high technology adopted from Western countries, such as water power, electric power, stem technology, etc. The Japanese went about modernization with characteristic intensity and system – in political and economic especially (*Ibid.*, 374) by good government, nationalist people and spirit to develop. Generally, they were ready for modernization by having good quality tradition and

effective government, by their high levels of literacy, their tight family structure, their work ethic and self-discipline, their sense of national identity and inherent superiority (*Ibid.*, 375) which assisted to modernize Japan. Generally speaking, a long history of Tokugawa period and the knowledge that the Japanese obtained, had already given the readiness to Japan to set up industrialization, modernization, and join the international sphere. In the late nineteenth century, the development of Japan was also stimulated by the rise of Japan's relationships to international sphere, which it was needed to facilitate Japan's position among other influential countries.

What we can learn from this information is that even though Japan was closed and limited in access but they could take the opportunity/advantage from the presence of outsider to arouse better economic, social, political, and technological condition as well as defense strategy for national benefit with its own independency. They (Japanese societies) developed their own civilization with western knowledge and information without neglected their own dignity and culture. Thus, Japan modernized his nation as it is seen as Japanese styles/ways.

Conclusion

Curiosity to western knowledge, science, and development had encouraged Japanese to open to western studies even though in the position of being closed for every influence of ideas and countries. In 1853, Japan realized that it could not be longer to close its country, especially after the American Commodore Mathew Perry's black ship' landed in the Bay of Edo. The Far East new era started. Japan - in the preliminary open era, succeeded to adapt the new situation. Shortly, Japan formed the legal system according to the Western model; improved the military and agriculture system; introduced a national system; and gave priority to set up an export oriented national industry (Leonard Blusse', 2000:6).

Indirectly, *Rangaku* can be called as the era when Japan started their intellectual life, then, at the end became the modernity force for Japan. Through willingness, curiosity, and enthusiasm, Japan chose the Dutch as an ideal bridge and window for outside world. Through translating Western books, taking the notes for their study, learning the sciences, implementing and transferring the Western knowledge, Japan built the economic growth and cultural development. The knowledge about science and European matters encouraged Japan government to build a foundation for revolution that was taken over by *Rangakushas*, technicians and also bureaucrats. Even though in transferring the knowledge - from the Dutch to the Japanese, Japanese also had obstacles, such as conforming to the system and lacking of critical thinking of scholars. However, at least, the result of *Rangaku* created

the readiness of Japan to face the change after the coming of Mathew Perry in 1853 and opening the country (in 1867-1868) for any international relationship. Japan was successful in economic revolution by doing rapid industrialization and became the first non-western country to industrialize.

The *Rangaku* as a modernity force was real enough. It derived the development of Japan in agricultural, medical, industrial, science, arm technique, etc in the late of the nineteenth century. Then, the knowledge of many fields of studies had assisted Japan to get conducive economic and political development. Western science furthermore had forced Japan to develop a theoretical and technological scientific base. *Rangakusha* or Dutch scholars, even in any limitations, had the chance to increase their social mobility and offered the path for Japan's economic and social modernization after the end of Edo period with Tokugawa shogunate and come to the development of the Bakumatsu period (1867) and the Meiji Resolution. ●

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Formosa 1662: The Dutch Great Loss

Devi Riskianingrum

Abstrak

Penyerangan armada besar China ke Formosa di bawah pimpinan Cheng Che'ng Kung atau lebih dikenal sebagai Coxinga pada bulan Mei tahun 1661 membawa kekalahan bagi Belanda (VOC) yang akhirnya menyerah pada bulan Februari tahun 1662. Penyerangan ini mengakhiri supremasi Kongsi Dagang Hindia Belanda di pulau ini. Belanda membangun pelabuhan di Formosa pada tahun 1642 yang terbukti memberi keuntungan berkat posisi strategisnya sebagai pelabuhan transit bagi jejaring pengiriman barang di Asia. Untuk memahami berbagai faktor penyebab kekalahan Belanda, perlu diketahui alasan kedatangan Belanda ke pulau itu dan posisinya di tengah kekuatan besar di Asia Timur, khususnya Dinasti Qing Manchu, Shogun Jepang dan Admiral Cheng. Tulisan ini sebagian besar bersumberkan dari materi sekunder tentang Formosa dari berbagai topik. Tulisan ini hendak mengulas lebih dalam dan bercerita lebih detail berbagai faktor yang mengakibatkan kekalahan Belanda di Formosa dengan perspektif lebih luas, terutama menyangkut posisi Belanda di Asia Timur dan pelbagai perubahan peristiwa di daerah sekitarnya.

Katakunci: Formosa, Belanda, Coxinga, Cina.

Introduction

The attack of large Chinese Fleet under Cheng Che'ng Kung, or so called Coxinga, in Formosa on May 1661 was a long feared rumor which finally materialized. After ten months of siege, The Dutch under Governor General Coyett, surrendered to Coxinga in February 1662. The attack ended 38 years supremacy of the Dutch East India Company on the island of Formosa.

The Dutch succeeded to extend its power in East Asia by establishing a new profitable port in Formosa in 1624. Their first and foremost goal in Formosa was to develop a trading port and to obtain monopoly over the trade with China and Japan. The Dutch was then succeeded during 1630s as Formosa developed into an important transit port within intra Asian shipping network (Ho, 1997: 94-114). Later in 1640s-1650s, this settlement turned out to be one of the most profitable VOC settlements in Asia, raising revenues through inland

production and series of taxes (Andrade, 1997: 57-93). However, within two decade the flourishing settlement was suddenly plummeted in the hand of Cheng Ch'eng Kung or Coxinga. Thus this paper will explore the factors led to the Dutch loss in Formosa.

Historian Ernst Van Veen brilliantly portrayed the organization of The Dutch in governed and financed Formosa (Veen, 2003: 140-160), while Johannes Huber clearly described relation between the Company and Coxinga before the downfall of the settlement (Huber, 2003: 210-241). Furthermore Oosterhoff briefly discussed the failure of a Dutch colonial city on Formosa (Oosterhoff, 1080: 1-14). However, this paper intend to go further by analyzing more in detail the factors led to the Dutch loss in Formosa, within wider perspective concerning the position of The Dutch in East Asia and changing circumstances inland and surrounding region.

In order to comprehend factors led to the loss of Formosa from Dutch, it is important to understand the reason of their coming to Formosa and later on the position of the Company *vis-à-vis* within surrounding powers in East Asia, in this case Ching Manchu dynasty, Japanese Shogunate, and Cheng warlord. Furthermore, in connection to changing circumstances, it is necessary to trace internal affairs between Batavian and Formosan council, and external relation between Formosan Government with Chinese immigrant and indigenous people. Policies applied to Chinese immigrant and indigenous people also put into examination to define how newly established society perceived and utilized rules within its correlation to the loss of Formosa. In doing so, this study mostly uses the secondary sources material which concern about Formosa in various subjects.

The Dutch in Formosa: Unintentional Quest

Lies strategically in the southeastern coast of china and straddling in the tropic of Cancer, Formosa comprise about 394 kilometers (245 miles) long and 144 kilometers (89 miles) wide mountainous area. Little was known about Formosa until 16th century. This island was remaining just outside of Chinese ruling power although situated less than 100 miles close to the mainland of China. Halted mostly by fisherman, smugglers and pirates, there were only minor activities occurred in the island. The reason of its isolation was the amount of marketable products to attract trader visited Formosa was small. Moreover, its position was lay outside the network of Asian trade route of that time (Ho, *ibid*).

According to Stainton, the island was largely inhabited by *Malayo-Polynesian* people who originated from Polynesia, Malay Peninsula and Luzon, which by then called *aborigines*. They consist of different tribes and

practiced Neolithic culture by spirit worshipping, headhunting, and tattooing (Stainton, 1999:27-44).

The achievement of Renaissance in Europe enabled new scientific invention that helped Europeans sailed to the new world. Portuguese pioneered the voyage into the new world reaching consecutively Goa in 1507, Malacca in 1511 and China in 1513. From then on, they expanded their maritime territory by involved in commerce between South Asia, China, and Southeast Asia.

Figure 1.
Map of Luzon, Ilha Formosa, Penghu Island
and a Part of the Coast of China, 1597



Source: <http://www.gutenberg-e.org/andrade/appD.html>

Only after 1543, Portuguese by coincidence landed in Japan. In 1530 silver prices in China significantly increased because of the government required to pay taxes in silver. Thus, this caused to high demand for silver in China. Concomitantly in Japan, new silver mine were being open in 1500 and huge exploited. Furthermore, the demands for Chinese silks were large. Portuguese smart enough benefited from this consecutive event within dreadful relation between two countries by becoming middleman in these trades.¹ The main goods traded were silk and gold from Chinese for Japanese silver and copper.

¹ At that time China and Japan was not get along because of trade and piracy problem. The issue concerning their irritated relation will be explaining in following section "The Dutch and Neighboring Power in East Asia".

As Portuguese sailed to Japan in 1544, they came across to an unidentified island. Astonished by its natural beauty, the island was named after *Ilha Formosa* or Beautiful Island. Thus, the island comes to be known as Formosa. However they were less interested in occupying the island and they landed only because of shipwreck in 1582. The reason was because they satisfied with their base in Macau which has been established since 1565 (Wills, 1999: 87).²

The establishment of Macau by Portuguese and Manila by Spain in the 17th century has transformed Asian trade route involving Macau, Manila, Japan, and South East Asia. All Portuguese and Spain ships, and Chinese junks back and forth were crossing the Formosan straits, either along the coast of northward or southern region. In consequence from then on, Formosa situated in the heart of multinational East Asia trade routes (Ho, *ibid*).

The Dutch with their *Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie* or so called VOC started to participate in trade maritime on Asia water in 1602. Their aims traveled to new world were to contest Portugal and Spain monopolies in trade. Succeeded firmly establishing settlement colony in Spice Island and Batavia in 1610, the Dutch began perforate to East Asia where Portuguese scoop up attractive profit from Sino-Japanese trade. In order to break the monopoly, The Dutch itself intended to ask for trade base to China court as well as Portuguese have in Macau.

On the other hand, the Dutch also realize that they needed Chinese silk for European market as well as for their dealing with Asian countries. Hence initiating trade relation was happened to be crucial for them. In order to infringe on both Portuguese in Macau and Spain in Manila, The Dutch cooperated with British to capture all ships bound for those ports, including preventing Chinese junks to trade in Manila and Macau, under joined military forces Anglo-Dutch fleet of defense.³

Initially, The Dutch attempted several times to establish Fort but they were repudiated by the Ming. First attempt was made in 1604 under Wijbrant Van Wijk who negotiated with China authorities nearby Fukien but it was failed. In 1609, they succeeded to build fort in Hirado and this attainment yielded their anxiety to take over Macau from Portuguese. Thus, in June 1622 another endeavor was made by sending forces to attack Macau. Unfortunately, the attempt was futile because the city were well equipped with heavily-armed troops. Having been failure, the Dutch then shifted to nearby island namely

2 Initially Chinese were objected to the presence of Portuguese in Macau. Only after 1535, Chinese authority gave the right to anchor ships in Macau and performed commerce. Since then Macau flourished into eventful harbor visited by Chinese junks. By the time the policy of direct trade with Japan released in 1549, the Portuguese benefited by gaining authorization to sail and set up factory, as their reward for defeating Japanese pirates and for their rule as middleman. Officially the Portuguese instituted a stable settlement in Macau in 1565 by constructing fortification and church.

3 This was based on cooperation Treaty of Defense between Dutch and British which signed on June 17, 1619. The explanation of this subject will include in next section, "The Dutch and neighboring power in Asia."

Pescadores (or Peng-hu Island) where they built a new base and continued their effort in opening trade relation. It was fruitful action. Their presence in Pescadores exasperated the governor of Fukien who claimed the island as part of Ming territory. In consequence, the Dutch were asked to leave the island and in return they were offered not only Formosa as alternative location but also informal trade agreement between them (Andrade, *Ibid*).⁴ After sending an expedition to Formosa, they came to know that the island was no man's island which consists of tribes without single indigenous ruler. The Dutch finally left Pescadores in August 1624 and anchored in Bay of Tayouan.

The Dutch built their post on a narrow peninsula on the Southwestern coast of the island. This would allow the fortress direct access to the sea and eased to handle supplies and reinforcements from Batavia in the event of siege. On a sandbar, they built formidable stone castle called Zeelandia. The Dutch constructed a little house for livestock on Saccam area named Fort Provincia, which was located across the bay from the main Dutch fortress. From then on, they managed to settle and expand their territory.

Some historian drew a conclusion that the establishment of Dutch settlement in 1624 found out to be on velvet for the Company, as the island situated in strategic position within the network and dual-purpose as post, forts, factories, and refreshment station. Not only achieved its main aim, to establish an *entrée* port for China-Japanese trade, the company also doubled vantage to control trade activities of its enemies and its fellow junks. Accordingly, gaining control over the island of Formosa was feasibly not for its impending economy but slightly for its geographical position which allowed the Dutch intensified their sway in Asian waters, particularly in China, Japan and Southeast Asia. Thus, remained in Formosa was austere unintentional quest which later burgeoning into profitable and important link in intra-Asian trade network (Marne, 2003: 17-36).⁵

The Dutch and Neighboring Power in East Asia

Tonio Andrade has identified that the establishment of Dutch settlement in Formosa applicable to John Wills Jr.'s model (Wills Jr, 1993:83-105) suggesting that state support is a key variable in overseas colonialism during the early modern period. Based on Andrade's research there were at least two East Asia

4 The Fukien's governor agreed sending his people to trade with Dutch in Formosa and forbade his subordinate to visit Manila. Initially this agreement was advantageous for both sided, but however it was broke by both sided because The Dutch burnt ships and attacked Fukien coastal area, and Chinese sent superior forces to Pescadores. Thus The Dutch leave the island under threat of the Chinese.

5 At first economic valuable was not the reason of The Dutch stayed in Formosa due to the fact that the island lacked of its valuable commodity to be trade off in Asian Waters. However, they finally found out that they could make profit from deer skin and meat, and moreover from inland product since the land was incredibly fertile. Thus, geographical position was then became their first foundation to remain in the island in order to serve profit to the company.

neighboring power, in this case Japan shogunate and Ming dynasty, *blasé* to overseas expansion, hence left a vacuum into which Europeans could expand (Andrade, 2007). Accordingly, these endowed ways for The Dutch to occupy Formosa easily. However, Dyke's work prompted that Anglo-Dutch fleet of defense in 1620-1622 and later the absence of British in East Asia waters around that time because of financial difficulties also counted as to smoothing their presence in Formosa since there were no single competitors at all (Van Dyke, 1997: 61-81).

In earlier times, the Ming (1368-1644) also interested in sponsoring voyages, for example commodore Cheng He in early fifteenth century. However, after the death of one emperor in expedition, these activities then discouraged. Moreover, Japanese overseas ships repeatedly crooked into piracy created continuous forays that in due course brought serious problem to China. Their pillaging provoked the Ming emperor, Hung Wu, to forbid Chinese junks to go offshore (Ho, *Ibid*: 95). The private overseas commerce was prohibited and the Chinese residents of nearby island were forced to return. Thereafter, Ming Court in 1524 issued a policy to restrict foreign trade and punish people who involved on it, also minimizing region of fishing vessels.

The Ming court applied tributary⁶ restriction to Southeast and South Asia because of its financial difficulties. Japan start attached in tributary affairs with China in 1404. By this relationship, Chinese anticipated Japanese piracy through controlled commerce. On the contrary, it was difficult for Ming to administer their relation with stubborn Japanese samurai. This relation was ceased after rival collision erupted between two factions. Formally, this relation ultimately ended in 1549 that caused to the postponement of an important link in Intra-Asian Trade (Wills, *Ibid* : 88).

As overseas commerce reached its peak in 1600s, the Ming court was unable to retain its rapid wave from their territory. Moreover, restriction policy enacted by Chinese authority caused to elevate figures of smuggling and piracy activities. The island of Formosa which located outside both China and Japan territory, served as a venue for illegal trade between Chinese and Japanese merchants. Bay of Tayouan was the place where the entire activities gathered, which eventually lent its name to the whole of the island – Formosa.

To deal with these problems, The Ming court formed a law called *partial legalization of overseas commerce* in 1567 where they granted few silences for voyages, although those who received the licenses were aggrieved with distrust. By this policy, numbers of Japanese pirates that attacked Chinese ships were decline. On the contrary, the licenses holder instead of sailing to the given region, they often illegally traveled exceeded to Japan. Thus smuggling activities continued to occur (Wills, Jr., 1974: 4-8).

6 Tributary system was basis form of Ming foreign relation policy. They only admitted foreign ships which paid tribute were allowed to enter Chinese port. They initiated regulation in connection to the term of tribute and the number of ships.

Meanwhile, Japan in the 14th to the beginning of the 16th century was consisted of separated small states, where Ryuku was one that involved as agent in overseas commerce in East Asia. In a period 1467 and 1573, they captivated in civil wars, an interlude eminently as the Warring States period. In his study about *History of Japan*, Henshall described that Toyotomi Hideyoshi was succeeded to reunify Japan, and he began to involve with foreign trade and open peace relation with China. However, in 1592 after victorious invasion to Korea, he planned to invade Formosa. Thus, in perceiving the news, the Ming court reinforced its coastal military protection and regularly sending task force to Pescadores. After the death of Hideyoshi, Ieyasu took over the reign from Hideyoshi's son and established Tokugawa shogunate in 1603. Japan under Ieyasu implemented a closed policy so called *sakoku* which valid in 1630 onward. Although he decided to detach Japan from the Europeans, uniquely he permitted The Dutch starting in 1609 to have trading privileges and factory in Hirado then moved to Deshima (Toby, 1984: 35-50).⁷

Indeed, in the beginning of 17th century there were efforts to conquer Formosa by Japanese adventurers who willing to establish Japanese settlement there. The attempts were failed and before another challenge was made, it was immediately ceased after the closed policy came into effective by Tokugawa shogunate (Ho, *Ibid*:98). Thus, the mystery of no land's man continued.

In the mean time, Spain, who stationed in Manila, also grasped its attention on Formosa. Subsequently, in 1621 they sent request to their King in Spain to occupy the land, but the voyage was captured by the Dutch under Fleet of Defenses. Thus, the action delayed Formosa from being occupied by other European nations.

Fleet of Defenses were materialized after the British and The Dutch agreed to usurp Portuguese and Spain monopolies in order to create free and liberal trade in Asia. They set up united fleet consisted of five ships from each countries and this joint military forces were actively made their voyages in 1620. Based on the agreement, the Dutch should conferred one third of the spice trade to British due to compensation of the damage they had done to English East India Company. However, some VOC's official in Asia disagreed that they weakened the treaty. On the other hand, British would

⁷ Toby in his works mentioned there were two main reasons why Japan applied closed policy, first because they were realized how European equipped with superiority military defenses, and they were afraid of either by straight attack from foreign country or from betrayed local ruler who asked military aid from European. However, the application of this policy was also a response of Christianity propaganda imparted by Portuguese, which then made them expelled from Japan in 1617. Portuguese were not only trade but also spread Catholicism as one of their aim, thus they started to convert Japanese into catholic. Tokugawa saw this action as threat to their power. On the contrary they have different view about Protestantism, which they thought were less danger than that of Catholicism because it was more private and modest in conveying their faith. Furthermore Japan recognized that the Catholicism had done in creating empire in the new world. Hence, they considered Christianity as a symbol of western presence which would threaten shogunate's authority.

also dissatisfied as they considered the compensation was imbalanced to the suffered that VOC had made (Van Dyke, *Ibid* : 61-81).

By 1622 and early 1623, The English Company was facing financial difficulties that forced them to close down their factory in Pattani, Ayuthia, Pulicat, Masulipatam, and three other in Moluccas. Finally, in April 1623, as financial burden were even heavier, The English Company decided to end up their station in Japan which has been established for a decade. Henceforward, the Company also ended up the agreement by pulling their ships out from East Asia waters to English base in Batavia. The Dutch took over the position by replacing their ships with another thirteen Dutch ships to continue on guard their mission. Thereafter, the absences of the English Company allowed the Dutch to concentrate on the distribution of company resources and tightening their network and power in East Asian waters, let alone to ease their way to establish settlement in Formosa (Van Dyke, *Ibid*). Within two years of voyages in East Asian waters, Fleet of Defenses not only attained to capture either Spain or Portuguese Ships, but also succeeded to restrain the Chinese junks to Manila. This stroke led to economic weakening in the region, especially China. Therefore, they finally open direct trade with the Dutch after being pressured by the blockades.

The Dutch Administration in Formosa Settlement:

Distrust Collaboration

From 1624 onward, the Dutch settled down in Formosa, buckled to make profit as soon as possible. On the other hand, the Dutch faces few problems in the new occupied lands. The Dutch soon realized few weaknesses of the location they have chosen, such as the store building could easily washed away by floods, less spaces to build houses and buildings, and its lack of fresh water. In 1625, Marteen Sonck, the first Governor in Formosa, immediately proposed a project to governor General in Batavia to build foundations of a town on the mainland in order to strengthen their position and facilitate their fundamental requirement, such as town hall, church, and school. Soon after succeeded buying lands belong to Saccam village which located in front of their first base, they accomplished the project by using Chinese labor and invited artisan and brick-maker from Batavia. Within a year, first council meeting were completed and ready to use, as the city of Provintia ready to be flourished (Veen, *Ibid*: 71).

Making a good relationship with indigenous were important step for the Dutch to attain their food supply. Yet, they found it difficult to deal with indigenous which consists of many tribes, although they have done well with Saccam tribe where they obtained firewood, venison, and fish. The trouble with indigenous were inevitable consequences for their interference

into primordial culture. Frustrated by Mattau aboriginal attacks in 1629, the Dutch then recognized only by the use of force they can maintain order from indigenous people in Formosa (Veen, *Ibid*).

Meanwhile, there were about 25.000 Chinese who already settled in Formosa and small Japanese trader by the time the Dutch arrived. In order to finance settlement, the Dutch began to collect trade tolls from them. Chinese were easier to cooperate with, but the Dutch did faced trouble from the Japanese. They refused to pay the toll because once the Dutch promised would not interfere their trade. This caused bitter relation to both sides in Formosa. Again in 1628, a quarrel occurred between Japanese and Dutch in Formosa when they disarmed Japanese ships which anchored in Formosa. Being dissatisfied, Japanese attacked the house of newly appointed governor, Peter Nuyt, and used him as a hostage. He was released only after the Dutch fulfilled their demand to restore their trade. This tragedy endangered the Dutch-Japanese relation since Tokugawa authorities were so infuriated. They restrained the Dutch in Hirado and stopped their trade, also demanded the Dutch to leave Formosa. This action indeed made Nuyt removed from the office and recalled by Batavian Council to explain what had happened. The relation between Japan and the Dutch improved again after he was extradited to Japan to ask for apology from Tokugawa shogunate (Blussè, 2003: 95-110). The tragedy in newly established settlement had shown that maintaining trade with Japan was considered to be more important than Formosan settlement itself. It was understandable since the settlement was yet contributed profit to the Company.

In the meantime, rumor spread that Spain who intended to establish fort in Formosa, has landed on northern part of Formosa. Certainly the rumor was factual and later Spain erected Fort in Keelung area in 1626 and in Tamsui 1629. The report was immediately sent to Batavian council but it was ignored. Only in 1641 The Dutch took action after they were stronger in military and financial, and succeeded to expel them with two strikes in 1642 (Davidson, 1903: 4-36).

The Dutch trade in Formosa was greatly dependent on Chinese junks that brought Chinese goods which later to be sold again in Japan. Nevertheless, Chinese trade largely played by warlords and pirates along the coast of China. Regarded to its importance, there was no choice than using their perilous channels. Cheng Chih Lung or so called Iquan was one important figure that involved in Sino-Dutch trade activities on Formosa. He was once worked as Dutch translator, but then moved his activities into piracy. In 1627 his behavior distracted Chinese authority in Fukien province and killed the Dutch representative in Amoy. In response, they promised a reward if the Dutch helped them suppress Iquan. Countering the request, the Dutch sent four ships to attack him, but it was botched. On the contrary, he voluntarily

agreed to Chinese government's offer to defend the coast of Fukien from other pirates and in return he appointed as admiral of Fukien coast and became most prominent power in trade on South China region.

