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SAMBUTAN KETUA UMUM ASOSIASI SARJANA PENDIDIKAN SEJARAH INDONESIA



Sebagaimana dinyatakan oleh para ahli bahwa *Visi* adalah wawasan dan daya pandang yang jauh ke depan, mendalam, dan luas. *Visi* juga merupakan daya pikir abstrak yang memiliki kekuatan amat dahsyat dan dapat menerobos segala batas-batas fisik, waktu, dan tempat. Karena itu *Visi* tidak hanya merupakan energi kunci bagi sebuah organisasi tetapi juga energi kreatif bagi manusia.

Kini disadari bahwa *Visi* bagi sebuah lembaga dan organisasi – tidak terkecuali bagi organisasi profesi ASPENSI di Bandung – amatlah penting dan dominan peranannya dalam proses pembuatan keputusan, termasuk dalam setiap pembuatan kebijakan dan penyusunan strategi lembaga. Dari sudut pandang manajemen strategik, maka *visi*, *misi*, *kebijakan*, dan *program* diletakkan dalam suatu kontinum yang utuh. Dengan kata lain, *visi*, *misi*, *kebijakan*, dan *program* merupakan satu kesatuan integral yang diperlukan dalam mengembangkan organisasi menuju masa depan yang dicita-citakan.

Dalam konteks inilah ada baiknya saya, sebagai Ketua Umum ASPENSI, menekankan kembali tentang *Visi* dan *Misi* yang dimiliki oleh organisasi profesi ini. Sebagaimana dimaklumi bahwa ASPENSI didirikan pada tanggal 20 Mei 2006, dan kini telah berhasil menerbitkan 4 buah jurnal ilmiah, yaitu, selain SOSIOHUMANIKA, adalah: (1) EDUCARE: International Journal for Educational Studies; (2) TAWARIKH: International Journal for Historical Studies; dan (3) ATIKAN: Jurnal Kajian Pendidikan. Penerbitan jurnal-jurnal ilmiah ini tentu saja tidak lepas dari *Visi*, *Misi*, *Policy* dan *Program* yang dimiliki oleh ASPENSI.

Sejak didirikan, *Visi* dan *Misi* ASPENSI adalah memandang disiplin ilmu sejarah dan pendidikan sejarah, serta disiplin ilmu lainnya, sebagai wahana penting bagi pembinaan karakter dan identitas sebuah negara-bangsa. ASPENSI juga memandang bahwa sejarah dan pendidikan sejarah, serta bidang-bidang lainnya, adalah disiplin ilmu dan profesi yang terus maju dan berkembang sesuai dengan tantangan zaman. Pembinaan disiplin ilmu sejarah dan pendidikan sejarah, serta profesi di dalamnya, harus terus dilakukan dengan sungguh-sungguh dan sistemik sehingga wibawa akademik dan otoritas profesi akan ditegakkan dengan baik dan benar.

Sekaitan dengan itu banyak program dan kegiatan yang telah dilakukan oleh ASPENSI agar selaras dengan *Visi* dan *Misi* tersebut. Pada tahun 2008, misalnya, ASPENSI menggelar Seminar Internasional tentang “Lifelong Education in Southeast Asian Countries”. Pada tahun 2009 pula, ASPENSI mengadakan Seminar Internasional – dengan disponsori oleh Ditjendikti Depdiknas RI (Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Tinggi, Departemen Pendidikan Nasional Republik Indonesia) – tentang “The Roles of History, History Education, and Socio-Humanities Disciplines in Enhancing Identity and Character Building of Southeast Asian Nations and Others: Problems and Prospects”. Kini, di tahun 2011, ASPENSI juga merencanakan akan menyelenggarakan Seminar Internasional dengan tema “Enhancing the Nation-States’ Characters and Identities: Sharing Experiences from Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam, Japan, Australia, Turkey, Canada, Spain, and Others”.

Akan halnya penerbitan SOSIOHUMANIKA, sebagai jurnal yang bertaraf nasional dan regional Asia Tenggara, adalah sejalan dengan *Visi* dan *Misi* ASPENSI agar hasil-hasil pemikiran dan penelitian tentang sains sosial dan kemanusiaan, serta disiplin ilmu lain yang wujud hubung-kaitnya dengan sains sosial dan kemanusiaan dapat dibaca dan dikenal oleh masyarakat akademik di Indonesia dan di Asia Tenggara. Semoga. (Andi Suwirta, M.Hum.)

ABD GHAFAR HJ DON
ANUAR PUTEH

Understanding and Practicing of Islamic Teachings among Siamese New Muslim in Kelantan, Malaysia

ABSTRACT

Malaysia comprises various ethnics and races like Malays, Chinese, Indian, and also the other ethnics, including Siamese. On the Siamese, they are originally from Thailand and migrated to Kelantan, Malaysia, due to certain causes such as looking for job, acquiring knowledge, and also due to marriage bond. It is believed that the Siam community lives in Kelantan, Malaysia, possibly due to geographical factor where Kelantan State is border to Thailand. Most of Siamese are Buddhist. But nowadays, their numbers who are converted to Islam are increasing. The aim of this study is to see the degree of understanding of the New Siamese Muslim concerning Islam and their practice of Islam after their conversion. The study will focus on Siamese New Muslims in Kelantan, Malaysia. A set of questionnaire was distributed in conducting the research as to know the degree of individual knowledge of Islam and also to get the necessary information related to the subject. Library research is also used in order to support the research. The study found that all respondents have understood Islam very well and have implemented obligatory duties (worship) as a Muslim; or in another words, Islam has been a part of their life.

Key words: Understanding, practicing, Islamic teachings, Siamese New Muslim, and obligatory duties in Islam.

INTRODUCTION

Malaysia comprises various ethnics and races like Malays, Chinese, Indian, and also the other ethnics, including Siamese. On the Siamese, they are originally from Thailand and migrated to Kelantan, Malaysia, due to certain causes such as looking for job, acquiring knowledge, and also due to marriage bond.

It is believed that the Siam community lives in Kelantan, Malaysia, possibly due to geographical factor where Kelantan State is border to Thailand. Most of Siamese are Buddhist. But nowadays, their numbers who are converted to Islam are increasing.

The focus of this particular study is to know how far the New Siamese Muslim understand Islam and whether their practice of Islam are in line with Islamic code of life (*syariat*) or not.

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THE ORIGIN AND RELIGION OF ORANG THAI

It is hard to trace the origin of Thais. Some experts say that they are originally from Sichuan, China. While the other have the opinion that they are from *Tenggara* (Southeast) China and North Vietnam. Some 2,000 years ago, they named themselves as *Tai* (*Dai* according to Chinese pronunciation) and migrated to the South towards Yunan and Guizhou. Their purpose of migration was to seek land for agriculture (Shirley, 1994).

Before 13th century, there were obviously different between Thais in five countries. Nowadays, they are consist of Black Thai (Thai *Hitam*) and Thai Loa in Vietnam, Thai Nuen and Thai Phuan in Laos, Thai Luen, Thai Yuan, and Thai in Thailand. In Myanmar, they are known as *Thai Yai* or *Shan*, meanwhile in *Barat Laut* (Northwest) India called as *Ahom*. There are also many groups of Thais in South China, particularly in Xiashuangbanna, the very Northern part of Yunnan. Their cultures, pattern, and tecnic of textile are quite similar. Eventhough having different slenght, but they are still in similar race or group (Shirley, 1994:42).