However, the quarrel between the Dutch and Iquan continued, as in 1632-1633 the Dutch arrested and forced him signed trade agreement under their term, and also burnt his ships. In contrast, he reversed by attacking Dutch ships and blockades their trade. Accordingly, once again the Dutch interests were in menace since Chinese goods were their main commodity in trading with Japan. Hence, for the sake of their main pursuit and stable supply of Chinese goods, they agreed to negotiate with him in 1635-1636. From then on, peaceful competition were formed among them and followed by appointing him to be main supplier of Chinese goods to the Dutch in Formosa. The commodities he brought were those that high in demand such silk, gold, porcelain, and sugar (Wills, *Ibid*: 88-90).⁸ For the time being, the Dutch managed to prevent abortive flaw of their new settlement.

Survived in passing difficult time in their first decade in Formosa, they managed to stabilize the settlement. It was Hans Putman (1629-1636) who succeeded to convey Formosan settlement into its break-through. The Company began to put their attention on inland industries. The richness of deer in the island and deer hunt activities were had been done long before the Dutch came, as it was part of indigenous economy. The demands for deerskin were quite high in Japan, for clothing and armor. Besides, the antler and the meat, dried and salted, were valuable as trade goods, especially in China. Hence, the deerskin activities were continued to be practiced until the Dutch arrived. Attracted by promising profit because of its large demand, the Dutch in 1630s decided to participate in activities by issuing hunting licenses, which without the licenses whosoever were forbade hunting. Let alone in 1635 the Company officially issued a decreed that all deerskin produced from the island must be sold to the Company on fixed prices (Andrade, 1997: 57-93).

Moreover, sugar was primary commodity that profiting in the Dutch-Asian trade, which actually brought in from South China to Formosa. Considering the fertile soil thus promoting possibility of becoming of producer itself, the Council, as an experiment, began opening up sugarcane plantation near Saccam. Following explicit order from J.P Coen, the Governor General of Batavia, Putman encouraged Chinese immigrant by providing them small sums of money and company cattle to plow the land. Their first experiment was a great success. Subsequently, the Company invited more Chinese to the island to cultivate the fertile lands of the western plains and followed by experimenting new crops, such as hemp and cotton. Later, indigo, tobacco, and rice hoped could also be cultivated (Strydom, *Ibid*).

⁸ Cheng Chih Lung was also played important role on the beginning of the Dutch presence in Formosa. He was a person, together with Li Tan, who promoted the Dutch to try Formosa as a base in 1622. Thus that is why Cheng Ch'eng Kung claimed Formosa as his ancestor's land when he attacked the Dutch in 1662.

In materializing these expectations, the Dutch invited as many Chinese as possible to work in agriculture with the promise that they will pay no tolls or residence taxes for the first four years and, as well, that they will be paid 'a guaranteed price of 40 pieces of eight for every last of rice produced' (*Ibid*). Encouraged by these policies, Chinese entrepreneurs built houses and farms near Saccam and brought laborers from mainland China. As a result, by early 1635 entrepreneurs were planting larger plantations. In the meantime, the company continued its subsidies, by lending money and oxen for plowing. Besides, many Chinese were eager to respond this call because of riot occurred from Ch'ing conquest on China's coastal area (Andrade, *ibid*). Hence, officials mused that Formosa would soon become "the breadbasket of the Indies" (*Ibid*).

However, the great influxes of Chinese bothered Putman, as he tried to remind Batavian council about Chinese rebellion in Manila in 1603. Thus he stressed his interest to strengthen the Dutch colony in Formosa as counterbalance of Chinese number in the island, by promoting immigration and marriage with indigenous women. In spite of in favor to this idea, the Batavian council promoted 'realistic' policy as to poll head taxes in controlling their number and could be use as endorsement of Christianity by charging half of it to converted Chinese, but bitterly refused by Putman, who decided only to poll one tenth levy on export goods (Veen, *ibid*: 151).

The investments began rewarding. The export of deerskin to Japan rose to 151,400 and in Saccam's fields produced 3,000 piculs (180,000 kg) of sugar in 1637. In the following years, as the area under cultivation increased and as rice harvests provided alternate sources of food, more and more sugarcane was milled, bleached, and exported. By the mid 1640s, the colony of Formosa was self sufficient in agriculture and was exporting rice and sugar to China and elsewhere for profit.

Different from his predecessor who disagrees on head tax, Johan Van De Burgh (1636-1640) drawn his attention to the growing number of Chinese on the island and reconsidered advice from Batavian council. Hence, in December 1639, the Council decided to start extracting tax for Chinese residents and duties on the stalking of deer, the cutting of bamboo, distilling of *arrack*, production of bricks, on fishing and oyster harvesting (Veen, *ibid*: 156). The first collection settled in August and September 1640, all the Chinese residents, except those who work on special duty for the Company, had to have a *hoofdbrief* stamped every month upon payment. The policies of licenses and taxation regulated by the Dutch gave rise to what Tonio Andrade called 'a system of co-colonialism' where both closely depended to each other and essentially the settlement was a Chinese colony under the Dutch rule (Andrade, 2007).

By the late 1640s, the trading post in Formosa enabled to contribute profit and considered as one of most profiting settlements of the Company. It was estimated that throughout the most cost-effective years, forty percent of

all income was as a result of taxation and tariff on Chinese traders, farmers, hunters, and laborer, while trade, in which once again the Chinese engaged a crucial part, yielded the other sixty percent.

For the time being, the Dutch were drawn inland further and claimed the indigenous sovereignty. The number of village occupied by the Dutch rose from 44 in 1644 to 217 in 1646, and, from 251 to 315 in period 1648 to 1650. The headmen of each village were given best clothes, personnel and offices. The Dutch assembled each headman to yearly regional councils where their disputes were reconciled, maintain the peace among them, and not attack Chinese in their village if they brought the Company's permission, as this ceremony called *Landdag*. Furthermore, the Dutch also used their skills by appointing some of the tribe to be their garrison, in order to answer their army shortage problem. On the other hand, the Dutch detached the indigenous from Chinese in order to avoid from any chance of their cooperation in attacking the Company (Wills, *Ibid*).

Indeed, feared of Sino-indigenous cooperation never exist, but the attack itself came from dissatisfied and hatred Chinese. The head tax system which enforced by using soldiers for inspection, frequently using night visit, created disturbance to Chinese settlers. Besides, they were vulnerable to exploitations and abuses by the soldiers. Contradicted to the company that reach its peak profit in 1650, the economy for Chinese settlers were in troublesome because the fall of deer meat prices, the rise of rice prices, bleak situation of the agriculture in 1651, and the Chinese influxes from the political turmoil in china. These conditions led to Chinese rebellion in September 1652 supervised by Quo Fa-Yi, a head of the settlement in Smeedorp, two miles north of Saccam. Although the rebellion could easily be overcome by the Dutch, still it was injured both trade and agriculture profit and impacted on strict regulation to Chinese settlers (Strydom, *ibid*: 26-29).

The event of rebellion happened to be correlated with the spreading rumor about the attack from China. The rumor spread as early as 1646. However, from 1652 the rumor was specified that Cheng Ch'eng Kung or Coxinga designed to conquer Formosa as a sanctuary from Ching. According to Johannes Huber's worked, there were no direct historical evidence about correlation of these two events, and the involvement of Cheng Ch'eng Kung and his regime to the rebellion. The rebellion was purely rural-farmer rebel who heavily indebted and dissatisfied to the Company. Meanwhile in around the same time, Cheng Ch'eng Kung frantically fighting the Ch'ing Authority in Fukien (Huber, 1990: 265-296).

Instead of reinforcing the garrison and strengthening the fortification, the rumors were neglected by the Batavian council. On the contrary, the Batavian council began to search the option of eluding the expenses of the establishment on Formosa by opening up trade by Dutch ships in Chinese

seaports. Inquisitively, expedition to Canton in 1652 and 1653 led to transmit of an embassy to Peking via Canton under Pieter de Goyer and Jacob de Keyser, where they were received with all the usual tributary system in the summer 1656. Nevertheless, the court was decided to begin restrict maritime trade in an effort to interrupt trade with Cheng Ch’eng Kung. Thus, there was no chance for Dutch that might be permitted to trade every year as they requested. In 1659, the Dutch soon decided that the trading condition was not promising and they returned to Formosa. Apart from that, the economic condition in Formosa relatively declined. Since 1658 only few junks were called in Tayouan, and the Formosan economy was sagging. Dreadful weather had damaged the sugar crops, let alone the sugar prices fell in China. Rice yield had improved, but no junks came from China to buy the harvests. <http://www.gutenberg-e.org/andrade/andrade11.html-note44> Only if trade endured still in Fukien, Tayouan could not expect to recuperate. Some officials believed that *“with that established colony the best has already come, and it is more likely to decline than to rise”* (Andrade, 2007). Later on, they were halfhearted sending the army to Formosa because of the expenses they would spend on unbeneficial settlement (Wills, *ibid*: 17-25). From this action showed that the Company concerned mainly about the amount of the profit they could gather from their settlement other than the settlement itself. Thus, settlement’s protection to considerably less profitable, which at that time Formosan’s heading its profit decline, was more or less ignored.

Figure 2.
Dutch East India Company Governors of Formosa 1624-1662

Name of Governor General of Formosan Council	Year of Reign
Maarten Sonck	1624-1625
Gerard Frederiksz de With	1625-1627
Pieter Nuyts,	1627-1629
Hans Putmans	1629-1636
Johan van der Burch	1636-1640
Paulus Traudenius	1640-1643
Maximiliaan Le Maire,	1643-1644
François Caron	1644-1646
Pieter Anthoniszoon Overtwater,	1646-1649
Nicolaas Verburgh,	1649-1653
Cornelis Caesar	1653-1656
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Frederik Coyett, • ((Hermanus Klenck van Odessa, 1661-62) • (Jacob Cau, 1661) 	1656-1662 (The replacement when the Dutch were under siege by Cheng Ch’eng Kung in 1661-1662).

Source: <http://www.gutenberg-e.org/andrade/appB.html#appbl1>

The Moment of Great Loss: Cheng Ch'eng Kung's Attack

As a son of Cheng Chih Lung, Cheng Ch'eng Kung or so called Coxinga also actively involved in maritime trade activities. The harmonious relationship between the Dutch and Cheng Chih Lung since 1636 lasted until the civil war broke in 1644. The war created disturbances not only in maritime trade along China region and affected the Dutch trade in Formosa, but also disrupted Dutch and Cheng relationship. As an Admiral of Fukien in Ming dynasty, Cheng Chih Lung was battling against Ch'ing power. Thus, there were hardly any contacts at that time with the Company in Formosa. From the news received by the Dutch, Cheng Chih Lung was surrendered to Ch'ing and taken to Peking. On the contrary, refused to follow his father's option, Cheng Ch'eng Kung regarded himself as Ming loyalist and battled the Ch'ing in Fukien.

Figure 3.

Cheng Chih Lung and his son, Cheng Ch'eng Kung (left) and self portrayed of Cheng Ch'eng Kung or *Coxinga* in his apex power 1658 (right).



Source: www.taiwandocuments.org/koxinga.htm

According to Huber in *Relations between Cheng Ch'eng Kung and The Netherland East India Company in the 1650s*, only in May 1650, contact with Cheng regime reestablished under Cheng Lien. In September 1650, Cheng Ch'eng Kung expropriated the Cheng Regime from his uncle, Cheng Lien, by coup and maintained a good relation with the Dutch in Formosa. There were some conflicts occurred between them but they managed to settle peacefully. Furthermore, Cheng Ch'eng Kung also requested medical treatment from the Company's doctor for him. The friendly relations were not even bothered by the 1652's rebellion in Formosa and their following massacre. Around the same time, Cheng Ch'eng Kung was parleying with the Ch'ing who attempted to mollify him with entitlement and certain regional authority. Yet, he was also fused his regime by gathering mercenaries and supplies to prepare for the forthcoming combat. This was a relative peaceful period for the Dutch, but it was not lasted long as in around 1656, Cheng Ch'eng Kung in his decree decided declaring boycott on trade with the Company in Formosa (Huber, *ibid*: 210-241).

As he reached his apex power in 1658, he attempted to capture Nanking, but it was failed and caused him lost his influence. He then felt insecure, let alone he had to seek a new place for refuge and pedestal of resistance. Since suffered from supply deprive because Ch'ing Manchu cut off his sources of supply, he was constrained to attack Formosa in 1661 and instituted headquarters there.

Figure 4. The events of the Dutch loss Formosa.



A Dutch envoy negotiate peace with
Cheng Chen-kung

Dutch surrendered to Cheng

Source: members.shaw.ca/leksu/mainp3e.htm

It was in the summer of 1660 when the Batavian finally sent 600 men on 12 ships to fortify Formosan defense force. Nonetheless, the order was to attack Macau if the hearsay of a Cheng thread came up to be groundless. As the commander saw no danger and signed of attack, they sailed away. In

contrast, on April 30, 1661, huge Cheng fleet carrying over 25.000 well-trained armies visibly off Castel Zeelandia. It was obvious Formosan fort could not barely face them as at that time its garrisoned occupied only around 1000 men. Within a few weeks Cheng's forces had taken control over the island, apart from Castel Zeelandia with very frail resistance left. Help was sent from Batavia, after a new commander who supposed to land in Formosa ran away to Japan soon after he saw the situation in Formosa, consist of ten ships and 700 men and arrived in early September 1661. After a long struggle to push the Chinese out the town, the endeavor was failed. Cheng's forces were too strong. On the other hand, the Chinese settlers in Formosa indeed supported their presence in the island. Thus, it was a dead lock for the Dutch in Formosa. Batavia could not do anything to send forces until the beginning of south Monsoon in March or April. Nevertheless, Cheng Ch'eng Kung could not wait any longer; he sent small forces inside the fort and began to make treaty. On February 1, 1662 the treaty was concluded that the Dutch were permitted to withdraw in peace, but had to leave behind company money, goods and records. Thus, the treaty ended 38 years of the Dutch administration in Formosa (Wills, *ibid*: 25-28).

Conclusion

The process of colonization in Formosa in some extend different to colonization in South East Asia. The main reason the Dutch came to Formosa was to establish *entrée* port for Sino-Japanese trade in order to break monopoly of their Iberian enemies, the Portuguese and the Spain. Furthermore, they realized that Chinese goods were important not only for their European market, but also for their South East Asian trade. Thus, it was crucial to open direct trade and established base in China, just as Portuguese did in Macau. To do so, the Dutch applied strategies and concepts that often successful in South East Asia or China. However, it was misapplication, because China was more capable in defenses and yet they were less dependent on foreign trade. Hence, the Dutch requests were rejected and they involved in war with China.

Their triumphancy in Formosa connected to the apathetic of Japanese Shogunate and Ming Authority on overseas trade. Yet, the absence of their fellow European countries, the British, eased their way to occupy the island. Inevitably, the establishment of Dutch settlement in 1624 was advantageous as its strategic position within the network for dual-purpose as post, forts, factories, and refreshment station. Not only to achieve its main aim and to establish an *entrée* port for China-Japanese trade, the company also doubled vantage to control trade activities of its enemies and its fellow junks. Accordingly, gaining control over the island of Formosa was feasibly not for its impending economy but slightly for its geographical position which

allowed the Dutch to intensify their sway in Asian waters, particularly in China, Japan and Southeast Asia.

The Company's basic orientation was toward the use of force to obtain and enforce monopolies. Even in terms of general policy, the Formosan council mismanaged things for their first ten years that they made enemies for themselves and aggravated the general disorder, as disputes occurred with Japanese and Cheng Chih Lung. Furthermore, in the upcoming decade, their policies toward taxation, mainly head tax that used night visits by the soldiers, exposed harassment among vulnerable Chinese settlers. In consequence, it created hatred and dissatisfaction. As the tension grew, rebellion considered to become best solutions for distressed Chinese, which took place on September 1652 under one Chinese headman, Quo Fa-Yi. The ease with which the rebellion was suppressed, led to over confidence in the mastery of the Dutch soldiers that would in the end be fatal to Dutch rule over Formosa. Although there was no indication of Cheng Ch'eng Kung intervention on the rebellion, eventually the effect of its strict policy after rebellion, shaped Chinese settlers to be ready to give him allegiance and help him throw off the Dutch regime as soon as Cheng turned his attention on Formosa.

On the other hand, the way the Batavian council underestimated the spreading rumor was a miscalculation step, particularly by the time the rumor was materialized. The help was on their way to attack Portuguese in Macau, due to troubles among the officers. However, their action of searching other trade options in Chinese seaports illustrated distances and lack of communications among council that led to miscommunication. Nevertheless, it was understandable movement since they were under consortium of a trading company, which their first and foremost goal was profit. Hence, no matter the Formosan settlement was bagging revenues to the Company's balance sheet, but since it was heading its decline at that time, the Company should try other alternative means in acquiring profit.

Finally, it was the attack of Cheng Ch'eng Kung in 1661 that ended up 38 years reign of the Dutch in Formosa. Brought about over 25,000 men and heavily armed ships with him, the Dutch were at that time equipped only with 1000 men. It seemed that these were not able competing power with their enemy. Thus, these factors intertwined apparently to each other that contributed to the loss of Formosa from the Dutch. ●

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Trend Issues on Indonesian Labor Migration in the Netherlands

Gusnelly

Abstrak

Tulisan ini dalah tentang migrasi internasional yang dilakukan oleh orang Indonesia ke Belanda. Sejarah dari migrasi warga Indonesia itu sendiri sudah terjadi sejak puluhan tahun yang lalu. Catatan sejarah menunjukkan bahwa di era tahun 1950-an ada arus migrasi orang Maluku ke Belanda. Pada tahun 1958 terjadi migrasi para ekspatriat Belanda karena adanya peristiwa nasionalisasi perusahaan milik kolonial Belanda dan bersama kepulauan warga Belanda itu mereka membawa serta istri-istrinya yang sebagian adalah warga negara Indonesia. Untuk kasus ini disebut juga migrasi karena adanya perkawinan. Pada masa sekarang, dimulai sejak akhir tahun 1990-an, arus masuk orang Indonesia untuk berbagai macam motif makin banyak terlihat. Migrasi karena mendapatkan sekolah lalu memutuskan bekerja dan menetap di Belanda. Mereka dalam kategori ini bekerja sebagai tenaga kerja terampil dan terdidik (*skilled workers*). Migrasi yang lain adalah dalam bentuk kunjungan keluarga dan akhirnya orang tersebut memutuskan tinggal di Belanda. Pada kasus ini, hampir sebagian besar dari mereka bekerja di sektor pekerjaan informal atau *unskilled workers*. Mereka yang bekerja sebagai tenaga kerja *unskilled workers* jarang memiliki dokumen lengkap atau dilekatkan pada mereka istilah *undocumented migrant*. Dari beberapa tipe migrasi yang tampak, tulisan ini menceritakan bagaimana proses migrasi itu berlangsung dan seperti apa pola-pola migrasi yang muncul dari aktifitas migrasi orang Indonesia di Belanda. Dengan adanya orang Indonesia yang menjadi *undocumented migrant* di Belanda, perlu juga diinformasikan bagaimana mereka bertahan tinggal di Belanda dengan status tidak resminya itu. Data dari tulisan ini diperoleh dari hasil penelitian melalui hasil wawancara dengan beberapa orang Indonesia yang bekerja di Belanda. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif, pengumpulan data lapangan dilakukan di Amsterdam, Leiden and Utrecht, Belanda pada tahun 2010 dan 2011.

Kata kunci: migrasi, pekerja migran, pekerja terampil, pekerja tidak terampil, pekerja tak terdokumentasi.

Introduction

Globalization becomes the password of the world economy in the last decade. Migration has been an important part of the transition process in Europe,

including the Netherlands, one of homes for the migrants. The growth of industry in some European countries in 1950s including the Netherlands, invited migrants to come to the Netherlands and get a better job. Basically, the push pull factor theory is the most famous theory to analyse on migration. Unbalance and unstable political, security and economic condition in one place or country are the main reason of people to migrate in a better place or country, including to the Netherlands.

The Netherlands is a small country with many migrants. Since the beginning of 1960s, the Netherlands has changed from emigration country to immigration country (Zorlu & Hartog 2002, 119). Since then, except in 1967, Netherlands has actually been a country for immigrants; but the Dutch never admits it (Vermuelen & Penninx 2000, 5). The prosperity which increased significantly and a decreased concomitant with the emigration invited immigrations at the same time. The migrants after the World War II can be divided into three main categories: *first*, immigrants from colonial countries; *second*, those who were recruited for jobs that did not require expertise (known as visiting-workers); and the last, refugees and political asylum seekers. For the recent years, developed countries have applied immigration policy and facilitate unskilled immigrants to skilled immigrants (PSDR, 2012: 2)

The immigrants are commonly from ex-Dutch colonies like Suriname and Indonesia. In 1970s, there were two big migration waves from Suriname to the Netherlands occupying big cities such as Rotterdam and The Hague. Their occupations were mostly illegal working as contract-based laborers and after the contract was finished, they returned to their native country. Moreover, after Suriname got its independence in the middle 1970s, the Dutch government gave freedom to Surinamese people to choose their citizenship, and then the second migration wave happened. Their status were legal and they were provided housing by the Dutch government (Gusnelly, 2005).

Since the beginning 1950s, most Indonesian who came to Netherlands was dominated by Mollucans. In 1958 many Indonesians came to Netherlands, because they rejected the nationalization process in Indonesia. The last one, in 1965 more Indonesians migrated to the Netherlands because of Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) revolution flared in 30 September 1965 and the event was called G30S/PKI in Indonesia. They were students who sent to the Netherlands and to other countries by Soekarno but they did not allowed to come back to Indonesia, because they were suspected to involve in the prohibited Indonesian Party in Indonesia.¹ Until now, they still live there and set up organizations that care for Indonesia (Gusnelly, 2005: 82; Amersvoort, 1982). After European Union unification, countries' borders become affiliated, border areas become more crowded and illegal migrants flood to receiver

1 Interview with Mr. Mintardjo 30 May 2005, Leiden, The Netherlands.

countries. The Dutch actually requires immigrants as an effort to solve the problems of the declining population growth. After that, globalization has opened up opportunities for people across the world to migrate, including Indonesian people. They take advantage of this opportunity to improve their quality of life. This opportunity applies not only for skilled workers but also unskilled workers in the Netherlands. In the long run, migration of skilled labor could be a solution to the economic problem for their family in Indonesia.

The article will be specified on Indonesian migrant workers in the Netherlands. The article also explored the opportunity for Indonesian labors in the Netherlands. The objective of this article is to explore the Indonesian skilled and unskilled labors, particularly on their characteristics and its' competitiveness in the Netherlands. This article emphasizes Indonesian immigrant conditions in the Netherlands which is comprised of many ethnics; local ethnics as the local people and the newcomers as the new groups in the society.

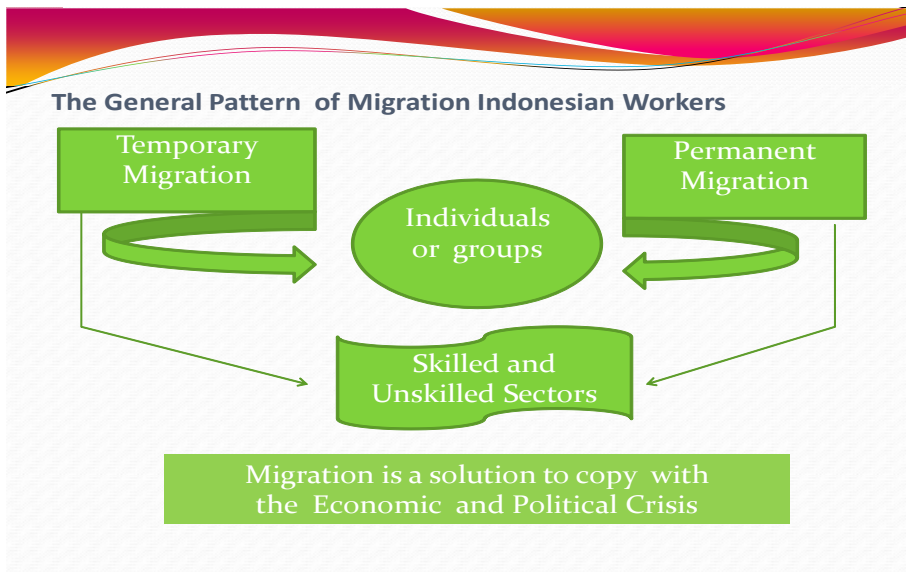
The methodology conducted in this research is qualitative approach and we analyze with descriptive analytic method. Data were collected from two sources: literatures and the field work. The later is used to get secondary data and the studies that have been carried on migration in the Netherlands. Field research is conducted by doing in-depth-interview to the expert on International migration, the Dutch government, and the Indonesian migrants. This research is going to be held in the Netherlands, located in Leiden, Amsterdam, Utrecht and The Hague.

The Motivation and General Pattern of Migration

In migration theory, a migrant is a free individual who has autonomy in making their own decision and is also a rational creature who makes a decision based on profit and loss and what is best for oneself; thus, a decision for migration is always said to be a rational choice (Darwin Muhajir, Anna Marie Wattie, 2005: 248). For migrant workers, the current global situation can be very profitable, especially for skilled labors. They can win the chance to work anywhere, no longer bound by territorial borders of nation-states, the important promises a good career with high wages. The impact of the migration decision is that the money sent back to family in the home country becomes foreign exchange for the origin country. Migrant will keep money for the future saving as much as possible in the destination country. If they return to their country they will open small businesses.

The migration and employment-seeking abroad phenomena have happened since 1990s decades, including for individuals from Indonesia. Many people have interested in seeking work abroad and have been exposed.

Cross-border migration must be seen as a demographic phenomenon. It is because a migration is a movement of an individual to settle (temporarily or permanently) across a country border. The movement is happening because there are negative and positive factors; when those factors are considered, then, a decision for migration is taken. Usually, the negative factor is related to unfavorable economic problems in the origin country and to see a great advantage in other places. Several factors have considered to be the push factors (origin countries) such as, *first*; limited for job opportunity and inability of government to accommodate workers that have pushed people to find their solution, *second*; a low education background, workers work in informal sectors to overseas, *third*; network relation with relatives in destination country and *fourth*; big opportunity to get better jobs and education in destination countries especially in developed countries.



Migration activity can be done by individuals or groups, and permanent or contemporary migration (temporary). The pattern of permanent migration is often done by those who already have kinship, family and couples in the country of destination. For the mix-marriage descendants (Indo children's) will be easier to come to the Netherlands. The migration motivation or the type of their migration is *family reunification*. The people movements from one to another country stay there permanently. The momentum of family reunion and the decision of these migrants to stay permanently become more obvious. After that, they began to invite the other members of family or friends to join them and they offer opportunities to get job with the social welfare service that they will get.

A study done by Ritchey (1976 cited from De Jong and Gardner (1981) mentioned that the relate kinship and friendship affiliation to migration would be possible to push human mobility or migration. The presence of relatives and friends in an individual's community of residence tends to constraint migration. Kinship and affiliation can help individual to adapt and be potential for adjustment through the availability of aid in relocation at an alternative place of residence. After that, the information about destination countries from family and friends encourages migrants, particularly job opportunities at the destination countries. The transnational networks has significantly helped the workers to find jobs overseas (Kotarumalos; 2012).

Highly-skilled migration is the type of migration currently most popular with receiving country governments. Highly-skilled migration is the type of temporary migration. Since the 1980s, Western European and some East Asian countries have set up privileged entry systems to attract entrepreneurs, executives, scientists, professionals and technical specialists (Findlay, 1995). Historically, temporary work elsewhere was a way to acquire a capital stake. Temporary work abroad can also be a means of knowledge's technology transfer to drive development in the housing countries (Kuznetsov, 2006; 28 - 29). However, for the next period, especially at the end of 1990s, the demand and recruitment of migrant laborers were done selectively in a line with migration wave to European area. In fact, migration flow could not be stopped despite the changes in various policies issued by the government.

Particularly for Indonesian, the increasing wealth is one of factors that some people take the opportunity to continue their studies abroad by using their own money. The more students studying abroad, the more likely they will be skilled migrants at a later stage. They also may act as the channels for colleagues and friends at home country to get jobs. After 3 years working in Netherlands with work permit, then, one usually can acquire permanent residency permit automatically. The foreign worker will also be free to get any jobs and does not need any work permit which is sponsored by the company. But, most of them still have a willingness to return to Indonesia and to work in their own country. The decision to stay for a long time for most Indonesians working in the Netherlands is usually related to get successful and complete their career also build up capital. For the skilled workers and students, who received some education abroad, they also get a job to build up a capital stake in order to make a new career when they return home. They return home and starting a small business, such as a shop, café, or small boarding house in Indonesia. The characteristic Indonesian skilled worker in the Netherlands, see in table 1. The table illustrates the main characteristics of young professional workers in the Netherlands. Young males generally have the courage to decide to work and stay for a long time abroad. The difficulty is that only a select few of Indonesians are admitted to Dutch institutes or

other leading universities in the world. Thus, only the middle class can enter the European labor market, especially for the work group of *skilled labor*.

Table 1. Characteristics of Indonesian Skilled Workers in the Netherlands

No	Job	Sex	Education	Age	Status	Parents' occupations
1	Nurse	Female	Nursing Diploma	35 years	Married	Civil Servant
2	Junior tax analyst (Finance)	Male	Hogeschools Amsterdam	25 years	Not married	Private
3	IT programming	Male	Undergraduate in Computing in Indonesia	26 years	Not married	Lecturer
4	Database System, Data Warehouse and Business Intelligence	Male	Graduate in Computer Science, Bina Nusantara University	37 years	Married	Junior High School teacher
5	Junior engineer (Civil engineer majoring in mechanical geology and geohydrology)	Male	Dutch Undergraduate (S1)	25 years	Not married	Civil Servant
6	Civil Engineer	Male	Indonesian Undergraduate (S1)	24 years	Not married	Businessman

Source: processed data

Temporary migration for skilled workers (professional workers) who entered to the Netherlands is nurses. Starting in 1970s, the demand to fill the nursing manpower shortage would have been undertaken by the Dutch Government. This situation continued until the late 1990s when some employment agencies took the initiative to recruit nurses from outside the Netherlands, such as from Indonesia and the Philippines. The profession of Indonesian nurses is very profitable because in reality Indonesian nurses are preferred by patients. Indonesian nurses are well-known for their friendliness, politeness and patience in taking care of patients. When the work visa or training period ends, many of them decide not to go back to Indonesia. A similar story with student, the Nurses are less willing to work in Indonesia due to the concern that the work facility and salary will not be as good as in Holland. Even when there is a willingness to return to Indonesia, they will be back after obtaining further education in the Netherlands or after retirement.

The Prospect of Indonesian Skilled Workers

Migrants in the Netherlands enjoyed a fast development and a better economic level. But it changes from time to time, meaning that sometimes their position is up but sometimes it is down. This reality is happening in the Netherlands nowadays. Economic crisis has the impact to the Dutch government because it is in a transition time. According to the Dutch Economic Affairs Ministry, approximately 26,000 foreign nationals currently work in the Netherlands under the highly-skilled migrant's scheme.² More than 100 foreign companies opened Amsterdam offices last year, and 18 of them were built for their new European headquarters. The new companies created 1,255 new jobs, and brought to more than 1,900, the total number of international companies in the city. International companies employ nearly 17 percent of Amsterdam's total workforce.³ It is no wonder as the Dutch government as well as the European Union prioritize their citizens first and after that they can recruit foreign workers. Although it seems difficult, the Dutch government has untightened their regulation to recruit foreign workers into more fast track admission process for the companies to hire foreign workers (Kotarumalos, 2012).

A study by Kotarumalos (2011) also mentioned about the quality of the migrant must be able to show their competency in their fields. Many of the informants, Indonesian migrants have a great potential to work in the Netherlands as told by these informants:

Talking about quality, Indonesian workers are competitive as well compared to other foreign workers. The sad thing is that Indonesians often feel insecure with themselves. So when they are right, they are afraid to talk or express their opinion. Whereas here, we are educated to express our ideas so our boss will know that we understand the issue and know how to solve it (interview with Ha).

The opportunities of Indonesian nurses to work in foreign countries are very big, and it can be seen by the offers of various countries to Indonesia. However, if Indonesia is not able to fulfill those demands, there will be replaced by nurses from other developing countries who have better capabilities as compared to the Indonesian nurses. These challenges particularly come from other developing countries of whom nurses are using English as their national language or as their second language. However, the profession of Indonesian nurses is very profitable in Holland because in reality Indonesian nurses are preferred by patients. Indonesian nurses are well-known for their friendliness, politeness and patience in taking care of patients.

2 DutchNews.nl, see in the <http://www.nfia.com/nieuws.html?id=664> accessed 21/01/2011

3 The 2009 newcomer companies have home offices in North America, Asia or elsewhere in Europe. Most of the new companies are technology firms, but creative enterprises and business service units are also well-represented. Source Radio Netherlands Worldwide and Dutch News see in <http://www.nfia.com/nieuws.html?id=664>

The major shortage of health workers has been an issue in the Netherlands since the end of 1990s, particularly to nursing and caretaking personnel (see table 2; it is the largest professional group in the health sector). The table showed about the proportion employed in the health sector. Dutch Government need more professional workers in health sector like nurse to taking care older people in the country.

Table 2: Persons employed in the health sector per professional group

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Medical Professions	35,788	36,864	38,064	38,615	38,837
Paramedical Professions	36,912	38,128	38,862	39,334	39,746
Nursing and Caretaking Professions	387,824	399,498	414,179	423,428	426,695
Assisting Professions	41,418	44,315	46,701	48,915	51,662
Total	501,942	518,805	537,806	550,292	556,940

¹ Estimate based on trend.

Source: www.azwinfo.nl cited from European Migration Network, 2006: 11

Inputs for the Indonesian Government to the labour demand of nurses are, the activity or training for quality improvement and create sustainability of nurses as well as consistency to the development of international class of nursing schools (academy and health polytechnic for the nurses), sister school system and some additional courses for preparation of nurses for foreign countries. The development of global education markets is momentum for the more developed countries to offer training and programs for students from developing countries such as Indonesia.

The Phenomenon of Indonesian Undocumented Workers

Since the unification of UE, the trend of the international migration have been taken by immigrant workers from countries of the former Soviet Union or the CEECs (Central and Eastern European Countries) such as Andorra, Armenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonian and Polish. In 1999, the Netherlands received 130.600 immigrants from the CEECs. EU immigration policy for the countries of the former Soviet Union is rather different from the immigration deal in the past. The European policy on free movement of people has caused an important distinction between two sorts of migrants though: citizens of the

European Union who settle in another Member State and people from non-Member States who want to enter a state that is a member of the European Union, the so-called 'third-country nationals' (TCN's) (Jansen, Milan, 2003; 102). Whereas entering to a Member State of the European Union by a third-country national depends on a large extent on national immigration law. The migration within the territory of the European Union by EU citizens is regulated by EU legislation and is only to a very small degree controlled by national states. The free movement only counts for Member State nationals and traditionally, TCN's are officially excluded from these rights and are still a matter of national immigration policy (John Salt, 2001). Migration for foreign workers or professional workers are expected to enter the professional field, due to meet the demands of the World Trade Organizations General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS).

European Government policy regarding to the freedom of people moving in European region, makes a problem for immigration contexts. The control of new borders will be omitted after a longer transition period. With this rule, the countries joined in European Union can still prepare many things that may be useful to handle problems appearing from the upcoming free migration, and people will be easy to cross borders without legal document because the closeness of one country's border to another.

For the Dutch government, the issue is not new illegally. Since the guest workers from Mediterranean countries come to fill labor gaps in the Netherlands in the 1960s, the phenomenon of illegal workers was already there. Current period, the phenomenon of illegal labor will continue. However, they are illegal or undocumented work but they are needed to fill jobs in the domestic sector. Commonly, they first come to the Netherlands legally with a tourist visa, aided by private agents or the individual departs.⁴

However, those who work as unskilled workers in the informal sector related to domestic services, such as gardener or servant in Dutch people house. It is difficult to track the statistics of how many workers, because they report to the embassy only to request for passport renewal and only a few mentions their occupation in the Netherlands. The Embassy reported that about 3 million Indonesian people exist in this sector. They don't have complete document (undocumented). The mechanism to enter to Holland is through agent, kinship (family or friends) and study or short training. Their visas are tourism's visa or member's of shipboard technicians. For those who got married to a Dutch citizen (mix-marriage) and stay for 5 years, they will get a permanent resident status. However, they will become undocumented status when they divorce before 5 years stay in Holland, except they return to home country.

4 See in the <http://internasional.kompas.com/read/2010/04/13/10473453/Derita.Pekerja.legal.Indonesia.di.Belanda>, diakses 18 Februari 2011

Those undocumented workers work in informal sectors, for example as a gardener. The salary for 3 hours work is around 40 Euro. The salary is the minimum standard salary in the Netherlands which ranges from €12-€15/hour and for a year work the minimum salary for manual labor is €29.000 per year or €1.560 per month after tax. Mostly, they work for 3-5 hours in a day and they are not bound to an official work contract and without tax. It seems that this factor is risky or harmful for their illegal status; still, their labor is needed in the Netherlands. They get orders from their friends or colleagues.⁵

Rotterdam, and Amsterdam are big and business city in the Netherlands. Those cities equipped with modern infrastructure and become a job seeker destination. These cities are the biggest port in the Netherlands, densely populated cities and many migrants. Undocumented workers stay for long time (2-4 years) in colleague's house, family, friends (not only Indonesian people but their friends are also from Suriname, Philippines and India) or Indonesian people in Holland. Even though they are illegal, the Dutch police do not feel bothered by Indonesians. If an Indonesian is caught, the person will be imprisoned from 2 weeks to 2 months; after that, the person will be released on condition that the person agrees not to commit crime in the Netherlands.⁶

A close regard to the issue of undocumented workers (migrants), the exercise of power over their people is not able to address its power in the Netherlands. Even the duty to perform control and protection for its citizens is not able to run. State simply understands it as a series of strategies, programs, engineering tools, documents and procedures embodied in the form of pseudo-power (Philpott, 2003). In fact, in this country the Embassy is not the authorities for citizens who were captured in the Netherlands. Role of the State in this case only if the illegal immigrant issues SPLP expired passport. The task of taking care of the return process is handed over to the International Organization of Migration (IOM). The return process is also spent many months and all expenses budget guaranteed by IOM.

Although the road to the entrance to the Holland is strict, it creates a new job for many job offers or unscrupulous agents to commit fraud, but every year, the number of illegal labor workers still grows a lot. At least the information from several respondents indicated that one always ask for a job to those who have already lived in the Netherlands. This is obvious that this will not be profitable to the political relations between Indonesia and the Netherlands. The Indonesian government can only create new cooperation agreements in employment, for instance the cooperation of health service demand in the 1990's back then. Emotional relations between Indonesia and

5 Interview with Sri Maryati and Nina on May, 13, 2011 in The Hague. Interview with Noor Hayati, on May, 16, 2011 in Rotterdam.

6 Interview with Syafei, on May 15, 2010 in Amsterdam Amstel, Netherlands

the Netherlands could be used as the power to ask for special favour from the Dutch government in a form of job opportunities that are less interested by the Dutch society. Some 4800 of them will be captured in the year of 2012. Even the minister of immigration facilitated the police to do it on the streets. Criterion of 'criminal involvement' becomes blurred. Will the government of Indonesia help those who were undocumented?

Closing Remarks

In the global situation, there are successful Indonesian migrant workers in foreign countries. In general, people come to foreign countries, especially to developed countries, to seek jobs and get a higher salary comparing to a smaller salary in their own countries. Labor migration needs to be integrated into the country's program for economic modernization and global competitiveness. They are skilled labors who successfully capture the globalization as a prospect for the development of their professional careers. However, their numbers are less than the biggest composition of Indonesian migrant workers which is categorized as unskilled labors. In addition, the Indonesian government can set up a cooperation with the Dutch government, particularly on the placement of Indonesian nurses in the Netherlands through International House Training Program (IHTP). If the cooperation between government is not possible, there is still other ways to enable sending the Indonesian nurses to the Netherlands. Particularly, the cooperation between the Dutch private companies and the Indonesian private companies is more possible. This role can be played by the Indonesian embassy in the Netherlands and looking for chances and opportunities to sending the Indonesian nurses, as this is another way to reduce unemployment skilled workers in Indonesia. ●

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Prospek Regionalisme Timur-Tengah Pasca-Arab Spring: Telaah terhadap Identitas Kolektif Liga Arab

Ziyad Falahi

Abstract

Several large demonstrations have taken place all over the world in recent years, especially arab spring is a revolutionary wave of protests, and wars occurring in the middle east that. Therefore, this paper try to elaborate the prospect of regionalism in Middle-east after Arab Spring occured. Some academicians believed that the dramatical transition of political regime in middle east can be enable a more deeper integration of arab league than before. But along to the history, the integration of Arab league always restraint because of the absence of collective identity. Indeed, one of the most important thing to determine regionalism is collective identity. Collective identity can't be easily constructed when the member still have a misperception among the others. On the other hand, the transformation of global economics push the appearance of south south cooperation. This condition could be push a economic cooperation among arab league members as a first step in institutionalization process.

Keyword: *Collective Identity, Arab league, Arab Spring, Regionalism, and South-South Cooperation.*

Pendahuluan

Berbicara mengenai prospek integrasi regionalisme timur tengah senantiasa dihadapkan pada perdebatan antara pihak yang optimis dan pesimis. Negara Timur-Tengah hingga kini masih disibukkan dengan problem keamanan dan kedaulatan yang tidak kunjung tuntas dan semakin kompleks dengan kehadiran para aktor eksternal. Turbulensi konflik dalam kawasan ini secara tidak langsung menghambat kerjasama ekonomi. Implikasinya wilayah Timur-Tengah belum tertular oleh maraknya gejala *free trade area* (FTA) dan pasar bersama di berbagai wilayah lain seperti ASEAN, Uni Eropa, Mercosur, NAFTA, dan lain-lain, sekalipun minyak merupakan komoditas yang sangat potensial, sehingga wajar jika organisasi regional yang masih eksis dalam wilayah timur hanyalah Liga Arab dengan segala problematiknya.

Liga Arab menjadi contoh regionalisme di wilayah Timur-Tengah yang menarik untuk disimak lebih lanjut seiring perubahan peta politik tahun 2011. Perpolitikan Timur-Tengah dihiasi oleh serangkaian pergantian rezim

yang terjadi dalam tempo yang cepat. Beberapa nama besar seperti Husni Mubarak, Muammar Qadhafi, dan Ben Ali yang tersohor karena langgengnya kekuasaan mereka akhirnya tidak kuasa membendung gelora kudeta dari rakyatnya. Tentu pergolakan besar tersebut memancing para akademisi untuk mengelaborasi kemungkinan-kemungkinan yang terjadi dalam Liga Arab yang tidak bisa menolak keterlibatannya dalam serangkaian krisis tersebut.

Kaum yang optimis memandang jika pergantian rezim kontemporer melalui gerakan revolusi bertajuk *Arab Spring* yang dimulai 18 Desember 2010 sebagai prospek yang baik bagi pembentukan regionalisme Timur-Tengah. Hal tersebut karena transisi pemerintahan dari otoriter ke demokrasi akan membuat sikap negara-negara Arab untuk lebih moderat. Sebaliknya, pihak yang pesimis mengasumsikan pergantian rezim menjadi pertanda buruk, karena ketidakstabilan politik tidak akan normal dalam tempo waktu yang singkat, sehingga akan mengganggu intensitas kerjasama yang terjadi. Instabilitas yang semakin diperumit oleh munculnya negara-negara lainya yang turut mengintervensi. Menelaah regionalisasi di kawasan ini menjadi lebih menarik saat kita menyimak bahwa fenomena pergantian rezim politik yang masif terjadi di beberapa negara Timur-Tengah. Diantara dualisme perdebatan tersebut, tulisan ini hendak mengelaborasi kembali pertanyaan tentang apakah pergolakan pergantian rezim yang terjadi akhir-akhir ini dapat mendorong regionalisme Liga Arab ke arah yang lebih terintegrasi atau malah justru sebaliknya?.

Guna terciptanya koherensi gagasan dalam penulisan, maka sistematika secara umum akan dibagi dalam tujuh pembahasan. Bagian pertama merupakan pendahuluan yang berisikan latar belakang masalah, rumusan masalah, dan sistematika penulisan. Bagian kedua lebih pada suatu tinjauan teoritik yang melihat bagaimana identitas memainkan peranan krusial dalam proses intergrasi kawasan. Bagian ketiga merupakan analisa dalam melihat sejarah kerjasama regional dalam Liga Arab dan bagaimana faktor identitas berperan didalamnya. Bagian keempat melihat bagaimana prospek kerjasama ekonomi antar-anggota Liga Arab. Pembahasan kelima akan meninjau implikasi *people power* dan kemungkinan alternatif terhadap perkembangan sistem ekonomi dunia yang terjadi. Bagian keenam akan mengelaborasi kemungkinan kerjasama selatan-selatan dalam proses integrasi Liga Arab. Sedangkan Bab terakhir merupakan kesimpulan.

Analisis Identitas Kolektif dalam Regionalisme:

Sebuah Tinjauan Teoritik

Model integrasi kawasan pada hakikatnya dapat diklasifikasikan menjadi dua model, yakni berbentuk intergovernmentalisme atau supranasionalisme (Hurrel 2008: 56-90). Dalam konsep intergovernmentalisme, negara-negara yang bergabung tidaklah diperuntukkan untuk mendirikan supra-kedaulatan

yang membawahi negara anggotanya. Dalam konsep supranasionalisme terjadi proses integrasi yang lebih dalam yang secara gradual akan membentuk rezim yang lebih tinggi, di mana para negara anggota secara sukarela tunduk pada entitas yang lebih tinggi. Dengan kata lain konsep intergovernmentalisme bernuansa neorealis, sedangkan supranasionalisme lebih ke arah paradigma neoliberal. Seperti kita ketahui paradigma realis dalam hubungan internasional menyikapi regionalisme sebagai suatu kerjasama yang rapuh karena setiap negara memiliki kepentingan nasional yang berbeda-beda. Sebaliknya, kaum liberal berkeyakinan bahwa kondisi global kontemporer tidak memungkinkan suatu negara untuk mengatasi problem sendiri, sehingga regionalisme telah menjadi kebutuhan yang tidak bisa dielakkan (Nye dan Keohane 2005: 23-36).

Namun satu aspek yang acapkali dilupakan kaum neoliberal dan neorealis dalam pembentukan supranasionalisme ialah kesadaran identitas regional (*regional identity awareness*). Alexander Wendt (2007) mewakili kaum konstruktivis mencoba melihat gagalnya suatu institusi regional karena setiap anggota masih diliputi oleh dilema keamanan. Wendt (1987: 78-90) mengasumsikan adanya dua fase dalam melihat proses terintegrasinya sebuah institusi regional, yakni *vertikal linkage* dan *horizontal linkage*. Sebelum berekspansi secara horizontal, baik perluasan bidang maupun perluasan keanggotaan, setiap institusi regional harus terlebih dahulu menanamkan benih-benih persatuan dalam internal mereka secara vertikal. Identitas menjadi kajian analisis yang penting karena persepsi atas diri (*self*) dan liyan (*others*) memungkinkan menghambat proses pendalaman vertikal (*vertikal linkage*) (Wendt, 1987). Analisis tersebut dapat menjelaskan mengapa ASEAN yang telah berhasil berkecambah secara horizontal dalam ARF ternyata masih menyisakan problem pendalaman vertikal.