Majority of Thais are Buddhism. Buddhism regarded as state foundation, besides nation and king. King considered as the patron for all religions. Therefore, the freedom of religion in Thailand is believed to be existed since the early of 17th century, where the King of Ayutthaya at that time granted consent to Christians to bulid the church. Buddhism was a religion of state under the ruling of Sukhotai. The Thailand population at that time was influenced by religious teaching brought by people of Mon and Khmer. This influence can be seen where Thais practicing the concept of Hindu in ruling system, Brahmin caste system, and worshipping Erawan, the Elephant God. The influence of Hindu also obvious in classical literature like the story of Rama and Sita, Ramakien epic Thai version for *Hikayat Ramayana*.

Before the clash of culture, Thais practiced animism or worshipping nature. They believed that this world is full of unseen creature namely *Phi* which should be treated well otherwise the life will be harmed (Shirley, 1994:67).

THAI COMMUNITY IN KELANTAN, MALAYSIA

Thais population in Kelantan represent 1 percent of local population which most of them are Malays. Their adherence in Kelantan has different history compared to other ethnic in Peninsular Malaysia. Thais have long time ago migrated to Kelantan before the other immigrants, especially Chinese and India, migrated to Peninsular Malaysia (*Tanah Melayu*) at the end of 19th century and beginning 20th century. They live in Malay village. While the other immigrants most of them concentrated in town or estate area (Mohd Zain Saleh, n.y.).

The signifanct different between Malays and Thais are on the religious aspect. As the Malays are considered as Muslims, Thais are almost all of them are Buddhist Theravada. Despite that, there are certain aspects that are looking similar like cultural aspect. They shared the same cultural elements which are

influenced by Indian traditional such as believe in *bomoh* and magis, and also animism.

There are physically different between the structural building of Malays and Thais. In Thais village, we can find *biara* or *wat*, a special area which located holy area and Buddhist worship house. The place also serves for religious group's house (known as *bikhu*). Most of village with a lot of population have their own *biara*, while in the village with less population, *biara* will not be built on. However, as an alternative, normally a special building called as *samnaksong* will be built. The *bikhu* normally use to visit that special building for time to time. At this small building, *bikhus* from the other village will perform a special religious ritual together with the local villagers (Mohamed Yusoff Ismail & Rahimah Abdul Aziz, 2000:116).

PRESERVING AND CONSOLIDATING ETHNIC BORDER

As a minority group, *orang Thai* has its own various pattern of culture which form the basis or foundation of their ethnic identity. Various pattern of Thai culture have a close relationship with Theravada Buddhism which is its recipient are almost all of Thai population in Kelantan. At local level, Buddhism considered as a symbol of identity for Thai ethnic. It is Buddhism that bond together between Thais in Kelantan and Thais in Thailand in terms of culture in the context of regional. This element of culture has been used by local Thais in order to strengthen their ethnic and border (Mohamed Yusoff Ismail & Rahimah Abdul Aziz, 2000:117).

In Thailand, ethnic awareness as Thai has a strong relationship with Buddhism. This relationship has rooted at all level of Thai community, including royal institution. Ethnic identity of local Kelantan Thai has a close relationship with Theravada Buddhism the same with Thai in Thailand.

Therevada Buddhism is relatively acting as a main basic that stimulates the ethnic awareness of Thai. That kind of awareness need several steps to be taken to consolidate border and and the aspiration of their ethnic awareness. Buddhism and its all symbols like *bikhu* and *biara* are acting as a social symbol and culture of Thai and also stimulate and support Thais ethnic awareness and their identities (Mohamed Yusoff Ismail & Rahimah Abdul Aziz, 2000:118).

THAI BUDDHISM IN KELANTAN, MALAYSIA

Buddhism in Kelantan has two main features. Firstly, Buddhism is a fenomenan in rural area because almost all of *biaras* are located in the rural area. Buddhism has a quite similar feature to the tradition of Theravada Thai, especially from the aspect of building architecture, besides ceremony and religious ritual which emphasis on activities that lead to reward (*tham bun*) as usual practice in traditional Thai Buddhism

A fact that has to be accepted by Theravada Buddhism in Kelantan is that has to survive in a situation where the vast majority of the population is Malay

Muslim. Therefore, Buddhist as a minority group has to play a special role in the context of different social and cultural compared to the context of Thailand.