Dalam ranah studi hubungan internasional (HI), analisa identitas nasional dan budaya sebagai salah satu faktor yang mempengaruhi kesadaran identitas regional (*regional identity awareness*) hingga kini belum menemukan ruang pembahasan serius. Nilai-nilai kultural selama ini cenderung menjadi kajian yang terpinggirkan dalam trayektori teori HI, terutama pada era Perang Dingin yang disebabkan lantaran begitu kuatnya pendekatan sistemik neorealis dan *complex interdependence* ala liberal. Regionalisme acapkali dipandang sebagai dampak dari perubahan sistem internasional yang membuat negara tidak lagi *self centric*. Sebelum pendekatan sistemik, pendekatan *rational choice* negara-bangsa mendominasi pijakan analisis untuk menggambarkan perilaku egosentris negara, sehingga regionalisme belum sepenuhnya dikaji pada masa tersebut.

Pemikiran mengenai identitas baru mulai berkembang pasca-Perang Dingin yang menjadi awal kemunculan pemikiran konstruktivisme. Tinjauan teori mengenai identitas ala konstruktivisme sesungguhnya diadopsi dari

disiplin ilmu sosiologi, yaitu adalah teori tentang konstruksi sosial. Teori konstruksi sosial memediasi antara pendekatan agen dan struktur yang acapkali parsial dalam menganalisa fenomena sosial. Dengan kata lain, Anthony Giddens (2003, 1984: 88) menyebutnya sebagai dualitas agen-struktur. Kata dualitas di sini mengandaikan bahwa perilaku agen secara historis turut mengkonstitusi norma-norma yang kemudian menjadi struktur non-material. Kaum konstruktivis tidak mengabaikan eksistensi struktur, namun menyatakan bahwa struktur tidak lagi bersifat mengekang, melainkan memungkinkan adanya transformasi identitas secara diskontinuitas. Dalam tinjauan teori regionalisme, Uni Eropa dengan segala problematikanya hingga sekarang masih menjadi model terbaik dan diasumsikan sudah mapan untuk membentuk regionalisme (Onuf, 2007).

Identitas kolektif bukanlah sesuatu yang tetap, melainkan senantiasa berproses mengikuti perkembangan. Identitas menurut Alexander Wendt (1999: 78) merupakan pemahaman mengenai peran dari diri sendiri dan harapan-harapan yang ditujukan kepada diri sendiri. Wendt juga berpendapat bahwa identitas memberikan gambaran mengenai motivasi dan perilaku dari suatu aktor. Identitas nasional sering dikaitkan dengan pertanyaan "siapa kita?", "apa yang kita lakukan?", dan "siapa mereka?". Identitas nasional dibentuk melalui proses antagonisme antara "kita" dan "mereka". Kesamaan nilai-nilai dalam suatu masyarakat akan membedakannya dengan masyarakat lainnya, dan dengan itu membentuk identitas nasional dari suatu bangsa. Identitas nasional akan muncul dari perasaan adanya nasib yang sama dan masa depan yang sama. Identitas nasional ini seringkali muncul sebagai faktor penting ketika sebuah negara-bangsa mengalami perubahan sistem secara drastis. Di saat terjadi perubahan besar inilah, pertanyaan-pertanyaan mengenai "siapa kita?" dan "apa yang kita lakukan?".

Namun perlu ditekankan bahwa negara dengan kultur yang koheren belum tentu memiliki koherensi identitas. Bahkan beberapa negara yang relatif koheren secara budaya justru acapkali lebih memilih berkompetisi ketimbang kerjasama. Liga Arab sendiri merupakan basis kultur sekte Islam-Sunni yang mana hingga kini masih dihadapkan pada problem segregasi identitas. Contoh lain dapat disaksikan melalui bagaimana perseteruan dua etnis melayu antara Indonesia dan Malaysia dan bagaimana konflik yang langgeng antara Korea Utara dan Korea Selatan yang seolah menihilkan aspek kultural. Realitas ini menunjukkan mengenai perlunya membedakan antara nilai kultural dan identitas dengan lebih menganalisa ulang problem kesejarahan hubungan antar negara secara partikular, sebagai aspek yang mengkonstitusi identitas (Neack, 2007: 45).

Sejarah Regionalisme Timur-Tengah:

Problem Ambivalensi Identitas dalam Liga Arab

Tujuan dibentuknya Liga Arab sejak tahun 1945 sesungguhnya sangat berkaitan dengan kerjasama di bidang ekonomi. Namun dalam implementasinya variabel-variabel politik memainkan peranan krusial dalam dinamika Liga Arab selanjutnya. Kita dapat melihat bagaimana Krisis Suez tahun 1967 dan perang Yom Kippur tahun 1973 menunjukkan bagaimana sengketa politik dalam wilayah Timur-Tengah sangat mempengaruhi konstelasi ekonomi politik internasional seiring naiknya harga minyak dunia atau fakta di mana Mesir yang diberhentikan dari keanggotaan Liga Arab tahun 1979 karena menandatangani perjanjian damai dengan Israel. Oleh karena itulah adalah sangat parsial bagi kita jika hendak menganalisa prospek regionalisme kawasan Timur-Tengah hanya dari sudut pandang analisa ekonomi semata (Kohlberg, 1999 : 89).

Oleh karena itulah, konsep regionalisme yang presisi untuk meninjau Liga Arab bukanlah regionalisme atas dasar geografis semata, tetapi lebih pada faktor kultural dan identitas. Oleh karena itulah teori integrasi dengan sudut pandang geografis seperti yang diungkapkan teori regionalisme kontemporer sejatinya sulit diaplikasikan untuk menganalisa kasus Liga Arab. Hal tersebut karena Liga Arab tidak hanya dianggotai oleh negara yang berasal dari satu kawasan benua saja. Kompleksitas yang semakin bertambah seiring dengan masuknya beberapa negara Afrika Utara seperti Djibouti dan Komoro membuat konsepsi Liga Arab lebih bernuansa kultural. Analisa identitas juga sekiranya dapat menjelaskan alasan tidak masuknya Iran dalam Liga Arab yang sesungguhnya banyak dilatarbelakangi oleh ketidakcocokkan etnis Persia dan ideologi syiahnya. Dalam konteks Liga Arab, intergovernmentalisme adalah konsep yang sesuai mengingat proses pembentukan aturan bersama yang dihambat oleh kepentingan nasional masing-masing negara anggota.

Ambivalensi identitas regional sesungguhnya merupakan turunan dari problem domestik wilayah Timur-Tengah yang acapkali dihadapkan pada problem mengenai *nation building* dan *state building*. Pasca-kolonial menjadi langkah awal yang membuat negara-negara Arab mayoritas menghadapi problematika *state building* dan *nation building*. Pembagian wilayah penjajahan atas dasar *Syces-Pycot Agreement* yang dilakukan tahun 1930-an tidak memperhatikan adanya perbedaan kultural yang ada, sehingga wajar jika dalam suatu negara yang multi etnis seperti halnya Lebanon, Irak, dan Yordania acapkali mengalami problem konflik sektarian yang melibatkan Sunni-Syiah-Kurdi. Liga Arab hingga sekarang hanya beranggotakan negara-negara berpaham Sunni, sehingga Liga Arab senantiasa akan terhambat dalam mencapai konsensus ketika beberapa negara anggotanya yang meskipun

berpemerintah Sunni, tapi memiliki basis Syiah yang banyak seperti halnya Lebanon dan Irak (Lippmann, 1999).

Kentalnya nuansa sentimen kultural inilah yang menyebabkan masalah politik seolah menjadi dominan dalam Liga Arab ketimbang ekonomi. Semangat kerjasama ekonomi yang melandasi raja Mesir Al-Faruk mendirikan Liga Arab pada tahun 1945 sesungguhnya kurang didasari atas pertimbangan sentimen ideologis tersebut. Sepanjang sejarahnya dilema keamanan begitu dapat dirasakan di wilayah Timur-Tengah sebagai sebuah wilayah yang diwarnai oleh wacana konflik dan peperangan. Belum lagi baku tembak yang terjadi di belahan negara tertentu menjadi ancaman bagi kedaulatan negara Timur-Tengah lainnya, semisal manifesto Gamal Abdul Nasser yang memicu perang besar Yom Kippur tahun 1973 yang melibatkan hampir seluruh negara di Timur-Tengah. Kita juga bisa melihat perang yang tak kunjung usai antara Israel-Palestina yang secara tidak langsung berdampak bagi para negara tetangga seperti Lebanon, Yordania, dan Syria. Belum lagi pertentangan antar sekte keagamaan semakin membuat rumit konstelasi politik internasional di Timur-Tengah.

Untuk semakin memperkuat analisis mengenai identitas dan pengaruhnya terhadap regionalisme Timur-Tengah, Liga Arab perlu untuk dikomparasi dengan GCC. Dari sini terlihat jika Liga Arab sesungguhnya memiliki tingkat kompleksitas budaya yang lebih ketimbang kerjasama dengan Teluk (GCC). Jika didasarkan apada analisa identitas, kerjasama negara teluk dengan adanya kultur yang relatif koheren dengan spirit Islam sunni, terbukti lebih mudah dalam terinstitusionalisasi (<http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,,15011390,00.html>, 3 September 2012). Bukti kontemporer dapat kita lihat ketika para pemimpin Dewan Kerjasama Negara-Negara Teluk (GCC) sepakat terhadap pakta penyatuan mata uang. Kesepakatan itu diputuskan dalam pertemuan dua hari yang berlangsung 14 desember 2009 di Kuwait yang dipimpin oleh Raja Abdullah dari Saudi Arabia. Para gubernur bank negara-negara Teluk segera menjadwalkan pembentukan bank sentral GCC untuk mengeluarkan mata uang bersama. Lebih lanjut pada tahun 2010 didirikanlah Dewan Moneter GCC yang berada di bawah naungan bank sentral. Beberapa negara seperti Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar, dan Saudi Arabia telah menandatangani dan meratifikasi pakta ini, sementara dua anggota GCC, Oman dan Uni Emirat Arab hingga kini masih belum memberikan kepastian (www.voanews.com, 20 juni 2012).

Tidak berhenti pada masalah perekonomian, bahkan GCC secara lebih terinstitusionalisasi sanggup untuk mengintervensi kedaulatan anggotanya. Sebagai contoh, para menteri luar negeri dari enam negara Dewan Kerjasama Teluk (GCC) yang mensponsori kesepakatan bertemu di Riyadh untuk membahas krisis Yaman pada April 2011. Kelompok menteri ini mengatakan pentingnya mengirim Sekjen GCC, Abdel Latif al-Zayyani, kembali ke

Yaman dan berharap untuk menghapus semua rintangan yang menghalangi kesepakatan akhir dengan presiden Yaman terkait pengunduran diri. Perjanjian ini diharapkan dapat memudahkan Presiden Yaman Ali Abdullah Saleh mundur dari jabatan, setelah pemimpin yang telah lama berkuasa menolak menandatangani perjanjian, bahkan lantaran kurang stabilnya perpolitikan Yaman, membuat rencana keanggotaan Yaman di GCC tahun 2015 semakin sulit terealisasi. Terlepas dari segala problematikanya, GCC terbukti lebih solid ketimbang Liga Arab dikarenakan tidak ada permasalahan kultural.

Setelah meninjau ulang sejarah regionalisme Liga Arab, menjadi wajar kiranya jika teori David Mittrany mengenai *spillover* menjadi kurang relevan. Kerjasama ekonomi yang diasumsikan menjadi pintu masuk *spillover* dalam integrasi nyatanya masih terpinggirkan oleh masalah keamanan. Tidak dapat dipungkiri, stagnasi dalam upaya pencarian identitas merupakan salah satu alasan mengapa regionalisme Timur-Tengah menjadi kurang terintegrasi, meskipun secara komoditas cenderung komplemen.

Prospek Kerjasama Ekonomi sebagai Determinan Regionalisasi Liga Arab

Tahun 2011 menjadi tahun yang bersejarah bagi sebagian besar negara di kawasan timur-tengah. Dalam waktu yang tidak berselang lama setelah Zine Al-Abidine Ben Ali di Tunisia mundur pada 14 Januari, rakyat Mesir yang selama lebih dari tiga dekade berada di bawah rezim Husni Mubarak berhasil melakukan kudeta pada 11 Februari. Berselang beberapa minggu tepatnya pada awal April, presiden Yaman Ali Abdullah menyatakan kesediaannya untuk menyerahkan kepemimpinannya. Begitu pula dengan proses kudeta terhadap presiden Muammar Qadhafi di Libya yang mengarah pada hasil serupa.

Memandang beberapa pergantian rezim, maka Liga Arab melakukan beberapa upaya untuk mengkonsolidasikan kembali antara kepentingan regional yang tidak bisa dilepaskan dari faktor eksternal. Kasus Libya membuat Liga Arab kali ini tidak berdiam diri sebagaimana yang pernah dilakukannya terhadap Perang Teluk. Liga Arab kali ini mengambil posisi moderat dalam partisipasinya terhadap kasus Libya. Pada satu sisi Liga Arab menyatakan dukungan terhadap penggulingan Muammar Qadhafi yang diasumsikan tidak terlegitimasi. Liga Arab bahkan secara serentak melakukan larangan zona udara di wilayah Libya. Akan tetapi, di sisi lain, Liga Arab sangat mengecam aksi militer yang dilakukan NATO untuk menintervensi kedaulatan Lybia. Tewasnya Qadhafi juga mempengaruhi dalam banyak hal perkembangan Liga Arab lantaran Qadhafi merupakan tokoh Liga Arab (www.bbc.co.uk, 4 september 2012).

Respon Liga Arab terhadap pergantian rezim negara anggotanya ternyata masih bersifat normatif dan tidak menunjukkan intervensi yang kuat. Terlebih lagi, soliditas integrasi Liga Arab kembali diuji saat diskursus bulan Mei 2011 mulai menyoroti pidato Barack Obama. Secara mengejutkan, Obama mendorong agar perbatasan Palestina dikembalikan sebelum perjanjian 1967. Presiden Palestina Mahmoud Abbas bahkan menekankan bahwa Liga Arab harus mengadakan konferensi sebagai respon atas kejadian ini, apalagi dengan tekanan negara-negara lain agar Palestina diakui kemerdekaannya tak ayal isu politik Palestina menjadikan menarik untuk menduga manuver apa yang akan dilakukan Liga Arab di bawah mandat Al-Araby mantan menlu Mesir yang baru terpilih menjadi sekjen di bulan Mei ini menggantikan Amir Moussa.

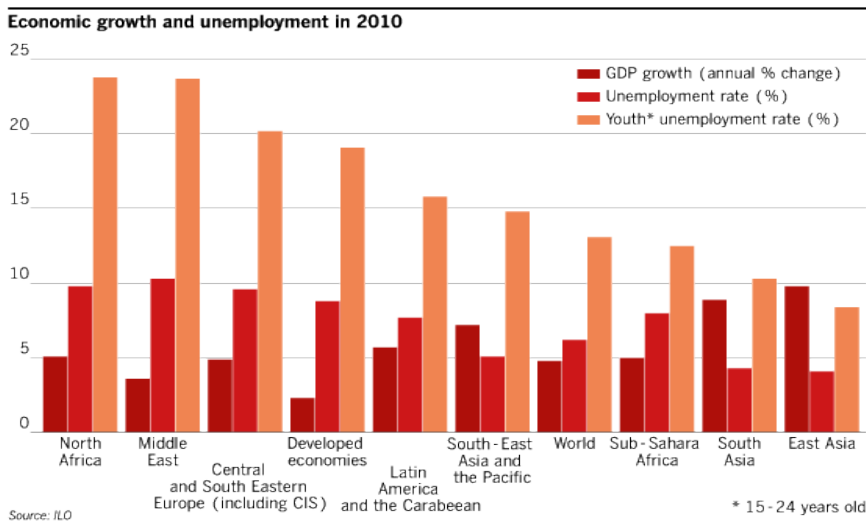
Ada argumentasi yang menyatakan bahwa adanya kesamaan komoditas, yakni minyak menjadi alasan sulitnya Liga Arab untuk terintegrasi secara vertikal. Jika dikembalikan ke asumsi David Mittrany, maka memang salah satu prasyarat terintegrasinya wilayah adalah komoditas yang berbeda namun saling melengkapi sebagaimana Uni Eropa dan AFTA. Namun dalam konteks Timur-Tengah, Kerjasama negara Teluk (GCC) menunjukkan bahwa kesamaan komoditas minyak antara keenam anggotanya justru dapat menghasilkan integrasi yang sangat mapan. Sementara itu, Liga Arab yang sumber daya alamnya seharusnya komplemen antar anggota hingga kini belum menemukan pakem integrasi sebagaimana GCC. Padahal jika dijabarkan, komoditas perekonomian antara negara Liga Arab sesungguhnya bervariasi dan sangat memungkinkan untuk komplemen ketimbang GCC. Seperti diketahui, negara anggota Liga Arab terutama di kawasan Teluk memiliki sumber daya alam yang amat besar diantaranya minyak dan gas alam. Beberapa negara anggota Liga Arab memiliki tanah yang subur, terutama di bagian Sudan. Beberapa kawasan, seperti daerah Mesir, Lebanon, Tunisia, dan Yordania juga merupakan negara anggota Liga Arab yang memiliki kawasan industri.

Selama ini, KTT Liga Arab sekalipun didesain untuk membawa isu ekonomi, namun acapkali lebih berpretensi membahas ranah politik. Faktanya kental dalam nuansa KTT ekonomi pertama Liga Arab di Kuwait tahun 2009 yang ternyata dihangatkan dengan isu akan dikeluarkannya konsensus untuk membela Palestina dalam kasus Gaza. KTT ekonomi pertama Liga Arab yang dihadiri oleh 22 negara Arab yang diselenggarakan di Doha pada 16 Januari 2009 tersebut lebih membahas penyerangan Zionis Israel terhadap Gaza dan hanya sedikit membahas krisis moneter dunia, serta beberapa masalah ekonomi, sosial, dan keuangan. KTT tersebut lebih dimaksudkan untuk mengefektifkan keputusan-keputusan yang telah diambil oleh para pemimpin Arab dan negara Islam pada KTT Darurat Gaza sebelumnya. (www.iannnews.com, 4 September 2012). Hanya satu saja KTT yang secara murni membahas

tentang ekonomi ialah KTT ekonomi Liga Arab tanggal 19 Januari 2011. Hasil pertemuan menyepakati untuk mengumpulkan dana sekitar US\$2 miliar untuk membantu usaha kelas menengah dan kecil di wilayah Timur-Tengah dan Afrika Utara. Usaha kelas menengah menjadi isu ekonomi yang penting karena pengangguran di negara Afrika Utara dan Timur-Tengah merupakan yang tertinggi di dunia seperti yang ditampilkan pada tabel berikut.

Tabel 1.1.

Perbandingan antara Pertumbuhan Ekonomi dan Pengangguran Tahun 2010.



Sumber: International Labour Organization, 2010.

Problem mengenai Tabel 1.1 sudah seharusnya menjadi refleksi negara-negara Timur-Tengah untuk terkonsentrasi memperbaiki ketimbang bersikeras mempertahankan sentimen etnisitas. Di antara negara-negara Arab sendiri kerjasama ekonomi yang paling terkait dengan masalah pengangguran sebagaimana yang disebutkan pada tabel 1.1 tersebut ialah pembentukan *Islamic Development Bank*. Sebelumnya, Liga Arab juga mendirikan lembaga bantuan, yaitu *Arab Economic League* untuk membantu negara anggotanya yang sangat membutuhkan seperti Sudan. Sedangkan dalam bidang pendidikan, Liga Arab berperan besar dalam menyusun kurikulum sekolah negara-negara Arab, melestarikan dokumen-dokumen dan hasil kebudayaan kuno, dan menerapkan teknologi modern dalam berbagai bidang dan menciptakan persatuan telekomunikasi regional.

Sentimen kultural itu membuat Liga Arab hingga kini masih tebang pilih dengan tidak memasukkan Iran atas dasar Syiah. Sentimen Syiah merupakan

alasan kultural yang lebih argumentatif ketimbang faktor etnis Persia. Jika persia yang dianggap bukan termasuk Liga Arab, faktanya Komoro dan Djibouti dapat menjadi anggota. Dalam studi hubungan internasional, selama ini kajian mengenai ketegangan negara-negara Arab dan Iran seringkali dikaji dalam paradigma yang lebih melihat faktor politik tingkat tinggi. Seiring dengan perkembangan, kajian yang semula pinggiran, yaitu identitas, menjadi penting sebagai analisa lebih lanjut.

Peminggiran Iran dalam konteks kerjasama ekonomi merupakan paradoks, lantaran Iran di masa Ahmadinnejad berulang kali mengeluarkan proposal pembentukan pasar bersama (*common market*). Pada tahun 2010, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, Presiden Iran mengikuti Sidang KTT Dewan Kerja Sama Teluk Persia di Doha. Dalam pidatonya, Ahmadinejad menyampaikan proposal terkait kerja sama kolektif sekaligus menyampaikan ide dibentuknya pasar bersama. Penolakan tersebut lebih karena permasalahan identitas kultural, padahal *common market* tersebut secara perhitungan ekonomis akan sangat mendorong pertumbuhan masing-masing negara anggota Liga Arab. Bahkan Perkembangan terbaru melaporkan bahwa Arab Saudi telah mencapai kesepakatan dengan Amerika Serikat senilai enam puluh miliar dollar dalam pembelian senjata. Bahkan pembelian senjata tersebut mencatat nominal yang terbesar dalam sejarah kedua negara dan salah satu transaksi senjata terbesar di dunia. Disinyalir pembelian senjata tersebut adalah sebagai respon Saudi terhadap nuklir Iran.

Transformasi Sistem Ekonomi Global dan *People Power* di Timur-Tengah

Joseph Stiglitz (2008) menggambarkan tatanan perekonomian dunia kontemporer pasca-krisis global 2008 sebagai "*freefall*". Setelah neoliberalisme dengan prinsip kebebasannya selama lebih dari tiga puluh tahun menghiasi struktur internasional dan selalu bisa bangkit sekalipun acapkali ditimpa krisis, maka Stiglitz (2008) meyakini jikalau hantaman keras krisis 2008 telah mengakhiri era neoliberalisme. Selain itu, Robert Jackson dan George Sorensen (2008: 34) menekankan bahwa perekonomian global kontemporer sedang memasuki era ekse neoliberalisme pasca terjadinya krisis 2008. Dikatakan sebagai sebuah ekse karena periode ini ditandai oleh kecenderungan mulai pudarnya kepercayaan publik terhadap mekanisme pasar.

Kejatuhan neoliberal diperkuat oleh fakta ketika AS yang dalam sejarahnya paling lantang menyuarakan anti intervensi negara, ternyata malah mengeluarkan *baillout* untuk memperbaiki perekonomiannya pasca-krisis. Sebaliknya, negara-negara kini mulai melirik Cina sebagai contoh kesuksesan, padahal kebijakan ekonomi Cina yang banyak mengandalkan campur tangan negara merupakan model yang kontradiktif dengan asumsi

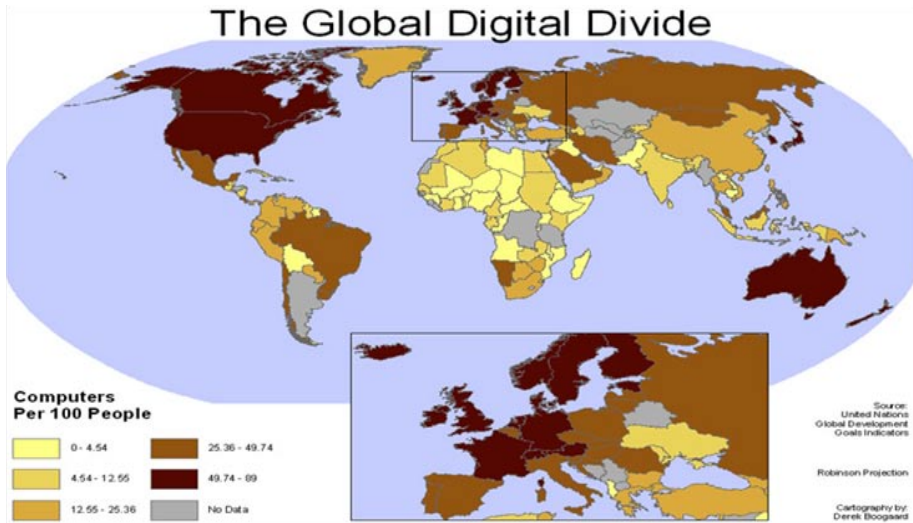
neoliberal yang tertuang dalam konsensus Washington. Dalam keyakinan kritikus neoliberal, kondisi global pasca krisis 2008 membuat institusi regional lebih terbuka (*inclusive*), sehingga diharapkan sentimen-sentimen kultural tidak lagi menjadi halangan. Ada secercah harapan bagi Liga Arab untuk mulai memanfaatkan struktur global yang sedang bertransformasi Pasca krisis 2008.

Kekuatan rakyat (*people power*) di Timur-Tengah menjadi contoh kasus yang menunjukkan adanya aspirasi dari masyarakat untuk merubah sistem ekonomi pasar bebas tersebut. Namun yang menjadi problem adalah negara yang diharapkan mampu menjadi institusi dalam mengatur pasar bebas ternyata seingkali tidak stabil. Sepanjang sejarahnya, Timur-Tengah menjadi bukti adanya hubungan MNC yang intensif bersinergi dengan kekuasaan otoriter, sehingga banyak yang pesimis sistem neoliberalisme sebagai rezim bisa diakhiri melalui *people power*. Gerakan sosial tersebut justru dibutuhkan demi metamorfosa kapitalisme seiring dengan adanya rencana investasi asing ke wilayah Timur-Tengah. Keterkaitan antara neoliberal dan gerakan sosial tersebut berdampak pada proses demokrasi dan *good governance*. Pemikiran neoliberal memberikan preskripsi mengenai urgensi munculnya institusi demokratis di mana masyarakat secara aktif dilibatkan dalam artikulasi pemerintahan, sehingga wajar jika Bank Dunia dan IMF acapkali membiayai proyek demokratisasi dan *good governance* sekalipun mendapat pertentangan yang keras di Timur-Tengah.

Pandangan liberal berkeyakinan bahwa intensitas *people power* muncul karena didorong oleh kemajuan informasi dan media, sehingga muncul sebuah pertanyaan besar terutama jika dibandingkan dengan kasus Timur-Tengah. Terdapat sebuah anomali karena Timur-Tengah dengan kemajuan informasi yang masih belum berkembang justru masif dalam melakukan gerakan sosial. Sebaliknya, negara-negara Asia Timur dengan perkembangan informasi yang lebih masif, namun ternyata kurang intensif terjadinya gerakan sosial. Bahkan Cina dengan tingkat perkembangan informasi tertinggi di Asia malah menjadi contoh sebaliknya di mana perkembangan informasi yang pesat tak kuasa mengurangi dominasi negara yang luar biasa dalam merepresi gerakan sosial. Dengan kata lain, isu kesenjangan teknologi (*digital divide*) dan demokrasi yang dikemukakan tidak sepenuhnya tepat.

Gambar 1.1.

Tabel Perbandingan Perkembangan Informasi antar Negara



Sumber: Internet World Stats, 2010

Sudah menjadi pemberitaan umum bahwa tahun 2011 adalah tahun keemasan gerakan sosial. Tidak terhitung banyak sekali gerakan sosial yang terjadi di penjuru dunia pada tahun 2011, mulai yang paling fenomenal, yakni *Arab Spring* di Timur-Tengah yang berhasil mengukudeta rezim otoriter di negaranya, kemudian dilanjutkan dengan gerakan sosial berbasis perekonomian global di mana diwarnai dengan kemunculan gerakan bernama *occupy* sebagai respon atas kondisi paska krisis 2008. Gerakan *occupy* merupakan gerakan transnasional yang terjadi di banyak negara yang terpengaruh oleh gerakan *occupy Wall Street* di New York.

Namun gerakan rakyat yang fenomenal mengiringi tahun 2011 bisa jadi menjadi sebuah paradoks. Sebuah gerakan yang mengatasnamakan perlawanan terhadap neoliberalisme, namun menggunakan instrumen neoliberalisme, yakni media massa dan informasi. Gerakan *occupy* menjadi sangat bergantung pada sektor informasi karena tidak adanya basis ide transenden yang jelas dimiliki. Implikasinya, banyak gerakan yang dinilai hanya sekedar ikut-ikutan, bahkan dalam perkembangannya *occupy* malah semakin memperluas agendanya, sehingga kurang fokus pada isu kesejahteraan. Setelah itu muncullah sebuah wacana yang perlu dipikirkan kembali dalam fenomena gerakan *occupy* tahun 2011. Siapakah yang sesungguhnya resisten: gerakan *occupy* yang resisten terhadap neoliberal, ataukah sebaliknya, neoliberal yang resisten terhadap *occupy*.

Probabilitas Kerjasama Selatan-Selatan sebagai Pendorong Regionalisme Timur-Tengah

Konstelasi ekonomi politik Internasional kembali dimarakkan oleh kebangkitan kerjasama Selatan-Selatan. Fakta tersebut didukung oleh munculnya kekuatan perekonomian baru, yakni Brazil, Russia, India, dan China (BRIC), sehingga membuka kembali wacana mengenai perlunya menghidupkan kembali kerjasama selatan-selatan (*south-south cooperation*). Sebagaimana pernyataan Ernesto Laclau dan Chantall Moufee yang menunjuk beberapa negara Amerika Selatan seperti Venezuela dan Bolivia yang diasumsikan berhasil mengembalikan lagi semangat kerjasama selatan yang sempat terbengkalai. Dalam skala regional, refleksi kerjasama ini dicontohkan oleh kehadiran Mercosur di Amerika latin, dan ASEAN. Akan tetapi, nyatanya kerjasama Selatan-Selatan kontemporer lebih inklusif dalam mengimplementasikan diplomasi resistensinya, tidak seperti halnya kerjasama Selatan-Selatan yang menutup diri dari dialognya terhadap Utara. Model resistensi dalam kerjasama Selatan-Selatan terbukti setengah hati karena ternyata masih mengharapkan ada kesepakatan dengan negara Utara untuk dapat memberi stimulus. Oleh karena itulah, kerjasama Selatan-Selatan sangat didorong oleh logika interdependensi yang tentu berbalik dengan logika dependensi yang senantiasa dipakai negara Amerika Latin tahun 1960-1970-an. Kerjasama selatan-selatan sangat mengedepankan sektor industrilisasi dan investasi, padahal dalam alam pikir dependensia sebagaimana Andre Gunder Frank sebutkan, industrilisasi dan investasi asing akan senantiasa menyerap sumber daya alam negara Selatan.

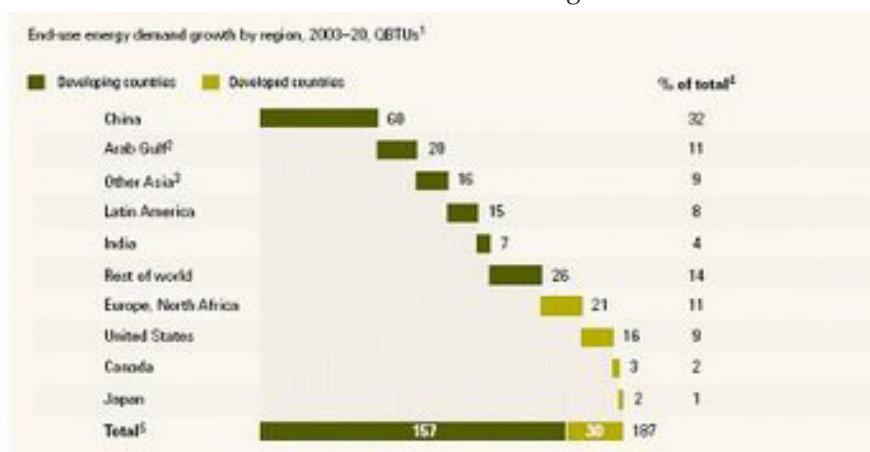
Kerjasama Selatan-Selatan lebih mengadopsi pemikiran jalan tengah yang dalam banyak aspek inheren dengan sosialisme demokrasi. Hal tersebut dapat kita lihat melalui contoh KTT BRIC yang semenjak melalukan kesepakatan dagang sejak tahun 2010 mengalami perkembangan yang pesat, meskipun antar anggotanya memiliki pengalaman konflikual. Selain itu, kita bisa melihat bagaimana organisasi regional lain seperti Mercosur, Uni Eropa, dan ASEAN juga melakukan kerjasama ekonomi yang intens tanpa menafikan perbedaan kultural diantara mereka. Meskipun berada dalam kondisi ekse neoliberalisme, globalisasi pasca krisis global 2008 tidak malah berhenti, justru semakin meningkat sekalipun ruang lingkup lebih partikular, yakni dalam skala regional. Beberapa organisasi regional masih menunjukkan adanya ancaman pasar bebas yang dapat mendistorsi arti penting kedaulatan, meskipun hal tersebut terjadi dalam skala regional.

Perekonomian global pasca-krisis 2008 seharusnya dapat menjadi pintu masuk bagi terintegrasinya kerjasama ekonomi sesama negara Timur-Tengah. Namun negara Liga Arab justru terpikat untuk menjalin kerjasama *outward looking* dengan sesama negara Selatan, terutama BRIC. Fakta memperlihatkan bahwa Liga Arab pasca krisis 2008 justru memainkan hubungan yang lebih

eksklusif dengan negara BRIC. Semisalnya kerjasama Liga Arab-Cina menunjukkan bahwa perdagangan antara kedua belah pihak membumbung naik dari \$ 36.4 bn di tahun 2004 menjadi \$ 145.4 bn pada tahun 2010, dan investasi reksa naik dari \$ 5.5 bn menjadi \$ 13.5 bn selama periode yang sama. Biaya proyek antara Cina dan negara-negara Arab melompat mengejutkan mengantungi tujuh puluh proyek tahun 2010 dari pada tahun 2004. Dalam dekade terakhir, perdagangan antara Cina dan Liga Arab telah berkembang sepuluh kali lipat menjadi US\$100 miliar dan diprediksi ke depan untuk sepuluh kali lipat kenaikan lagi pada dekade berikutnya. (www.thepeninsulaqatar.com, 4 september 2012).

Ekspansi China dalam industrilisasi manufaktur yang barang tentu membutuhkan banyak minyak menjadi obyek kerjasama yang menarik bagi negara Timur Tengah penghasil minyak. Seperti kita ketahui, negara Afrika Utara hingga kini dijadikan Cina sebagai basis pasokan sumber daya minyak yang sangat penting bagi sustainabilitas manufaktur Cina yang hingga sekarang masih belum menggunakan teknologi ramah lingkungan. Melalui penempatan industri minyaknya, Cina telah menjadikan Timur-Tengah sebagai wilayah prioritas. Oleh karena itulah, krisis yang terjadi di wilayah ini sangat berdampak pada manufaktur Cina. Implikasinya barang Cina yang selama ini kompetitif terancam mengalami kenaikan. Jika melihat komoditas yang diperdagangkan, terlihat adanya hubungan komplementer antar keduanya karena Cina memiliki kebutuhan sumber daya minyak yang tinggi sebagaimana yang dapat dilihat dalam tabel berikut ini.

Tabel 1.2.
Pertumbuhan Konsumsi Energi Dunia



Sumber: The Peninsula, 4 September 2012.

Selain Cina, Rusia juga merupakan negara BRIC lainnya yang mewarnai proses kerjasama ekonomi Liga Arab dengan aktor eksternal. Rusia dengan kebesaran Gasprom menunjukkan adanya cadangan gas potensial, sedangkan Liga Arab adalah penghasil minyak. Pada kunjungan tanggal 2 april 2009 telah ditandatangani mega proyek di bidang minyak dan gas mencapai nilai 25 miliar dolar AS oleh Pangeran Abdullah dan Presiden Rusia Vladimir Putin. Dengan adanya kombinasi energi tersebut, maka kerjasama antara negara Liga Arab dan Rusia akan komplemen. Kerjasama yang berkaitan dengan energi merupakan ikhwal penting bagi negara Liga Arab karena Rusia memiliki cadangan gas terbesar, dan gas merupakan prospek energi masa depan ketika minyak telah menjadi langka. Sebaliknya, Rusia hingga kini masih membutuhkan pasokan minyak bumi untuk mempercepat sektor manufakturnya.

Kerjasama dengan negara BRICs membuat negara Liga Arab lebih terfokus untuk ke luar ketimbang memperkuat integrasi ke dalam. Sebuah pengalaman regionalisme yang mirip dengan ASEAN yang begitu optimis ARF dapat memperkuat integrasi dalam tubuh ASEAN, namun justru muncul dugaan semakin banyak kekuatan eksternal yang mengintervensi didalamnya. Hubungan dengan negara BRICs dilakukan secara bi-multilateral dan tidak membawa nama institusi Liga Arab. Sekalipun strategi *outward looking* ini menguntungkan dalam konteks ekonomi, namun ternyata malah menciptakan stagnasi dalam legitimasi politik.

Kesimpulan

Gelora *Arab Spring* yang terjadi sebatas merubah perpolitikan Timur-Tengah dalam ruang lingkup nasional, belum merasuk pada konteks regional. Proses pergantian rezim yang sedang berada pada masa transisi nyatanya belum sepenuhnya mendorong Liga Arab untuk lebih terintegrasi. Hal tersebut karena problem politik timur-tengah sejatinya bukan semata hanya terletak pada siapa yang menjadi pemimpin negaranya. Siapapun pemimpin negaranya ketika masih menyimpan antipati terhadap perbedaan kultural dan ideologi, maka ambivalensi identitas kolektif masih akan menghambat proses integrasi dan institusionalisasi Liga Arab.

Ketika Liga Arab dituntut untuk semakin terintegrasi kedalam, justru negara timur tengah sedang mengikuti tren regionalisme kontemporer yang cenderung menafikan batas-batas geografis dan kultural demi kepentingan ekonomi jangka pendek. Liga Arab pasca terjadinya krisis global 2008 justru aktif mengedepankan kerjasama ekonomi antar sesama negara Selatan dengan Cina, Rusia ketimbang melaksanakan kooperasi dengan sesama negara anggota Liga Arab. Implikasinya sikap Negara Liga Arab untuk memperluas pergaulan dengan dengan entitas di luar regional mereka justru

memperlemah pergaulan yang akan memperekatkan mereka secara internal, padahal problem utama Liga Arab, yakni identitas kolektif dapat teratasi dengan memulai kerjasama sesama anggota. Terlebih tuntutan rakyat paska gelombang demokrasi tersebut menitikberatkan pada problem ekonomi. ●

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Wajah Multikulturalisme Eropa: Ancaman atas Kehidupan Sosial Politik Imigran Muslim di Inggris

Siswanto

Abstract

This article describe Europe multiculturalism especially Muslim social life in England. One of important social issues in the country is unharmony relation between British society and Muslim imigrant. This is an irony because European community eventually is based on liberalism which give freedom to citizen and non-discrimination principle. There are few condition which cause discrimination in UK, as follow; social jealous to imigrant in Europe as we known that many imigrant who success in its business or working and there is opinion that imigrant take over job opportunity from indigenous people in Europe and misperception to Islam.

Keyword: *Europe, multiculturalism, imigrant, Muslim*

Pendahuluan

Akibat perjalanan sejarah, Eropa berkembang menjadi masyarakat yang merefleksikan beragam unsur kebudayaan. Hal itu meliputi perpaduan antara sejumlah kebudayaan, yaitu antara lain Latin, Slavia, Jerman, dan Celtic. Selanjutnya, perpaduan unsur kebudayaan atau akulturasi ini dipengaruhi lagi oleh unsur-unsur kebudayaan dan keyakinan Yahudi, Yunani, dan Islam. Kebudayaan Eropa merefleksikan proses dialektika kebudayaan yang berlangsung lama sampai tercapai suatu peradaban tinggi seperti yang dapat disaksikan sekarang. Masih dalam catatan sejarah bahwa 200 sampai 146 tahun Sebelum Masehi masyarakat Romawi sudah berinteraksi dengan masyarakat Mediterania. Ada keyakinan bahwa kejayaan kekaisaran Romawi tidak terlepas dari pengaruh warna kebudayaan Yunani Kuno. Seperti diketahui Romawi sebagai imperium mengadopsi peradaban Yunani kuno, mereka menyerap karya sastra, filsafat, dan pengetahuan yang sudah berkembang pesat di wilayah itu (Breisach, 1990: 50). Dengan demikian, keberhasilan Kekaisaran Romawi meletakkan pilar dan membangun peradaban Eropa karena keberhasilannya berinteraksi dan mengambil hikmah dari peradaban Yunani Kuno yang sudah mapan tersebut.

Berpijak pada fakta-fakta historis di atas, multikulturalisme bukan sesuatu yang asing bagi masyarakat Eropa karena pada masa lalu mereka sudah berinteraksi dengan masyarakat dari beragam kebudayaan dan agama. Mereka bahkan bukan sekedar berinteraksi namun menerimanya sebagai bagian dari kebudayaan mereka. Dengan kata lain, sikap masyarakat Eropa dimasa lalu terbuka kepada masyarakat luar dan unsur kebudayaannya tanpa ada rasa takut atau curiga.

Namun, permasalahannya mengapa belakangan ini ada sekelompok masyarakat di Eropa yang menolak bahkan anti terhadap kelompok imigran dan kultur yang dibawanya. Mereka berdalih kelompok imigran ini dikhawatirkan akan mengancam eksistensi kebudayaan Eropa. Sikap ini mencengangkan sebagian besar masyarakat Eropa sendiri dan masyarakat internasional. Dalam perkembangannya, keberadaan mereka memang mengkristal sedemikian sehingga Parlemen di sejumlah negara Eropa mewadahi aspirasi mereka ke dalam ideologi konservatif ekstrim. Dalam pengamatan sepintas, memang kehadiran kelompok ini dengan ideologi konservatif ekstrimnya belum mendapat dukungan yang luas dari masyarakat Eropa.

Fenomena di atas dimaknai sebagai perubahan perilaku sosial. Perubahan perilaku sebagian masyarakat Eropa Barat dalam berinteraksi dengan imigran atau kaum pendatang. Perubahan perilaku sosial ini dipahami sebagai pergeseran tata nilai yang dianut oleh sebagian masyarakat Eropa Barat dari yang sebelumnya menjunjung multikulturalisme seperti yang dianut oleh nenek moyangnya menuju monokulturalisme. Dalam hal ini, pergeseran terjadi dari pengakuan atas keragaman kultural menjadi eksklusif hanya memberi pengakuan kepada satu kultur saja, yaitu kultur Eropa. Masyarakat Eropa berubah dari yang toleran terhadap kelompok sosial di luar dirinya menuju sikap yang intoleran di dalam interaksi sosial.

Oleh karena itu, multikulturalisme di Eropa Barat belakangan ini dipertanyakan kalau tidak ingin dikatakan digugat oleh sebagian warganya terutama oleh kelompok imigran Muslim. Sikap pemerintah beberapa negara di Eropa dan perilaku sebagian warganya mengindikasikan tidak lagi berpijak pada nilai-nilai multikulturalisme, tetapi telah terjadi pergeseran tata nilai yang berimplikasi pada pergeseran perilaku. Pergeseran perilaku sosial sebagian masyarakat Eropa Barat ini bisa jadi karena disebabkan oleh berbagai faktor baik intenal maupun eksternal.

Multikulturalisme dan Tata Nilai Liberal

Multikulturalisme sebenarnya sangat sejalan dengan nilai-nilai liberalisme yang dijunjung tinggi oleh masyarakat Eropa Barat. Nilai-nilai itu meliputi demokrasi, nilai-nilai kebebasan untuk berkehendak, persamaan hak di depan

hukum, pengakuan hak-hak individu, dan pengakuan terhadap hak-hak azasi manusia. Jadi tidak heran, masyarakat Eropa Barat dan Amerika Serikat yang berinduk pada liberalisme kemana-mana selalu mengumandangkan nilai-nilai tersebut.

Seperti tersebut di atas, multikulturalisme merupakan manifestasi dari nilai-nilai demokrasi. Multikulturalisme hanya bisa berkembang dalam masyarakat yang demokratis. Hal ini sesuai dengan pengertian demokrasi itu sendiri yaitu kekuasaan berada di tangan rakyat. Rakyat diberi izin untuk mengembangkan kebudayaannya tanpa memperoleh hambatan dari manapun, sejauh tidak melanggar hukum. Rakyat memiliki kekuasaan sesuai dengan pernyataan di atas, namun didelegasikan kepada wakil-wakilnya di parlemen dan pemerintahan. Selanjutnya, kekuasaan itu diberikan kembali oleh negara kepada rakyat berupa hak-hak warga negara untuk melaksanakan kebiasaan-kebiasaan atau kebudayaannya.

Disamping itu, multikulturalisme juga dilindungi oleh prinsip-prinsip kebebasan seperti pandangan John Lock bahwa manusia memiliki akal sehat, kebebasan, dan toleransi terhadap perbedaan. (Deliar Noer 1982 dan 1985) Multikulturalisme juga hanya bisa berkembang di dalam tatanan politik yang mengakui prinsip-prinsip kebebasan tersebut. Dengan kata lain, multikulturalisme tidak bisa hidup dalam tatanan politik otoriter atau tatanan sosial politik yang mengingkari keberagaman dalam masyarakat. Multikulturalisme dan otoriterisme secara "kimia politik" sesuatu yang bertentangan. Kedua paham itu tidak mungkin disandingkan atau dikompromikan karena memiliki hakekat yang sangat berbeda satu sama lain. Oleh karena itu, keduanya hampir mustahil untuk dapat hidup berdampingan.

Lebih lanjut, multikulturalisme juga sejalan dengan azas persamaan yang sebenarnya dijunjung tinggi oleh masyarakat Eropa Barat. Sesuatu yang perlu diingat bahwa Revolusi Prancis tahun 1789 mewarisi prinsip persamaan, kebebasan, dan persaudaran. Prinsip-prinsip ini berlaku universal tidak hanya untuk masyarakat Prancis, tetapi juga sudah menjadi suatu gagasan ideal yang diadopsi oleh masyarakat internasional. Ancaman terhadap multikulturalisme di Eropa Barat merupakan pelecehan terhadap gagasan mulia dan diperjuangkan habis-habisan oleh Napoleon Bonaparte dan para pahlawan Revolusi Prancis lainnya yang telah gugur dalam memperjuangkan sembojannya atau keyakinannya tersebut.

Multikulturalisme juga sangat sejalan dengan semangat individualisme. Semangat Individualisme memberi hak pada setiap individu untuk beraktivitas sejauh tidak melanggar hukum. Dalam hal ini, hak-hak tersebut termasuk didalamnya hak-hak untuk merefleksikan kebudayaan dan keyakinan yang dianutnya. Pengekangan terhadap multikulturalisme sebagai

bentuk pengingkaran terhadap semangat individualisme yang biasanya sangat diagungkan dalam kehidupan sosial di Eropa Barat. Dengan kata lain, masyarakat Eropa Barat telah terperangkap dalam sikap inkonsisten dalam penegakan semangat individualisme. Hal ini sesuatu yang memprihatinkan karena selama ini masyarakat Eropa Barat dikenal sangat menghormati hak-hak individu.