For Thais in Kelantan, Buddhism considered as an important symbol in terms of fulfilling the aspiration of *primordial sentiments* which is closely related to ethnicity and Thai identity. For this purpose, they use various ways to ensure important symbols such as *biara* and *bikhu* being preserved well despite of certain weaknessness and problems.

There are perhaps the function of traditional *biara* and *bikhu* having many changes compared to its function in Thailand. However, its basic function socially and religiously remain unchange. Moreover, the *bikhu* and *biara* institution are perhaps playing a new role in a special situation where the Buddhists are minority in Kelantan. This extra role happened as a result of continuous accommodation process by *biara* and *bikhu* in order to fulfil several social and political needs from dominant group around them.

The effort to preserve Buddhism as an important symbol can be seen through the initiatives to ensure that *biara* will be looked after perfectly. Despite having no financial support from the government, but most of *biaras* have been preserved well by using contributed fund from local Thais and alson contribution from Buddhism followers among Chinese. Most of contribution for *biara* comes from Chinese.

The status of Buddhism as minority means that there is no official recognition given to it. The only religion rectified as national religion in Malaysia and Kelantan is Islam. Therefore, in Kelantan several alterations need to be done in managing *biara* and matters related to Buddhism ritual ceremony. For example, date for several Buddhism rituals and ceremonies is being accommodated in order to suit with state public holiday, except special date which are cannot be changed anymore according to Buddhist calender like *Thaipusm* (Mohamed Yusoff Ismail & Rahimah Abdul Aziz, 2000:120).

BIARA AS A CENTRE FOR THAIS IDENTITY CONSOLIDATION

Most of Thais village are to be found scattered in rural area in several districts of Kelantan. However, those of people in that rural area are able to attend the *biara* ceremony at *Biara* centre. They are all come from different villages. Most of villages will send their representatives to attend the ceremony. Each delegation will bring together with them with financial or material contribution. Sometimes, delegations consist of civilian and *bikhu* who come two or three days earlier to assist house owner to prepare for the ceremony.

Biara ceremony which involves participation members from various villages far and near is usual practice among Kelantan. This special ceremony not only limited to Thai and *bikhu* in Kelantan only, but also involved *bikhu* and public from Thailand. During this special ceremony, prominent *bikhu* from Thailand will be invited as a special guest.

Normally, in *biara* ceremony the influence of religious institution from Thailand can be seen vividly, particularly in terms of management of an

important ritual which involves many people. At this time, the host *biara* will invite senior *bikhu* and religious officer of Thailand as a special advisor so as the management and organization of that ceremony will be conducted in line with current trend and standard.

Based on the above facts, it seems that Buddhism has its strong influence. Its disciples seem to be hold fast to their belief. However, due to their assimilation with Malay-Muslim community, some of Buddhists became interested in Islam. It is interesting to note here that some of Buddhists became a Muslim (New Muslim or *Saudara Baru* in Malay word) because of such assimilation (*Al-Wasilah*, 1999; and *Buletin JHEAIK*, 1999). Besides this factor, there are several other factors that inspired them to convert to Islam (Che Mohd Fahmi bin Che Omar, 2007). For example, good relationship with Malay-Muslim, good example by Muslim, environmental factor, and also their own willing.

The evidence of Siam community converted to Islam in Kelantan (covers the period from 2000 to 2006) can be shown in table 1 below:

Table 1
Siamese New Muslims Statistic from 2000 to 2006

Year													
2000		2001		2002		2003		2004		2005		2006	
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
6	5	5	10	7	14	2	8	9	9	8	9	-	1
11		15		21		10		18		17		1	

M = Male; F = Female.