Selanjutnya, multikulturalisme juga dilindungi oleh doktrin pengakuan hak asasi manusia (HAM). Seperti diketahui bahwa salah satu unsur dari multikulturalisme adalah refleksi kehidupan beragama. Padahal, masyarakat Eropa Barat merupakan pelopor penegakan HAM di seluruh penjuru dunia. Bagaimana hal ini bisa terjadi? Masyarakat yang menjadi pelopor HAM, namun tanpa disadari dirinya terjebak pada sikap melanggar HAM. Jika hal ini dibiarkan terus berlanjut, masyarakat lain di luar Eropa Barat akan mentertawakan keberadaan Eropa Barat sebagai pengawal penegakan HAM di negara lain. Dunia menyaksikan sikap kritis Eropa Barat ketika terjadi pelanggaran HAM di wilayah lain. Yang lebih menyedihkan lagi, Eropa Barat akan merosot kredibilitasnya sebagai pelopor dan pengawal HAM di dunia. Sementara itu, kekuatan pengawal penegakan HAM diperlukan oleh masyarakat internasional dalam mewujudkan tatanan sosial yang beradab dan berprinsip kemanusiaan. Jadi, pengecangan Multikulturalisme di Eropa Barat sesuatu yang kontra produktif dengan keberadaannya sebagai pejuang HAM.

Kecemburuan Sosial Ekonomi

Sejarah kolonialisme memberi pengaruh pada pola penyebaran imigran di Eropa Barat. Imigran umumnya pergi ke negara-negara yang pada masa lalu menjadi negara kolonial di wilayahnya, seperti misalnya orang Indonesia cenderung menjadi imigran di Belanda; orang Maroko, Aljazair, Tunisia menjadi imigran di Prancis; dan orang Mesir, India, dan Pakistan lebih suka menjadi imigran di Inggris. Walaupun demikian, ada pengecualian, yaitu imigran yang datang ke Eropa walaupun tidak memiliki kaitan dengan sejarah kolonialisme, misalnya orang Turki di Jerman atau orang Ghana di Kroasia. Jadi, secara umum aspek historis (kolonialisme) mempengaruhi negara tujuan para imigran ke Eropa Barat, namun ada pengecualian untuk kasus-kasus tertentu.

Kehadiran imigran ke Eropa bisa berdampak positif, namun juga bisa negatif. Kehadiran imigran berdampak positif ketika keberadaannya bersifat komplementer. Misalnya di sektor ketenagakerjaan, para imigran menjadi tenaga buruh yang bekerja di pabrik-pabrik di Eropa Barat. Hal ini terjadi ketika negara tersebut sudah tidak banyak lagi memiliki tenaga buruh. Akibatnya, para imigran tadi bisa dimanfaatkan menjadi tenaga buruh di

negara-negara Eropa Barat tersebut. Di satu sisi, para imigran membutuhkan pekerjaan, di sisi lain industri-industri ringan negara-negara Eropa tertentu membutuhkan tenaga tidak terdidik atau kaum buruh dari luar negaranya.

Namun demikian, keberadaan para imigran ini bisa berdampak negatif ketika keberadaannya bersifat kompetitif. Keberadaan para imigran menjadi bisa saingan para pencari kerja warga asli negara-negara di Eropa Barat. Para imigran yang berstatus tenaga buruh bisa menjadi saingan dari negara-negara Eropa Barat yang masih memiliki jumlah tenaga buruh yang banyak atau masih memiliki angka pengangguran yang tinggi. Formasi lowongan yang ada diperebutkan antara kaum imigran dan warga asli negara-negara tersebut. Kondisi persaingan ini bisa berkembang menjadi persaingan tidak sehat diantara mereka. Bahkan, hal ini bisa berkembang menjadi sikap anti imigran karena mereka dipandang menjadi ancaman untuk peluangnya mencari kerja.

Peningkatan jumlah imigran yang berprofesi pengusaha bisa menjadi stimulus pertumbuhan ekonomi negara-negara di Eropa Barat. Keberadaan pengusaha walaupun kecil ikut mendorong pertumbuhan ekonomi negara tersebut. Pertumbuhan ekonomi suatu negara tidak hanya ditopang oleh pilar-pilar ekonomi yang besar, namun juga ditopang oleh sektor ekonomi skala kecil atau sektor riil. Misalnya, para wirausahawan Turki yang membuka restoran di Jerman mereka sedikit banyak membantu negara ini dalam pertumbuhan ekonomi negara. Keberadaan mereka sebagai pengusaha diterima oleh Pemerintah dan masyarakat negara tersebut. Tanpa keberadaan sektor riil tersebut Jerman belum tentu menjadi negara yang memiliki pertumbuhan ekonomi tertinggi di Eropa seperti sekarang ini.

Namun demikian, peningkatan jumlah imigran di Eropa Barat memang menjadi suatu persoalan sosial tersendiri jika mereka tidak memiliki pekerjaan dan tempat tinggal yang tetap. Ketiadaan pekerjaan dapat mendorong mereka terjebak pada tindakan kriminalitas. Para imigran perlu memenuhi kebutuhan hidupnya seperti makanan, minuman, dan pakaian. Jika kebutuhan dasar ini tidak terpenuhi, mereka akan mengusahakannya bagaimanapun caranya. Kebutuhan dasar seperti makanan tidak bisa dikompromikan. Di samping itu, ketiadaan pekerjaan akan berdampak tidak adanya kemampuan para imigran untuk memenuhi kebutuhan tempat tinggal yang tetap, apalagi para imigran yang sudah memiliki keluarga. Hal ini tentu menjadi persoalan bagi yang bersangkutan dan beban bagi pemerintah di mana imigran itu berada.

Peningkatan jumlah imigran bisa berkorelasi dengan kehidupan politik, namun juga bisa tidak terkait sama sekali. Bagi negara yang memberi ruang politik bagi para imigran, keberadaan mereka memiliki arti dalam proses politik karena sebagai warga negara yang sah memiliki hak suara dalam pemilihan umum maupun dalam pengambilan keputusan. Mereka bahkan bisa memiliki wakilnya di parlemen seperti kasus kehidupan politik di Inggris.

Hal ini tidak harus seorang imigran yang menjadi anggota parlemen, namun seorang politisi lokal yang peduli kepada nasib para imigran dan bersedia mengartikulasikan kepentingan politik imigran bisa bertindak menjadi wakil komunitas imigran. Transaksi politik antara imigran dan politisi ini sudah merefleksikan kehidupan politik yang adil dan demokratis. Proses politik itu sudah cukup menjadi sarana perjuangan hak imigran dalam kehidupannya. Sebagai pembandingan di Eropa Timur, yaitu di Kroasia, ada seorang imigran dari Afrika yang datang ke negara itu tahun 1980-an dan berhasil menjadi seorang Walikota disana. Hal ini suatu sikap politik yang mengherankan dari masyarakat di kawasan tersebut dalam kaitannya dengan eksistensi imigran. Suatu gambaran paradoks, masyarakat Eropa Barat yang terkenal dengan semangat kebebasannya sebagian masih khawatir dengan keberadaan kaum imigran, sedangkan masyarakat Eropa Timur yang sebelumnya terkenal dengan masyarakat yang berada dibawah tatanan politik otoriter (komunisme) dan tidak memiliki kebebasan justru lebih terbuka terhadap kaum imigran dalam kehidupan sosial politik. Apa dibalik paradoks ini?

Seandainya suatu negara tidak memberi ruang politik kepada para imigran, para imigran tidak memiliki payung politik. Konsekuensinya, mereka mudah diombang-ambingkan oleh berbagai konflik dan kepentingan dari aktor-aktor politik di dalam negara itu. Mereka juga tidak memiliki posisi tawar sehingga tidak diperhitungkan didalam proses politik dan pengambilan keputusan. Para imigran ini dalam wujudnya sebagai kelompok sosial ada, namun didalam proses politik dipandang tidak ada. Para imigran ini tidak memiliki hak dan kewajiban didalam kehidupan politik. Hal ini artinya, mereka juga tidak memiliki hak dan kewajiban dalam proses pengambilan keputusan. Dari sudut ini, mereka sulit untuk dikatakan sebagai warga negara dari negara yang bersangkutan karena hak-haknya sebagai warga negara tidak melekat dalam dirinya.

Sikap anti-imigran yang ditunjukkan oleh sebagian warga Eropa Barat sebagai akumulasi dari ketidakpuasannya terhadap peningkatan jumlah kaum imigran. Mereka merasa terganggu dengan peningkatan jumlah imigran di negaranya. Mereka memandang imigran mulai menjadi ancaman terhadap dirinya sehingga sebagian dari mereka mulai mengekspresikan sikap anti imigrannya secara terang-terangan atau terbuka. Akibatnya, isu anti-imigran mulai mencuat ke permukaan dan mempengaruhi kebijakan pemerintah terhadap kaum imigran. Secara tidak langsung fenomena ini suatu gambaran dari mulai terancamnya multikulturalisme di Eropa Barat.

Stigma di Barat: Islam Sebagai Ancaman

Opini publik sudah terlanjur mencitrakan bahwa tragedi teror WTC tahun 2001 terkait dengan Islam. AS mengkaitkan tragedi WTC dengan jaringan Al-

Qaeda, yaitu suatu lembaga pendidikan dan dakwah Islam yang berlokasi di Afganistan. Hal ini diperkuat oleh pernyataan-pernyataan dari pemimpin organisasi tersebut yang menyebut aksinya sebagai perjuangan Islam atau "Jihad". Hal ini diperkuat lagi oleh organisasi-organisasi yang terkait dengan Al-Qaeda juga melakukan aksi serupa di berbagai tempat lain. Hal ini semakin memperkuat opini publik tentang keterkaitan Islam dan teror.

Namun demikian, faktanya tidak semua umat Islam setuju dengan aksi terorisme diberbagai kawasan di dunia. Bahkan banyak umat Islam yang mengutuk aksi teror WTC tahun 2001 di berbagai tempat. Dalam pandangan mereka, aksi ini menimbulkan korban kepada individu-individu yang tidak bersalah. Suatu aksi teror bersifat acak tidak mengenal siapa yang jadi korban. Aksi teror pasca tragedi WTC berkelanjutan di berbagai kawasan di dunia, misalnya di Irak, Afganistan, Pakistan, dan Indonesia. Kesemua aksi umumnya bertujuan untuk menolak kehadiran AS dan sekutunya (Eropa Barat), walaupun terdapat juga aksi-aksi teror yang bersifat konflik sektarian. Yang pasti aksi teror itu menimbulkan korban yang tidak terkait dengan target mereka.

Sikap sebagian warga di Eropa Barat yang anti imigran karena mereka dihubungkan dengan kaum teroris. Hal ini terjadi hanya karena para imigran beragama Islam yaitu sama dengan agama yang dianut teroris. Dalam pandangan kaum imigran sikap ini tentu saja dinilai tidak adil karena mungkin saja mereka juga mengutuk aksi teror tersebut. Kasus WTC dan beberapa tempat terjadinya teror tidak bisa digeneralisir bahwa kekerasan ini merefleksikan sikap umat Islam di dunia. Dengan demikian, kaum imigran mempertanyakan alasan sesungguhnya dari sikap anti imigran dan anti Islam ini.

Solusi dari kesenjangan sikap antara sebagian warga dengan kaum imigran ini adalah perlu ada suatu jembatan komunikasi. Melalui komunikasi ini diharapkan masing-masing pihak mengetahui aspirasi dari kedua belah pihak secara langsung. Sejalan dengan hal itu, perlu lembaga atau individu yang berfungsi menjembatani posisi kedua belah pihak yang bersebarangan itu untuk mengeliminir salah paham diantara keduanya. Pihak ketiga ini bisa dari unsur pemerintah, lembaga swadaya masyarakat, masyarakat, atau individu yang terpanggil untuk menyelamatkan multikulturalisme di Eropa Barat. Meredupnya multikulturalisme tidak hanya disayangkan oleh kaum imigran di Eropa Barat sendiri, namun juga disesalkan oleh masyarakat dunia. Secara teori, multikulturalisme seharusnya tumbuh subur di bumi Eropa Barat karena merupakan bumi liberal yang seharusnya niscaya menjamin kebebasan berekspresi.

Dari sisi pemerintah, kebijakan bernada anti multikulturalisme yang dikeluarkan oleh pemerintahan negara-negara di Eropa Barat tidak terlepas dari kebijakan anti teror yang dikembangkan AS. Tidak lama setelah tragedi

WTC, Presiden Bush mendeklarasikan masyarakat dunia dibagi kedalam dua kubu, yaitu "mereka" dan "kami." Mereka dihubungkan para pihak yang berhubungan dengan terorisme, sedangkan kami dihubungkan dengan koalisi atau sahabat AS. Dalam hal ini Eropa Barat merupakan sekutu AS maka suka atau tidak suka cenderung mendukung kebijakan anti teror tersebut. Hal ini seperti dikatakan di atas imigran dihubungkan dengan teror dan Islam oleh karena itu keberadaannya dibatasi ruang geraknya dengan mengeluarkan berbagai kebijakan-kebijakan tertentu.

Beberapa Pemerintah negara di Eropa Barat secara implisit terjebak pada anti Multikulturalisme karena mendukung AS dalam perang melawan teror, padahal kaum imigran bukan kaum teroris, sehingga tidak perlu dibatasi ruang geraknya. Dengan demikian, pemerintahan tersebut juga terjebak pada sikap menggeneralisasi fenomena WTC tahun 2001, sehingga para pihak yang berhubungan dengan Islam dikategorikan ke dalam "mereka." (pendukung teroris) Dalam hal ini keberadaan "mereka" sebagai musuh yang harus diperangi. "Mereka" mempunyai tingkatan-tingkatan tertentu dari bentuk dan kualitas. Dari segi bentuk "mereka" adalah negara, kelompok sosial, individu yang memiliki hubungan dengan terorisme. Dari segi kualitas, "mereka" memiliki strata ancaman yaitu potensi berbahaya, berbahaya dan sangat berbahaya. "Mereka" yang berbentuk negara dan berkualitas sangat berbahaya ialah Irak dan Afganistan. Kedua negara itu dihancurkan dan pemimpin-pemimpinnya diturunkan. Sedangkan, mereka yang berbentuk individu adalah Osama bin Laden (sudah terbunuh) dan para pembantu-pembantunya. Selanjutnya, "mereka" yang berbentuk kelompok sosial antara lain Jamaah Islamiah. Organisasi yang dihubungkan dengan teror.

Media massa juga bertanggungjawab terhadap pemberitaan yang provokatif terhadap keberadaan imigran dan terorisme. Terbentuk opini publik tidak terlepas dari pemberitaan media massa. Media massa disadari atau tidak ikut bertanggungjawab terhadap sikap sebagian masyarakat Eropa Barat yang anti imigran dan Islam. Dalam hal ini tentu tidak semua media massa bersikap provokatif terhadap umat Islam karena ada juga media massa yang objektif dalam pemberitaan. Namun demikian, media massa tidak sedikit yang tendensius dalam pemberitaannya sehingga merugikan umat Islam, lalu pada gilirannya berpengaruh buruk pada citra imigran. Misalnya adanya media massa Denmark yang memuat kartun yang menggambarkan Nabi Muhammad SAW dengan disertai roket/bom. Hal ini suatu simbolisasi oleh media massa tersebut bahwa Islam identik dengan kekerasan/teror. Simbolisasi ini berdampak buruk bagi pencitraan umat Islam termasuk kaum imigran di Eropa. Jadi, targetnya imigran atau umat Islam di Eropa Barat tercitrakan sebagai penerbar kekerasan atau teror.

Sejarah Demokrasi Inggris dan Mispersepsi terhadap Islam

Sejarah mencatat pada abad ke-13 Inggris memiliki *Magna Carta*, yaitu piagam besar yang ditandatangani oleh Raja John yang tujuannya untuk membatasi kekuasaan seorang Raja Inggris. Piagam ini sebagai buah karya dari para perjuangan konstitusi dan demokrasi. Keberadaan piagam ini dipandang sebagai pilar perjuangan demokrasi di Eropa bahkan di dunia. Ketika tatanan politik Eropa masih dikungkung oleh monarki absolut, keberadaan piagam ini dipandang sebagai pendobrak dari tatanan politik tersebut. Upaya mendeklarasikan piagam ini memerlukan keberanian dan pengorbanan raja, bangsawan, dan rakyat Inggris. Mereka telah bertindak sebagai pelopor sistem konstitusional, demokrasi, dan kebebasan.

Selanjutnya, pada abad ke-17 di Inggris kembali terjadi peristiwa yang bersejarah bagi demokrasi dan kebebasan. Saat itu terjadi peristiwa *Glorious Revolution*, yaitu suatu upaya untuk mengontrol kekuasaan raja. Nyatanya perjuangan ini berhasil dan juga menjadi tonggak sejarah perjuangan demokrasi di Inggris khususnya, di Eropa dan bahkan di dunia pada umumnya. Sekali lagi, rakyat Inggris berani membatasi kekuasaan rajanya demi perimbangan politik dan terhindar dari kesewenang-wenangan kekuasaan. Upaya ini sejalan dengan ide dari pemikir politik Lord Acton yang juga berasal dari Inggris. Acton menyimpulkan bahwa kekuasaan yang absolut cenderung membawa seseorang pada perilaku korup. Acton berkesimpulan ada korelasi antara absolutisme dan korupsi. Jadi, untuk menghindari korupsi oleh penguasa absolutism perlu dieliminasi.

Dengan demikian, dua pilar demokrasi lahir di Inggris. Yang pertama adalah *Magna Carta* dan yang kedua adalah *Glorious Revolution*. Keduanya menjadi inspirasi demokratisasi di dunia karena gaungnya sampai kemana-mana. Kelahiran Amerika Serikat pada tahun 1776 bahkan berawal dari 13 koloni di New England yang menggabungkan diri menjadi konfederasi, lalu berubah menjadi federasi, juga tidak terlepas dari inspirasi pilar-pilar demokrasi tersebut dan dinamika pemikiran politik di Eropa lainnya. Oleh karena itu, munculnya sikap diskriminatif terhadap Muslim di Inggris menarik untuk dikaji karena bertolak belakang dengan citra yang dipahami oleh dunia selama ini bahwa Inggris adalah negara pelopor demokrasi dan kebebasan. Di negara ini simbol-simbol demokrasi dan kebebasan dilahirkan.

Jika berpijak pada fakta-fakta historis di atas, Inggris sudah memiliki tatanan sosial yang mengedepankan kebebasan dan demokrasi sejak dahulu kala. Mengapa tatanan sosial yang dibanggakan oleh masyarakat dan Raja-Raja Inggris itu kini dilanggar? Hal ini pasti ada yang keliru dari sikap sebagian penguasa dan masyarakat Inggris dalam memandang eksistensi kaum imigran Muslim. Seperti diketahui bahwa sektor-sektor yang dikenakan diskriminasi kepada kaum Muslim Inggris merupakan sektor-sektor yang strategis bagi kemajuan kaum Muslim. Misalnya sektor pendidikan merupakan segi yang

mendasar bagi kemajuan dan masa depan komunitas imigran. Diskriminasi di sektor ini sama saja dengan menghancurkan secara perlahan masa depan imigran Muslim tersebut. Dengan demikian, kita bisa membayangkan bagaimana keberadaan kaum Muslimin pada masa mendatang jika anak-anak dan generasi mudanya tidak memperoleh pendidikan yang memadai atau dipersulit untuk bersekolah.

Sebaliknya, para imigran Muslim akan menjadi kuat di kemudian hari jika mengenyam pendidikan yang memadai atau pendidikan tinggi. Hal ini suatu yang harus dipertaruhkan untuk merebut masa depan. Keberhasilan imigran Muslim dalam menempuh pendidikan tinggi akan menentukan prospek kejayaan mereka dikemudian hari. Di samping itu, keberhasilan mereka di sektor pendidikan akan mempengaruhi posisi tawar mereka di dalam kehidupan sosial politik karena dengan pendidikan yang tinggi kemungkinan akan membuat mereka juga sukses dalam berbagai profesi dan karir. Oleh karena itu, diskriminasi di sektor pendidikan ini sesuatu yang membahayakan bagi masa depan para imigran tersebut sehingga sedapat mungkin mereka seharusnya berjuang untuk melawannya. Seharusnya Uni Eropa dan masyarakat dunia seharusnya menolak dan mengkritik hal ini karena memperoleh pendidikan merupakan salah satu dimensi dari hak-hak azasi manusia.

Selanjutnya juga terdapat catatan bahwa saat ini masih terdapat upaya pengekangan terhadap kehidupan beragama khususnya terkait hak kaum Muslim dan Muslimah untuk melakukan ibadah. Upaya ini terjadi di kantor swasta, universitas, dan gedung penjara (Basyar, 2006: 105). Pengekangan ini bisa dimaknai sebagai bentuk diskriminasi atau kebijakan anti-multikulturalisme di Inggris. Kondisi ini semakin diperburuk dengan terjadinya peristiwa teror di WTC tahun 2001 yang memberi citra buruk kepada umat Islam. Upaya pengekangan dalam beribadah bisa memancing konflik sosial yang berujung pada anarkisme. Bisa jadi, berbagai kebijakan diskriminasi tersebut terjadi karena salah persepsi terhadap ajaran hakekat Islam dan keberadaan imigran Muslim. Jika dilihat dari sejarah politiknya, Inggris negara yang peduli terhadap nilai-nilai demokrasi dan kebebasan sehingga perlu telaah lebih jauh sampai mereka bersikap demikian.

Dalam konteks ini konsep persepsi dipahami sebagai pengalaman tentang objek, peristiwa, atau hubungan-hubungan yang diperoleh dengan menyimpulkan informasi dan menafsirkan pesan (Marliany, 2010: 188). Dengan demikian, persepsi merupakan penilaian individu atau masyarakat terhadap suatu hal yang merujuk pada berbagai peristiwa dan informasi yang memiliki hubungan baik langsung maupun tidak langsung. Persepsi mempengaruhi perilaku individu maupun kelompok dalam kehidupan sosial. Persepsi positif terhadap suatu objek akan mendorong kepada sikap empati, sebaliknya persepsi negatif terhadap suatu objek akan memicu sikap

anti terhadap objek tersebut. Jadi, persepsi bisa bermuara kepada dua sikap yang satu sama lain bertolak belakang.

Jika persepsi dipahami sebagai konsep atau gagasan, maka hal itu memiliki beberapa ciri sebagai instrumen untuk menalaah berbagai fenomena. Ciri-ciri dari persepsi itu meliputi: (1) Proses pengorganisasian berbagai pengalaman; (2) Proses menghubungkan-hubungkan antara pengalaman masa lalu dengan yang baru; (3) Proses pemilihan informasi; (4) Proses teriosasi dan rasionalisasi; (5) Proses penafsiran dan pemaknaan pesan verbal dan non-verbal; (6) Proses interaksi dan komunikasi berbagai pengalaman internal dan eksternal; dan (7) Melakukan penyimpulan atau keputusan-keputusan, pengertian-pengertian dan yang membentuk wujud persepsi individu (Marliany, 2010).

Individu atau kelompok sosial bisa keliru dan bisa juga benar persepsinya terhadap suatu objek. Terdapat beberapa hal yang mempengaruhi persepsi individu atau kelompok sosial, yaitu objektivitas, emosi, logika, data atau informasi, dan pengalaman yang dialami terkait dengan objek yang disikapinya. Individu atau masyarakat bisa memiliki persepsi yang salah tentang objek tertentu jika tidak berhati-hati dalam memandang objek tersebut. Individu, kelompok sosial, atau masyarakat yang sudah kehilangan objektivitasnya terhadap sesuatu, maka logika atau akal sehatnya tidak lagi berperan secara benar, sebaliknya yang dominan adalah segi-segi subjektivitasnya saja. Akibatnya perilaku atau sesuatu yang datang dari objek atau kelompok sosial tertentu tertentu dicurigai dan cenderung ditolak karena dimaknai sebagai ancaman.

Interaksi politik masa lalu Inggris dan umat Islam berada dalam posisi saling berlawanan. Misalnya Inggris sebagai kekuatan politik global pada masa lalu berhasil menduduki beberapa wilayah dari imperium Islam Otoman yang meliputi wilayah Turki, Timur Tengah, Afrika Utara, dan Teluk Parsi. Dengan demikian, secara psikologis keduanya dihadapkan pada warisan pola interaksi yang bersifat bermusuhan atau pola hubungan yang tidak harmonis. Umat Islam memandang Inggris sebagai pencaplok wilayah mereka, sedangkan Inggris memandang Islam sebagai mantan lawan politiknya. Psikologi konflik masa lalu kedua kelompok sosial ini tidak bisa begitu saja dilupakan. Hal ini semacam trauma politik masa lalu yang berbekas dalam kehidupan kekinian walaupun generasi sekarang tidak mengalami sendiri pertarungan politik itu. Catatan-catatan sejarah dan cerita-cerita nenek moyang mereka mempengaruhi persepsi mereka satu sama lain. Oleh karena itu, sesuatu yang tidak mengherankan membangun hubungan harmonis dan saling percaya diantara keduanya bukan pekerjaan yang mudah.

Oleh karena itu, dalam Perang Dunia II, pasukan Inggris lebih banyak dibantu oleh pasukan Gurkha yang non-Muslim. Pemerintah Inggris lebih mempercayai sekutunya yang non-muslim. Dimensi masa lalu dan sekaligus

dimensi agama menentukan pihak mana yang prioritas dilibatkan dalam membantu pasukan Inggris di berbagai medan tempur dalam Perang Dunia II. Pasukan Gurkha direkrut dari Mongolia dan India yang memang memiliki keyakinan non-Islam. Dalam peperangan, pasukan Inggris umumnya lebih percaya percaya kepada pasukan Gurkha, ketimbang sekutunya dari pasukan yang beragama Islam. Pasukan yang beragama Islam biasanya berasal dari Pakistan.

Di samping itu, kesalahan persepsi ini besar kemungkinan terkait dengan dimensi arus informasi yang tidak seimbang. Opini publik sebagian masyarakat Inggris terhadap Islam dipengaruhi oleh ketidakseimbangan arus informasi. Masyarakat Inggris lebih banyak menerima arus informasi yang negatif ketimbang yang positif tentang Islam konsekuensinya mendorong kepada opini dan citra yang negatif pula. Opini negatif ini pada gilirannya menyebabkan salah persepsi terhadap Islam dan imigran Muslim. Misalnya pada kasus Salman Rusdhie warga negara Inggris keturunan India yang menulis buku berjudul *Satanic Verses*. Masyarakat khusus warga Inggris diberi informasi yang tidak benar tentang kehidupan Nabi Muhammad dimana ini dapat menimbulkan cita buruk tentang Islam. Penulis tersebut dipandang memberi informasi yang menyesatkan dan berpotensi menimbulkan salah persepsi terhadap ajaran Islam.

Tulisan kontroversi itu secara tidak langsung memprovokasi konflik antara Pemerintah Inggris dengan komunitas Islam. Di satu sisi, Pemerintah Inggris berkewajiban melindungi warganya dari ancaman dari manapun datangnya. Saat itu ada ancaman pembunuhan terhadap Rusdhie dari penguasa Iran sehubungan dengan penulisan buku tersebut. Di lain pihak, masyarakat Inggris terdorong oleh sikap solidaritas sesama warga negara Inggris untuk bersikap membantu Rusdhie. Sedangkan, penguasa Iran yang mewakili umat Islam dunia mengancam membunuh Rusdhie karena dipandang telah memfitnah nabinya. Peristiwa semacam ini memberi kontribusi bagi rusaknya hubungan masyarakat Inggris dengan imigran Islam.

Disamping itu, masyarakat Inggris seperti umumnya masyarakat Barat memandang secara keliru ajaran Islam. Barat memaknai Islam sebagai agama yang memiliki ciri intervensionis, sarat dengan kekerasan, otoriter, diskriminatif, dan tidak sejalan dengan semangat gender. Akibatnya, Islam dipandang sebagai sesuatu yang mengancam peradaban Barat. Konsekuensinya Barat termasuk di dalamnya Inggris menempati posisi berlawanan atau berkonflik dengan umat Islam. Pendeknya mereka merasa saling curiga satu sama lain.

Ditambah lagi, intelektual Barat melakukan pengembangan teori atau teorisasi dan rasionalisasi secara kacau. Barat dan Islam dihadapkan atau diadudomba. Misalnya, Samuel Huntington, sosiolog Amerika yang

berpandangan bahwa seiring berakhirnya Perang Dingin pola hubungan internasional mengalami perubahan dari bipolarisme Barat melawan Timur kepada bipolarisme yang baru yaitu antara Barat melawan Islam. Hal ini diformulasikan sebagai konflik peradaban yang sempat mempengaruhi pikiran masyarakat beberapa waktu yang lalu. Sejumlah akademisi sempat terpesona oleh tesis Huntington. Jadi, sebenarnya siapa penyebar benih-benih konflik atau permusuhan? Walaupun tesis Huntington hanya merupakan suatu dari refleksi pemikiran, namun dampaknya cukup serius terhadap pola hubungan Barat dan Islam. Tesis Huntington ini pula yang mendorong sebagian kaum Muslimin berperang melawan Barat yang berujung pada tragedi WTC tahun 2001. Bukankah suatu aksi berawal dari ide?

Bertitik tolak dari tesis Huntington soal konflik peradaban di atas, pertanyaannya adalah apakah kekuatan negara-negara Islam setara dengan kekuatan Uni Soviet sehingga bisa menggantikannya melawan AS? Bagaimana mungkin ketidakseimbangan kekuatan ini bisa menggantikan posisi Uni Soviet seperti waktu era Perang Dingin. Bukti ketidakseimbangan adalah aksi semaunya AS dalam menghancurkan dua negara berpenduduk mayoritas Islam yaitu Irak dan Afganistan. Seandainya terjadi keseimbangan kekuatan seperti diidentifikasi oleh Huntington, maka AS tidak akan berani memporakporandakan keberadaan dua negara tersebut. Di samping itu, dunia Islam dalam keadaan tidak bersatu jadi sulit untuk bisa bicara keseimbangan kekuatan guna mengimbangi eksistensi AS. Kalaupun dunia Islam bersatu masih diragukan apakah dapat mengimbangi negara Adidaya AS kecuali menggunakan minyak sebagai alat politik untuk melakukan tekanan melalui embargo minyak seperti tahun 1973, meski ini pun masih perlu dikaji lebih jauh efektivitasnya.

Bandingkan keseimbangan kekuatan antara AS dan Soviet dalam Perang Dingin. Selama Perang Dingin berlangsung belum pernah AS dan Uni Soviet menghindari konflik terbuka secara langsung atau perang secara langsung. Hal ini terjadi karena memang mereka seimbang secara kekuatan. Seandainya kedua negara ini terlibat perang secara langsung, mereka akan hancur keduanya. Akibatnya, baik AS maupun Uni Soviet tidak mau terlibat perang secara langsung. Ini bukti keseimbangan kekuatan atau keseimbangan teror yang memang betul-betul ada atau hadir dalam pola interaksi antara dua kekuatan.

Berdasarkan pada logika perimbangan kekuatan, konflik peradaban antara Barat melawan Islam adalah tesis yang tidak benar. Secara akademik tesis tersebut tidak bisa dipertanggungjawabkan baik secara logika maupun empiris. Dalam kasus Perang Afganistan dan Perang Irak dimana AS memang berhadapan dengan negara yang berpenduduk mayoritas muslim. Namun demikian, hal ini tidak berarti membuktikan kebenaran tesis tersebut. Hal ini seperti pengakuan Presiden Bush sendiri bahwa aksi di kedua negara ini

bukan dalam rangka perang terhadap Islam. Perang Afganistan karena reaksi tragedi WTC dan untuk melumpuhkan kekuatan Al Qaeda dan Taliban. Sementara itu, Perang Irak disebabkan dendam pribadi Presiden Bush yunior terhadap pemimpin Irak yang merupakan warisan sikap permusuhan Bush senior terhadap Saddam Hussein.

Yang perlu digarisbawahi, Huntington adalah seorang sosiolog sehingga tidak punya kompetensi yang memadai untuk berbicara soal problem hubungan internasional. Wajar saja dia tidak memahami dengan baik prinsip-prinsip perimbangan kekuatan, sehingga dia dengan mudah menyederhanakan pola hubungan internasional atau bipolarisme. Huntington menukar posisi Uni Soviet dengan Islam dalam konteks sistem internasional pasca-Perang Dingin. Ada kemungkinan Huntington telah terjebak pada pelacuran intelektual, yaitu dia melayani dan menyuarakan kepentingan pihak-pihak tertentu yang anti-Islam. Dia menjadi juru bicara kepentingan dari musuh-musuh Islam agar Islam masuk dalam skenario musuh Barat karena ini cara paling efektif dan efisien melumpuhkan Islam. Setelah Barat mengalahkan Timur dalam Perang Dingin, kemudian giliran Islam diposisikan berhadapan dengan Barat dengan harapan juga dapat dikalahkan. Hal ini terkait dengan kenyataan bahwa Barat memiliki teknologi tinggi dan senjata yang sangat kuat. Keduanya merupakan elemen penting dalam sejarah perang modern.

Koalisi Islam-Politik di Inggris

Karena merasa sudah tidak cocok, kelompok imigran Muslim akhirnya keluar dari Koalisi Partai Buruh di Inggris. Hal ini tentu saja sebagai upaya untuk memperoleh peluang yang lebih baik memperjuangkan aspirasi kaum imigran Muslim tersebut. Walaupun ini mungkin berat untuk dilakukan, mereka akhirnya mampu mengambil keputusan yang sulit.

Pada awalnya keberadaan imigran muslim di Inggris diwakili oleh Partai Buruh. Partai ini relatif lebih bisa menerima keberadaan imigran Muslim ketimbang Partai Konservatif. Ideologi Partai Buruh yang mengedepankan liberalisme, keterbukaan, dan kebebasan, sehingga lebih memungkinkan hidupnya multikulturalisme dan kemajemukan. Wajar jika Partai Buruh lebih menjadi pilihan dari unsur-unsur masyarakat yang termarginalkan dalam proses politik di Inggris, termasuk kaum imigran Muslim.

Namun demikian, kasus penulisan buku *Satanic Verses* oleh Rusdhie seperti tersebut di atas telah mengecewakan kaum Muslimin di Inggris. Partai Buruh tidak bersikap seperti yang diharapkan kaum Muslim (Basyar, 2006: 117). Sikap Rusdhie tersebut menyakitkan kaum Muslimin. Kecaman keras dan usulan hukuman berat diharapkan keluar dari pernyataan Partai Buruh, namun hal itu tidak terjadi, padahal Partai Buruh adalah satu-satunya kendaraan politik yang diharapkan untuk memberi tekanan politik kepada

Salman Rusdhie. Seandainya Partai Buruh yang merupakan partai berwibawa itu memberi kecaman keras kepada penulis buku itu, tentu saja dia sama halnya menerima pukulan politik yang telak. Karena yang terjadi justru Partai Buruh bersikap netral, situasi ini bisa dimaknai sebagai kekalahan imigran Muslim dan kemenangan politik Rusdhie.

Sebagai akibat dari kasus tersebut, umat Islam di Inggris akhirnya memilih untuk tidak berkoalisi dengan Partai Buruh. Partai ini dianggap sikapnya terlalu lunak dan kurang mencerminkan aspirasi kaum Muslimin dalam kasus tersebut. Partai Buruh dinilai sudah tidak lagi menjadi wadah yang tepat untuk mengartikulasikan kepentingan politik imigran Muslim Inggris. Sikap kaum imigran ini dipandang sebagai aksi politik yang penuh harga diri dan terhormat.

Kasus penulisan ini menyebabkan munculnya sebagai sikap paradoks. Di satu sisi, fenomena ini dipandang sebagai tidak lebih dari gejala biasa dari kebebasan berekspresi, sedangkan di sisi yang lain fenomena ini dipandang sebagai suatu penistaan agama di mana pelakunya harus dihukum. Kalau sudah memasuki konflik bernuansa agama atau keyakinan sulit dicarikan solusinya. Kalaupun terjadi dialog belum tentu membuahkan hasil yang diterima oleh kedua belah pihak. Masalahnya kasus ini merupakan sesuatu yang mendasar. Sebagian masyarakat Inggris merasa dirinya sebagai pelopor kebebasan, tetapi pada saat yang sama kaum Muslim merasa berkewajiban mengawal eksistensi agamanya.

Akibat kekecewaan itu, kaum muslimin mendeklarasikan "*the Muslim Manifesto*" pada tahun 1990 (Basyar, 2006). Deklarasi ini memuat dua hal penting, yaitu: (1) Strategi menghadapi masalah internal kaum Muslimin; dan (2) Strategi menghadapi keberadaan kaum muslimin di tengah-tengah non-Muslim. Strategi pertama dipahami seperti upaya untuk melakukan konsolidasi terhadap persoalan-persoalan di dalam kaum Muslimin sendiri. Hal ini penting dilakukan untuk menjaga kekompakan dan persatuan umat Islam di Inggris. Sedangkan strategi kedua lebih kepada pola berhubungan dengan masyarakat di luar Islam. Sikap saling menghormati tentu menjadi etika penting untuk menjaga kerukunan antar umat beragama di Inggris. Sikap untuk bersabar dan tidak mudah terprovokasi juga sesuatu yang penting bagi menjaga hubungan baik antara kaum Muslimin dengan umat yang non-Muslim.

Namun demikian, dari sisi lain keluarnya kaum Muslimin dari koalisi Partai Buruh dipandang mengurangi posisi tawarnya di dalam struktur perimbangan politik di Inggris. Sebaliknya, berkoalisinya kaum Muslim dengan Partai Buruh dinilai mendongkrak posisi tawar politiknya. Sebagian masyarakat dan pengamat menilai keputusan kaum Muslimin ini sesuatu yang mengandung unsur emosional ketimbang rasional. Dari sisi ideologis,

hal ini dipandang mencerminkan langkah politik yang konsisten dengan garis perjuangannya dan ideologi.

Keluarnya kekuatan Islam dari koalisi Partai Buruh dapat juga dipandang sebagai dinamika demokrasi. Politik selalu dinamis dan berjalan menuju arah kepentingan yang terkadang sejalan dan terkadang berbenturan di antara unsur-unsurnya atau faksi-faksinya. Pada saat itu, nampaknya Partai Buruh sengaja mengambil garis moderat dalam menyikapi kasus Salman Rusdhie. Hal ini berkaitan dengan kenyataan bahwa faksi di dalam Partai Buruh beragam dan kaum Muslimin hanyalah salah satu faksi saja. Seandainya partai ini mengambil garis keras dengan memberi kecaman atau pernyataan yang keras bagaimana dengan faksi-faksi lain yang bukan dari unsur kaum Muslimin, apalagi kaum Muslimin bukan faksi yang mayoritas dalam Partai Buruh itu. Sikap yang demikian belum tentu bisa diterima oleh faksi-faksi lain dari aliran politik non-Islam.

Namun demikian, hal yang perlu dicermati adalah standar ganda dalam nilai kebebasan yang dianut oleh pemerintah dan masyarakat Inggris. Hal ini sebagai refleksi sikap tidak konsisten dari mereka dan sekaligus cermin dari sikap tidak objektif atau bias terhadap keberadaan kaum Muslim dan anti-Muslim di Inggris. Jadi, erdapat standar ganda dalam kehidupan sosial politik di Inggris terkait dengan isu Islam dan imigran Muslim. Khususnya dalam kasus tersebut, masyarakat Inggris menyampaikan sikap atas nama kebebasan ketika Salman Rudhie melakukan tindakan yang menyakiti hati umat Islam. Namun demikian, masyarakat Inggris tidak menyampaikan hal yang sama ketika Muslim Inggris mendapat perlakuan diskriminatif dalam kehidupan sosial-politiknya seperti dikatakan di bagian sebelumnya.

Berdasarkan hal ini, sikap konsisten masyarakat dan pemerintah Inggris dalam soal penegakan nilai kebebasan dan prinsip persamaan patut dipertanyakan. Masyarakat Inggris bersikap bias dalam menegakan nilai-nilai kebebasan di negaranya. Mereka tidak bersikap objektif dan adil dalam menyikapi kasus yang melibatkan Salman Rusdhie dan kaum Muslim, padahal keduanya mempresentasikan warga negara yang syah di Inggris. Tampaknya nilai seorang Salman Rusdhie yang keturunan India masih lebih bernilai ketimbang jutaan kaum Muslim di Inggris.

Catatan Penutup

Sikap intoleransi dan diskriminasi telah mendorong mundurnya semangat multikulturalisme di Eropa Barat khususnya di Inggris. Sikap ini kontra produktif dengan dinamika dan hakekat demokrasi yang selama ini dipahami secara universal. Sikap yang mengkhianati nilai-nilai persamaan dan kebebasan yang sebelumnya dipegang secara teguh. Rotasi sikap politik yang berputar dari bandul politik yang satu kepada yang lain, dari sikap politik

primitif di era sejarah masa lalu menuju sikap rasional dan ber peradaban di era modern yang mengagungkan nilai-nilai luhur, lalu kembali kepada sikap politik primitif yang melanggar nilai-nilai kemanusiaan.

Kemunduran sikap politik dalam ukuran-ukuran peradaban masyarakat sipil atau masyarakat madani ini terjadi karena dipengaruhi oleh sejumlah faktor. Pertama, kecemburuan sosial atas kehadiran dan keberhasilan kaum imigran. Hadirnya sejumlah imigran ke Eropa berdampak positif, namun juga bisa negatif. Kehadiran imigran berdampak positif ketika keberadaannya bersifat komplementer. Misalnya di sektor ketenagakerjaan, para imigran menjadi tenaga buruh yang bekerja di pabrik-pabrik di Eropa Barat. Hal ini terjadi ketika negara tersebut sudah tidak banyak lagi memiliki tenaga buruh. Akibatnya para imigran tadi bisa dimanfaatkan menjadi tenaga buruh di negara-negara Eropa Barat tersebut. Di satu sisi para imigran membutuhkan pekerjaan, sementara di sisi lain industri-industri ringan negara-negara Eropa Barat tertentu membutuhkan tenaga tidak terdidik atau kaum buruh dari luar negaranya.

Keberadaan kaum imigran ini berdampak negatif ketika keberadaannya bersifat kompetitif. Keberadaan kaum imigran menjadi bisa saingan para pencari kerja warga asli negara-negara di Eropa Barat. Para imigran yang berstatus tenaga buruh bisa menjadi saingan dari negara-negara Eropa Barat yang masih memiliki jumlah tenaga buruh yang banyak atau masih memiliki angka pengangguran yang tinggi. Formasi lowongan yang ada diperebutkan antara kaum imigran dan warga asli negara-negara tersebut. Kondisi persaingan ini bisa berkembang menjadi persaingan tidak sehat diantara mereka. Fenomena persaingan tidak sehat ini antara lain bisa dimaknai dari sikap anti-imigran yang ditunjukkan oleh sebagian penduduk asli negara-negara Eropa Barat karena imigran dipandang menjadi ancaman dalam memasuki pasar kerja di negaranya.

Kedua, sikap sebagian warga di Eropa Barat yang anti-imigran Muslim karena adanya stigma teroris terhadap Islam. Hanya karena agama yang dianut oleh sebagian imigran sama dengan agama yang dianut oleh teroris yang melakukan aksi teror disejumlah tempat. Kasus teror di WTC dan aksi teror di beberapa tempat tidak boleh digeneralisir bahwa kekerasan ini mencerminkan dari sikap umat Islam di seluruh dunia. Dalam pandangan kaum imigran Muslim, sikap ini tentu saja dinilai tidak adil dan semena-mena karena umumnya mereka juga mengutuk aksi teroris tersebut karena Islam tidak mengajarkan kekerasan. Dengan demikian, kaum imigran Muslim mempertanyakan argumentasi sesungguhnya dari sikap anti-imigran dan anti-Islam ini yang belakangan ini marak melanda Eropa Barat.

Ketiga, aspek sejarah yang terlupakan mendorong terancamnya Multikulturalisme di Eropa khususnya di Inggris sebagai indikasi menurunnya sikap toleransi dalam kehidupan sosial politik. Negara dan

sebagian masyarakatnya sedang melangkah mundur dalam perlindungan hak-hak warga negara dalam kehidupan sosial politik. Eksistensinya sebagai negara pelopor nilai-nilai demokrasi dan kebebasan sejak abad ke-13 yang ditandai oleh lahirnya *Magna Charta* dan *the Glorious Revolution* di abad ke-17 saat ini sedang terlupakan, sehingga tak berdaya untuk memberi pencerahan pada kehidupan sosial politik di Inggris.

Keempat, mispersepsi juga berkontribusi terhadap sikap segolongan orang di Inggris yang anti-Islam. Pola hubungan masyarakat Inggris dan umat Islam dipengaruhi oleh ketidakseimbangan informasi. Masyarakat Inggris lebih banyak menerima informasi yang bersifat negatif ketimbang yang bersifat positif tentang Islam. Hal ini menimbulkan salah persepsi masyarakat Inggris terhadap Islam. Masyarakat khusus warga Inggris memperoleh informasi yang tidak benar tentang Islam. Informasi yang keliru tentang Islam menimbulkan salah persepsi terhadap Islam yang dilabelkan sebagai simbol kekerasan, anti gender, anti HAM, dan anti demokrasi.

Perang informasi merupakan problem besar yang dialami oleh dunia Islam. Dunia Islam harus berhasil meyakinkan kepada Barat bahwa mereka selama ini telah keliru dalam memandang nilai-nilai Islam. Barat telah tercemar oleh aliran informasi dari kelompok anti-Islam sehingga keliru dalam memandang keberadaan Islam. Ajaran Islam yang memberi rahmat kepada seluruh isi alam diubah citranya menjadi Islam yang penuh dengan kekerasan dan menakutkan. Walaupun diakui di sebagian dunia Islam sekarang ini kerap terjadi aksi kekerasan, hal itu bukan sikap kaum Muslim yang merujuk pada nilai-nilai Islam yang mengedepankan sabar, damai, dan toleran terhadap lawan-lawannya, namun perilaku sebagian kaum pejuang Muslim yang terbawa arus perjuangan politik yang dinamis, tegas, dan keras. Mereka meyakini perlu strategi perjuangan alternatif atau yang tidak biasa dalam menghadapi lawan-lawan yang berat. ●

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People's Knowledge, People's Defense: Utilizing Local Practices for Disaster Safety and Adaptation in Rapu-Rapu, Albay, Philippines

Jesusa Grace J. Molina

Abstrak

Kepulauan Rapu-rapu di Filipina merupakan wilayah yang dikenal sebagai daerah rawan bencana hidrometeorologikal sebagai akibat dari letak geografis dan faktor fisik wilayah tersebut. Pada tahun 2006, pulau ini mengalami bencana besar *Typhoon Reming* yang membawa dampak serius terhadap keberlangsungan hidup masyarakat yang tinggal di pulau tersebut. Berbagai dampak negatif yang diakibatkan oleh bencana ini adalah kerusakan fisik, sosial, dan ekonomi masyarakat yang mengakibatkan terdegradasinya penghidupan masyarakat.

Berdasarkan pengalaman pahit yang dialami tahun 2006 tersebut, masyarakat bertekad untuk mempersiapkan sekaligus memproteksi diri dan wilayah mereka dari potensi bencana alam tragis yang masih sangat mungkin terjadi di masa yang akan datang. Untuk itu, masyarakat lokal menginvestasikan sumber daya mereka pada berbagai program dan pengukuran pengurangan risiko bencana yang memanfaatkan kekayaan pengetahuan, kemampuan, dan budaya lokal yang dimiliki. Sebagai contohnya, masyarakat telah membangun sistem peringatan dini, lumbung pangan untuk masa krisis bencana, membentuk *bintaas*—sebuah tempat aman yang terletak di bagian atas rumah penduduk yang dimanfaatkan untuk menyimpan barang-barang berharga ketika banjir—dan menciptakan inovasi-inovasi lokal lainnya seperti peralatan pancing inovatif yang membantu mereka meningkatkan produktivitas hasil tangkapan ikan. Di samping berbagai upaya yang telah disebutkan, masyarakat juga membangun hubungan dan bekerjasama dengan berbagai organisasi, baik organisasi lokal maupun asing, untuk meningkatkan kapasitas mereka.