Source: *Islamisation of New Muslims Report According to Race and Sex from 2000-2006*.

UNDERSTANDING AND PRACTICE OF ISLAM AMONG SIAMESE NEW MUSLIM

This part of study tries to analyse the degree of understanding and practicing of Islam after Siamese New Muslim converted to Islam. The analysis is based on the distributed questionnaires (among 40 respondents).

This questionnaire is focuses on the information related to respondent background (Siam community), level of Islamic understanding, and attitude or their practice after conversion. The accumulated data will show their level understanding of Islam and their practice of Islam in daily life.

The background of respondents are important for the sake of the research. The background of respondents reveal the following:

First, Sex. There are 30 woman respondents and 10 man respondents. This is partly due to the limited number of man and it is easier to get woman respondents because their number of converted to Islam more than man. See statistic in table 1 as follows:

Table 2
Sex

Sex	Frequency	Percentage
Male	10	25.0
Female	30	75.0
Total	40	100.0

Source: Questionnaires.

Second, Age. Table 3 shows quantity and respondent percentage in terms of age. The table revealed that those of aged above 40, the most of whom are converted to Islam which recorded 50 percent. The second highest are those of aged 31 to 40 with 20 percent. These two groups have choosed Islam as their religion may be because of their life experience and are able to differentiate the good and the evil.

Table 3
Age

Age	Frequency	Percentage
10-20	5	12.5
21-30	7	17.5
31-40	8	20.0
41 above	20	50.0
Total	40	100.0

Source: Questionnaires.

Third, Marital Status. The table 4 shows the status of respondent. The highest percentage of respondent is those of marriage with 70% and bachelor 30%. The figure revealed that most of them are those of marriage.

Table 4
Marital Status

Status	Frequency	Percentage
Bachelor	12	30.0
Marriage	28	70.0
Total	40	100.0

Source: Questionnaires.

Fourth, Occupation. The table 5 shows the type of respondent occupation. About 55% of them i.e. the highest are self-reliance. The second highest are 25%. The study found that the others are those of not having any job and full time housewives. They are 12.5% working in public sector and 7.5% in private sector.

Table 5
Occupation

Occupation	Frequency	Percentage
Self Reliance	22	55.0
Government	5	12.5
Private Sector	3	7.5
Others	10	25.0
Total	40	100.0

Source: Questionnaires.

Fifth, Education. For educational level, the highest score for level of education among Siamese New Muslims are secondary schools which represent 50%. The second highest are primary school which represent 27%. Meanwhile, 10% of them are at higher level i.e. university and college. Survey also found that 12.5% of respondents are never go to school. See table 6 as follows:

Table 6
Education

Education	Frequency	Percentage
Never go to school	5	12.5
Primary School	11	27.5
Secondary School	20	50.0
Collage/University	4	10.0
Total	40	100.0

Source: Questionnaires.

Sixth, the Length of Conversion. The table 7 below shows the year of respondents converted to Islam. Majority of them converted to Islam between years 1991-2000 which are the highest population with 45%. In years 1981-1990, their numbers quite encouraging with 37.5%. Their numbers have increased obviously 10 years later.

Table 7
Lengthy of Conversion

Years of Conversion	Frequency	Percentage
1970-1980	3	7.5
1981-1990	12	30.0
1991-2000	18	45.0
2001 ke atas	7	17.5
Total	40	100.0

Source: Questionnaires.

Seventh, Factor of Conversion. Table 8 below revealed factors of conversion. Own willing is consider as the highest factor that lead them to accept Islam with 57.5%. The second factor is marriage with 30.0%. Friend influenced is 7.5% and other factors are 5.0%.

Table 8
Factor of Conversion

Factor of Conversion	Frequency	Percentage
Marriage	12	30.0
Own Willing	23	57.5
Friend Influence	3	7.5
Other	2	5.0
Total	40	100.0

Source: Questionnaires.

Eighth, Degree of Islamic Understanding among Siamese New Muslims. The table 9 below found that most of respondent understand well the concept of Islamic understanding. They know concerning *Tauhid* (the Oneness of God) and aware of Muslim obligatory related to *ibadah* (praying). However, among them also those are confused while answering mind test question i.e. question number 3 where the study tries to test their level of understanding and confident when saying that *zakat* (alms giving) is the forth pillar of Islam. Whereas *zakat* is the third pillar of Islam. Therefore, their respon might be said as satisfactory eventhough they are New Muslims (Ghazali Othman *et al.*, 1992; and Akhmad Mohd Zain, 1999).

Nineth, the Practice of Siam Community after Conversion. The table 10 below shows that respondent give positive respon after their conversion. Based on their answer, respondent has practiced Islam perfectly, especially obligatory *ibadah* like fasting and prayer. They also perform *ibadah* that lead to reward such as reciting the Qur'an, attending religious lectures, covering their *aurat* and alson concern on *halal* and *haram* (lawful and forbidden) in their life (Said Hawwa, 1992). They also reject chauvinistic and built relationship with other ethnic in Kelantan.

Among them there are people who are still practice Siam community tradition and custom namely *laikatong*. *Laikatong* is Siam traditional festival in form of art. It is among removing *sial* (unlucky) custom. *Sial* will be thrown away and plung into river. Most of them, however, not practice this kind of tradition anymore.

Table 9
Degree of Islamic Understanding among Siamese New Muslims

No	Item	SD	%	D	%	LA	%	A	%	SA	%
1.	<i>Sholat</i> (prayer) is obligatory for every Muslim.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	40	100
2.	Fasting is obligatory for every Muslim.	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.5	39	97.5
3.	<i>Zakat</i> (Alms Giving) is the fourth pillar of Islam.	5	12.5	3	7.5	11	27.5	5	12.5	16	40
4.	<i>Agama Islam adalah agama fitrah manusia.</i>	3	7.5	2	5	-	-	4	10	31	77.5
5.	I bear witness that no God other than Allah.	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	7.5	37	92.5
6.	I Perform Allah's injunction willing without coercion.	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	7.5	37	92.5
7.	I am confident that all of our deeds will rewarded or punished respectively.	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.5	39	97.5
8.	I am confident that there is a day of resurrection.	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.5	39	97.5

SD = Strongly Disagree; D = Disagree; LA = Less Agree; A = Agree; and SA = Strongly Agree.
Source: Questionnaire.

Table 10
The Practice of Siam Community after Conversion

No	Item	SDA	%	DA	%	NQD	%	A	%	SA	%
1.	You perform prayer five times daily.	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	7.5	37	92.5
2.	You are fasting completely in the month of Ramadhan.	-	-	-	-	1	2.5	6	15	33	82.5
3.	Your pattern of dress is change.	-	-	2	5	-	-	8	20	30	75
4.	You only deal with Siam community.	14	35	11	27.5	10	25	4	10	1	2.5
5.	You still practising Siamese way of life.	19	47.5	12	30	4	10	4	10	1	2.5
6.	I like to attend religious sermon.	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	17.5	33	82.5
7.	I concern much on lawful and unlawful.	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	17.5	33	82.5
8.	You are reciting the Qur'an every day.	-	-	-	-	4	10	8	20	28	70

SDA = Strongly Disagree; DA = Disagree; NQD = Not Quite Disagree; A = Agree; and SA = Strongly Agree.
Source: Questionnaire.

CONCLUSION

Based on this study, there are several suggestions related to the subject as follows. *First*, Siam community is believed to have a strong bond with their belief i.e. Buddhism. After converted to Islam, they imidiately reject their old belief. Most of them devoted their whole life to the new religion i.e. Islam. They understand well the pillar of Islam and *iman*. *Second*, the study found that Siam community has practice Islam well based on *syarak*. They at the same time leave the previous deviant teachings.