Makalah ini menyajikan praktek-praktek aktual masyarakat Pulau Rapu-rapu dalam mengurangi risiko bencana yang disertai dengan kekuatan bukti-bukti pengalaman penggunaan pengetahuan dan kemampuan lokal sebagai salah satu ujung tombak benteng pertahanan masyarakat yang tinggal di wilayah yang berisiko tinggi terhadap bencana. Melalui makalah ini, pembaca diajak untuk kembali mempertimbangkan kekuatan kapasitas lokal dalam mengurangi bencana melalui visi dan tindakan yang aman, berdaya tahan, dan dinamis.

Kata kunci: pengetahuan lokal, kerentanan, penanganan dan adaptasi bencana, Pulau Rapu-rapu, Filipina

Introduction

The frequency of large-scale disasters induced by hydro-meteorological hazards is undeniably increasing over the past years. The occurrence of these life-threatening events brings havoc to people's lives, properties, economic activities, social practices and environment. The rising detrimental impacts of disasters in the recent years have become evident and amongst the identified culprits of such happening is the climate change phenomenon. The said phenomenon triggers episodes of extreme weather events and sea level rise. With such incidents, intensified effects of typhoons, floods, flash floods, storm surges, and droughts significantly affect the people especially those living in coastal and small island communities. The Inter-Governmental Panel on Climate Change defined small islands in their Fourth Assessment Report in 2007 as *“highly vulnerable to the impacts of climate change and sea-level rise. They comprise small land masses surrounded by ocean, and are frequently located in regions prone to natural disasters, often of a hydrometeorological and/or geological nature. In tropical areas they host relatively large populations for the area they occupy, with high growth rates and densities. Many small islands have poorly developed infrastructure and limited natural, human and economic resources, and often small island populations are dependent on marine resources to meet their protein needs. Most of their economies are reliant on a limited resource base and are subject to external forces, such as changing terms of trade, economic liberalisation, and migration flows. Adaptive capacity to climate change is generally low, though traditionally there has been some resilience in the face of environmental change”*.

Given their physical, geographical and socio-economic attributes, the inhabitants of coastal and small islands communities are highly vulnerable to the ill consequences of disaster and climate risks. Although they suffer most the fury of disasters, less attention is devoted to them. Majority of disaster risk reduction (DRR) and climate change adaptation (CCA) efforts and investments are focused at the global, regional, and national levels. This alarming situation poses the need to engage the community in addressing their vulnerabilities utilizing their intrinsic capacities. Taking into account that community is the first responders during emergencies and it is fundamental for their capacities to be harnessed and enhanced for disaster safety and resiliency. An attempt to respond to the aforementioned is the implementation of an action research under the *Strengthening Resilience of Coastal and Small Island Communities Towards Hydro-Meteorological Hazards and Climate Change Impacts (StResCom) Project* initiated by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) – Jakarta with financial assistance from the Japanese Government. The project started in 2011 with the aim of reducing disaster risks and increasing the resilience of coastal and small island communities through encouraging stakeholders' involvement in preparedness, prevention, mitigation and adaptive activities using their local and indigenous knowledge

(LINK). UNESCO-Jakarta defined LINK as “*cumulative and complex bodies of knowledge, know-how, practices and representations that are maintained and developed by people with extended histories of interactions with the natural environment. Such knowledge based on the experiences and observations of peoples over generations can contribute to an increased understanding of climate change and help develop community-level adaptation strategies*”. The undertaking is also keen to promoting the integration of LINK with science-based knowledge as well as the development of community action plans for DRR and CCA with special focus on hydro-meteorological hazards.

The municipal island of Rapu-Rapu is one of the project sites considering that it is comprised of coastal barangays which are highly susceptible to the threats of disasters and climate change. With the aid of social integration, focus group discussions, key informant interviews, participation in community activities, workshop, and consultations with the community residents, the wealth of LINK which people use for DRR and CCA in the coastal municipality was surfaced. The indigenous knowledge and skills have become their fundamental weapon during disaster events. Specifically, their inherent capacities are used for early warning in times of emergencies, food preservation, livelihood and construction of safer housing. Over time, the people depended on these collections of LINK and have learned to enhance them for safety, adaptation and survival.

Rapu-Rapu and Its Vulnerabilities and Hazards

Rapu-Rapu is the sole island municipality belonging to the province of Albay in the Bicol Region. It is composed of thirty four (34) barangays¹ covered by the three small islands that form the municipality namely Rapu-Rapu, Batan and Guinangayan. The topography of the area is characterized by narrow coastal plains, rolling-to-steep slopes and mountains. Coastal and aquatic resources are abundant in the area making fishing as the top economic activity of the residents. A significant portion of its dwellers also engage in agriculture for subsistence. Apart from fishing and farming, it is a host to a big Polymetallic Mining Project which is also a source of income for the locals.

The whole municipality has a land area of 16,180 hectares inhabited by a total population of 38, 924 individuals (7,567 households). The earliest inhabitants of the area are from Catanduanes and were later followed by migrant settlers from Albay and other provinces in the Philippines. There are also residents belonging to various ethnic groups (i.e. *Maguindanaos, Maranaws, Surigaonons, Zamboanguenos* and *Tausugs* from Mindanao and *Cebuanos, Boholanos, Aklanons, Ilonggos* and *Warays* from the Visayas) possibly because of inter-marriages and influx of migrants prompted by the thriving

¹ Barangay (village) is the smallest administrative unit in the Philippine society

fishing and mining businesses (Risk Asia Consulting, Inc., 2006). The indigenous group called *Agtang Tabangnon* are the majority of ethnic dwellers of the municipality. They belong to the 23, 270 Agta people in the Bicol Region listed by the National Commission for Indigenous Peoples (NCIP). The *Agtang Tabangnon* descended from parents of a pure *Agta* and native lowlanders. Roman Catholicism remains to be the predominant religion in the island municipality.

Considering that the municipality is isolated from hospitals and other advanced medical facilities given its island nature, most of its inhabitants believe and engage into traditional healing practices using herbal plants and other animals as remedy for their illnesses.

Despite being categorized as a 2nd class municipality, Rapu-Rapu still exhibits a poverty-stricken image which exacerbates its vulnerability to multiple hazards. The locals are confronted with problems in meeting their basic needs. In general, food production in the municipality is insufficient. Many food items, including meat, poultry and vegetables, excluding fish are imported from the mainland Albay or Legazpi City. In spite of the abounding marine resources, perpetuation of destructive practices such illegal fishing destroyed the coral reefs resulting to the attenuation of fish catch. Quarrying of gravel and coral sand as well as the continuous mining operation have also contributed to the threatened state of the coastal resources. In terms of shelter, 56% of houses in the municipality are made of light materials while 24% are semi-concrete and the concrete houses comprise the 20% remaining (ASCEND Participatory Capacity and Vulnerability Assessment Result, June 2011).

Access to social services is also a challenge that locals have to deal with. Among the concrete manifestations of the said issues are the following: insufficient health facilities and services; poor school and learning facilities; inadequate social and agricultural infrastructures; irregular supply of electricity; poor road networks; weak internal and external communication system and; limited participation of people in local governance (Coastal Core Sorsogon, 2011).

The abovementioned socio-economic vulnerable conditions of Rapu-Rapu have escalated its exposure to hydro-meteorological hazards. It is not to mention its physical and geographical characteristics which also make it prone to multiple hazards. This is not only true for the municipality but for the whole province of Albay as well. The island municipality is susceptible to strong and frequent typhoons, storm surges, sudden swells, small tornadoes, north-eastern (*amihan*) and south-western monsoon (*habagat*), prolong rainy season/tail-end of the cold front, flood, and rain-induced landslides, sea level rise and coastal erosion. Earthquake and its associated hazards (i.e.

liquefaction, landslide and tsunami) are also deemed to be threats to people’s lives.

Majority of the barangays that make up the island municipality are located in the coastal plains, low lying areas and some are also directly facing the Pacific Ocean. Such condition exposes many of the inhabitants at-risk to strong winds, storm surges, floods, landslides and tsunami. In the recent years, the locals have noticed changes in the frequency of occurrence and the scale of impacts of various disasters. Extreme weather events triggered stronger typhoons, greater inundation, severe winds and higher storm surges. Isolation, food shortage, health risks, disruption of livelihoods, damage to properties and loss of lives are among the identified bitter upshots of extreme weather events that defy the community.

Table 1:
The risk assessment results on affected families per identified hazard of the community:

IDENTIFIED HAZARDS OF RAPU-RAPU	TOTAL NUMBER OF FAMILIES AFFECTED	TOTAL NUMBER OF POPULATION AFFECTED
Tsunami	4,358	20,840
Landslide	666	3,104
Storm Surge	2,587	11,905
Strong winds	5,611	19,274
Flood	1,253	6,079
Flashfloods	102	1,162
Subsidence	3	15

Source: Christian Aid and Coastal CORE’s ASCEND project in 2010-2011

From the accounts of the people, Typhoon Reming (International name: Durian) is considered as the worst disaster that ever hit the island municipality. According to the Philippine Atmospheric, Geophysical and Astronomical Services Administration (PAGASA), this typhoon is also worst in the country in terms of gustiness. It happened in November 2006. Many houses have collapsed and incurred great damage particularly those made of light and scrap materials. Due to extreme heavy downpour, it was zero visibility. Chest-deep inundation and storm surges which both measured approximately 4 feet were experienced by them. In Caracaran, one of its barangays, the people have narrated that the winds produced a whistle-like sound and hit the walls and windows. Such wind intensity has blown the roofs of houses away as well as pushed boats and big rocks inside the houses.

Besides the aforesaid, the following changes have been observed by the locals in the recent years: shorter distance of shoreline from the constructed

houses, physical landscape and contours, extended wet season, extreme dry season and decrease in fish yield.

Local and Indigenous DRR and CCA Practices and Initiatives

The multi-faceted vulnerabilities of the island municipality prompted its people to make use and develop their LINK to ensure their protection as first responder in the event of a disaster. The locals possess inherent knowledge, skills and attitude which they use to prepare for, prevent and mitigate, and recover from disasters. Additionally, their wealth of LINK also serves as their coping and adaptive mechanism to the inevitable emergence of climate risks. Through time, their indigenous capacities have been challenged by the worsening impacts of life-threatening events triggered by hydro-meteorological and geological hazards, human activities and climate change. Their constant encounter with hazards of varying nature also enable them to further enhance their LINK for the achievement of sustainable development and culture of safety.

The inhabitants of Rapu-Rapu depend on manifold sources of local and indigenous knowledge which they employ for DRR and CCA agenda. Amongst these sources include animal behavior, wind movement, cloud formation, celestial bodies, traditional practices, faith and actual observation in the environment. Apart from the aforementioned, the locality's past experiences have also enriched their existing capacities which equipped them with brilliant ideas and relevant skills to facilitate innovations in the provision of early warning, livelihood, food production and preservation and housing construction. The LINK sources and its practical application have become their shield and mechanism for survival amidst disasters, deteriorating environmental condition and a changing climate.

Various animals from land and water have been identified by the dwellers of coastal communities to be effective in relaying early warning for an approaching bad weather. The observance of their unusual behaviour and movements alert them to protect their lives and secure their properties. Considering that these areas don't have regular access to television and radio for up-to-date weather forecasts, the local people have largely depended on these animals for alert which enable them to execute corresponding preparedness actions. The island inhabitants have recognized the vital role of certain species of birds, insects, reptiles, sea shells and other marine creatures in early warning. In fact, these evident animal actions are incorporated in the early warning system (EWS) of the barangay and municipal contingency plans. Among the commonly seen warning signs for heavy rains include a jumping stingray, a flying duck and ants crawling upward.

Besides animal behaviour, the locals have also relied on celestial bodies like the moon and the stars as early warning instruments. Their location and

color provide useful information on an impending typhoon and other related hazards. In addition, the color and formation of clouds as well as the wind movement are likewise identified to have a fundamental role in making the community more vigilant. A moon surrounded by rainbow or reddish color and presence of half rainbow in the sky denote either the coming of a typhoon, strong winds or storm surges.

The observation of actual happenings in their natural surroundings particularly in the plants and trees, the sea, and the nearby island provide them with essential information for preparedness and performance of their economic activities. The people believe that when the sea emits strong fish-like smell, locally called *malansa*, strong winds, storm surges and typhoon may be experienced. On the other hand, when *barbo tree* bears fruit, hunger will be experienced in the area.

The island municipality's residents have also utilized their traditional practices and material culture technology for securing their livelihoods. A sustainable economic activity is crucial to achieve resiliency since it determines one's capacity to provide the basic needs of his or her family. Taking into account the deleterious environmental changes spurred by both natural and anthropogenic factors, the people have utilized such beliefs and customs to attain greater harvest. Their unsustainable and destructive practices have greatly affected the marine and land resources which endanger not only the future of present population but of the next generation as well. One prominent example of their traditional practices is *pagtutuob*, a ritual done by burning incense together with *bariw and binit* leaves with the aid of charcoal. Apart from the said leaves, some residents also burn chicken feathers, *amorseko* (a type of plant), lemon grass, ginger, and palm. The smoke produced out of the burnt materials is brought around the boat while a prayer is being uttered. Part of the ritual is hitting the boat inside with *binit* leaves. This is normally done during the season when the fish catch is low.

The island settlers have also exhibited initiatives to utilize indigenous resources and materials for their economic advantage and safety. Specifically, these innovations have been used for fishing, farming and early warning. One of these is *bodyong*, a horn made up of big sea shell, used as a warning device in the community. For ensuring better yield, local fishermen also engaged in using *buyod-buyod*, a shrimp-like figure that serves as bait to catch *kulambutan* (big squid) and octopus. Other than *buyod-buyod*, *pangugita* (also known as *rambo*), a fishing gear made of black umbrella or clothing, also acts as bait for octopus. Moreover, a locally grown plant commonly found in mountains called *karagumoy* (pandan leaf) is also utilized as a raw material for making mats and baskets. Weaving of said native products is one of the alternative livelihoods when fishing is not possible due to weather disturbances. Women from the *Agtang Tabangnon* group and low lands are involved in this activity.

Given the fact that food sources are intermittent during disaster events, the inhabitants of Rapu-Rapu have also embarked on food preservation techniques to ensure their nourishment. Amongst these techniques are the production of starch from cassava; drying, smoking and salting of fish; and drying of *gabi* (taro) leaves. Other than the abovementioned, a distinctive food preservation technique done by the locals particularly the *Agtang Tabangnon* is called *kalot* where they excavate a portion of the land to make a hole. Root crops like camote and cassava are usually stored inside the hole and filled with soil. The possibility of rotting is reduced and the stored root crops can be consumed up to a month's time. One of the natives recounted that the burrowed hole serves as their refrigerator.

Since the barangays of the municipality are coastal in nature, flood induced by storm surge or typhoon is also a constant hazard that its people have to face and prepare for. In response to this, the locals made an initiative to construct a safer housing structure. Most of the houses in the island municipality have an elevated space called *bintaas* to secure their belongings and other important documents from inundation. In regular days, the *bintaas* serves as a stock room for storing bulky things which are not used regularly. This also helps in saving space.

Although it may seem to appear that the residents of Rapu-Rapu have purely utilized LINK for DRR and CCA concerns, an effort to harmonize science-based knowledge to their initiatives was also realized. This came into being through the assistance of Building Disaster Resilient Small Island Communities Project (BDRSIP) and *Advancing Safer Communities and Environment Against Disaster (ASCEND) Project* jointly implemented by Coastal Core Sorsogon and Christian Aid. These undertakings provided opportunities for the locals to strengthen their LINK as well as acquire new capacities that will allow them to become better DRR and CCA actors. A series of capacity building activities have been conducted for them and these included Basic Orientation on DRR and CCA; Participatory Capacity and Vulnerability Assessment (PCVA); Emergency Response and Assessment; First Aid and Basic Life Support (BLS); Water Search and Rescue (WASAR), Information and Communication Workshop and Municipal Contingency Planning.

The Participatory Capacity and Vulnerability Assessment (PCVA) conducted in the communities with the involvement of Barangay Council, Barangay Health Workers, Barangay *Tanod* (police), teachers, volunteers, women, youth, elderly and indigenous people. They became the basis for crafting their contingency plans where hazard-specific early warning system, evacuation plan and communication protocol are incorporated. The PCVA became an avenue to collectively study the hazards, risks and threats of their locality as well as the skills and knowledge that the people utilize it to withstand the adverse impacts of possible disasters. Each barangay came

up with their own hazard map featuring the dangerous and safe areas to typhoons, landslides and tsunamis. The map also helped them in identifying the safe and elevated places where they can evacuate.

Along with the PCVA, the barangay was also able to organize its disaster risk management committee which is currently referred to as the Barangay Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Committee (BDRRMC). This organization is the lead body in the barangay that handles disaster risk reduction and climate change adaptation issues and concerns. The BDRRMC is composed of representatives from the Barangay Council, Barangay Health Workers, Barangay Nutrition Scholar, youth, elementary school, elderly, *purok* leaders and indigenous people. Various committees were also formed to ensure system, clear delineation of roles and effective performance of tasks. Among the organized committees included the following: communication, transportation, supply, security, warning, evacuation management, warning, rescue and retrieval, relief, damage control and medical (Molina, 2012).

Using the results of the PCVA, contingency planning was carried out to determine priority actions to be done by key stakeholders for specific hazards. To test their plans, a simulation was also organized to see the gaps and the things that need to be improved.

Conclusions

The collection of DRR and CCA LINK of Rapu-Rapu is greatly dependent on the environmental which its people inhabit. The wealth of local practices and skills of the residents also reflect the kind of culture and lifestyle they have. This is supported by the description of Ellen (2000) to indigenous knowledge as rooted to a particular place and generated by people living in those places. Those who live in the mountains like the Agtang Tabangnon employ indigenous practices related to land-based activities like agriculture (i.e. *kalot*). Meanwhile, those who dwell near the coastal plains make use of knowledge mainly sourced from the behaviour of marine creatures and observations in the sea waters. Furthermore, they also have practices linked to coastal-based activities like fishing (i.e. *pagtutuob*). These practices are geared towards economic subsistence and safety.

The natural surroundings of the people play a vital role as a rich source of indigenous knowledge and skills. The animals, plants, clouds and celestial bodies give them valuable information related to early warning. Given their rural and coastal setting, the people have closer interaction with the living things found in their natural environment as compared to the urban areas where buildings have sprawled and advanced technology created individualism.

The existing LINK that people have can be applied in manifold vital activities for their safety and from the increasing disaster and climate risks. The communities have their own beliefs and practices for early warning provision, food production and preservation, safer housing and sustainable livelihoods. These developed over time and have been enriched by the experiences of different generations.

The various local and indigenous practices in the coastal communities are sustained given that they are only small in land area. Such condition made it possible for the transfer of knowledge to easily transpire among families, relatives and neighbours. Being family oriented is an evident feature of the people inhabiting the coastal barangays. This value helps in sustaining the LINK since it is continuously passed on from one generation to another. Although, the local knowledge and practices are not documented, they are able to share it informally, mostly through informal conversations. In most cases, the LINK already existed even before the current residents were born. They have witnessed their grandparents and parents doing such practices and this encouraged them to adapt the same.

Changes brought about by natural forces, environmental degradation and human activities have also encouraged the people to implement and innovate coping strategies to survive physically and economically. This is particularly in the case of fishermen who are confronted with problems on low fish catch in the recent years. In the past, they can catch a lot even by just staying at the shoreline. However, at present, even if they go to the sea and stay there for a day, they only get minimal harvest. With this dilemma, they have utilized fishing gears that will help them augment their harvest (i.e. *buyod-buyod*, *bubo*, and *pangugita* or *rambo*). This is an attestation to the accounts of Ellen (2000) describing indigenous knowledge as *"a consequence of practical engagement in everyday life; it is constantly changing, being produced as well as reproduced, discovered as well as lost"*.

The people's high exposure and vulnerability to disaster and climate risks have also prompted them to harness their LINK. Considering that they are constantly battered by hydro-meteorological hazards (i.e. typhoon, storm surges and heavy rains), the people have exhibited the initiative to seek ways to reduce the disaster risks and adapt with the changing climate. The major disaster experiences they have encountered such as Typhoon Reming imparted them with significant lessons which guide them to enhance their current DRR and CCA initiatives.

Despite the richness of the island barangays in local knowledge and practices on DRR and CCA, it is a sad fact that some have already vanished over time. There are multiple factors which contributed to why the people have stopped from engaging into such practices which eventually led to its disappearance. One of these factors is the presence of modern technology. The

young generation exhibits less reliance to some LINK because of their exposure to media and advanced technology where they derive useful information on weather updates and forecasts. This also contributes in nurturing the notion that the indigenous knowledge and practices are just superstitious beliefs.

Apart from the advent of technology, the changing climate also affected the performance of some traditional practices (i.e. *kalot*). Given the change in the soil temperature due to the extreme climate (too warm and too cold), storing of food in the soil is not feasible anymore since it becomes prone to rotting.

The role of an external organization was fundamental in inculcating a culture of safety in the coastal communities of Rapu-Rapu. It helped in establishing DRR and CCA initiatives which empowered and taught the people embrace proactive ways of responding to disaster and climate risks. With the aid of the BDRSIP and ASCEND projects, the people learned the importance of disaster preparedness and climate change adaptation. They underwent various capacity building activities to equip them with right knowledge, skills and attitude.

Good governance is also key factor to achieve sustainability of any development work including DRR and CCA. Officials from the Municipal Local Government Unit and Barangay Council should indeed work hand in hand as well as exemplify willingness to serve the people. Their commitment is fundamental to continue whatever has been started. Since they are the ones legally mandated to do such, it is important that they are held accountable in fulfilling their duties and obligations. The formation of the Barangay Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Committee (BDRRMC) became an effective mechanism for the Council to exercise leadership and hard work. Furthermore, presence of strong political will is crucial in any endeavour to succeed since the leaders' support is guaranteed.

Partnership building is also essential to successfully implement DRR and CCA initiatives. Through establishing linkages with different stakeholders from the national scale down to the local, greater support is mobilized. Resources of all kinds (i.e. financial, material, social, technical) are also generated leading to an improved implementation of community initiatives that will benefit a greater population. The ASCEND project was instrumental in facilitating partnership across different sectors (i.e. women, elderly, youth, education, health) and they worked together in realizing different activities geared towards the reduction of risks (i.e. mangrove planting, PCVA and contingency planning).

Multi-stakeholder participation remains a critical factor to ensure the longevity of DRR and CCA initiatives. When community people from manifold sectors are involved, sense of ownership and empowerment are also

instilled on them. The local people were encouraged to actively participate in various capacity building activities through the help of the BDRSIP and ASCEND projects. Their involvement provided them an avenue to let their voices be heard and exercise their role as able actors. These voices reflect their pertinent issues, concerns and needs that need to be addressed to ensure safety, resiliency and development.

Provision of basic community services and facilities (i.e. water supply and secondary school) is also a priority concern that has to be dealt with by the local government unit (LGU) in order to reduce people's vulnerability to disaster and climate risks. This is particularly in the case of the *Agtang Tabangnon* people who do not have access to clean water. This increases their vulnerability to water-borne diseases during regular days and more so during disaster events.

Provision of alternative livelihood activities is also deemed important since the absence of economic opportunities especially for those who were not able to finish their studies encourage the people to resort to destructive income generating activities (i.e. illegal fishing). ●

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