On the whole, it can be concluded that Siam community has achieved a good understanding and practicing of Islam. They have performed *ibadah* well. They have improved much in their way of life as a Muslim by practicing Islamic way of life and at the same time leaving Buddhism way of life. They also practice and apply Islamic creed and *akhlak* in their daily life. Despite be a Muslim, they still build a good relationship with their family and Siamese Non-Muslim. These practices show that Islam has taught and educated them to be a good Muslim by having a good repo with the other communities.

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Siam community has achieved a good understanding and practicing of Islam. They have performed *ibadah* well. They have improved much in their way of life as a Muslim by practicing Islamic way of life and at the same time leaving Buddhism way of life. They also practice and apply Islamic creed and *akhlak* in their daily life.

Pemerintahan Khalifah Uthmaniyyah di Mesir pada abad ke-17 M: Satu Analisis

ABSTRAK

Artikel ini menerangkan hubungan antara Mesir dan empayer Uthmaniyyah sejak abad ke-15 M sehingga penguasaannya ke atas Mesir pada tahun 922 H / 1517 M. Sebelum itu, perselisihan antara kedua belah pihak tertumpu kepada perebutan wilayah penampian Dhu'l-Qadr, tetapi mereka masih berjaya mengekalkan hubungan baik. Hubungan baik antara kedua belah pihak berubah apabila Sultan Mamluk mengubah polisinya dengan cuba membantu kerajaan Safawiyyah di Parsi. Perubahan ini menjadi penyebab kepada penguasaan Turki Uthmaniyyah ke atas Mesir. Selepas itu, pihak Turki Uthmaniyyah menghantar Gabenor mereka ke Mesir dan mengasaskan sistem pentadbiran mereka. Walau bagaimanapun, golongan Mamluk telah diberikan peluang untuk meneruskan perkhidmatan mereka dalam pentadbiran baru ini. Sungguh pun demikian, pihak Turki Uthmaniyyah gagal membawa keamanan berpanjangan ke atas penduduk Mesir. Suasana ini menjadikan harapan penduduk tempatan di Mesir yang sangat mengharapkan keamanan selepas diperintah oleh kesultanan Mamluk sejak sekian lama ternyata tidak kesampaian.

***Kata-kata kunci:** Sultan Mamluk di Mesir, empayer Uthmaniyyah, hubungan dua hala, pentadbiran, dan keamanan.*

PENGENALAN

Hubungan antara Khalifah Uthmaniyyah dan kerajaan Mamluk di Mesir bermula pada zaman pemerintahan Sultan Murād II apabila beliau menghantar ucapan tahniah atas perlantikan Sultan al-Ashrāf Barsbay apabila dilantik sebagai Sultan Mamluk yang baru pada tahun 825 H / 1423 M (Ahmad Harān, 1974:419). Hubungan seterusnya berlaku apabila penduduk Mesir menunjukkan kegembiraan mereka dengan mengadakan majlis sambutan kemenangan secara besar-besaran apabila Sultan Mehmet al-Fātih berjaya membuka Constantinople pada tahun 857 H / 1453 M.¹

Sungguh pun demikian, hubungan baik ini tidak berterusan apabila pada pertengahan kedua abad ke-15 M, Sultan Mehmet II terlibat secara langsung dalam perebutan kuasa pentadbiran di sebuah wilayah penampian yang

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¹Ibn Iyās mencatatkan bahawa Sultan Ināl telah menghantar utusan kepada Sultan Muhammad kerana kejayaan itu. Lihat, contohnya, Ibn Iyās (1972:316); dan Muhammad Anis (t.t.:109).

dikenali sebagai Dhu'l-Qadr (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1961:239-240; dan 'Abd al-Karīm Rafiq, 1968:44-45) yang beribu negerikan Elbistan (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1961:693). Pada tahun 870 H / 1465 M, pemerintah Dhu'l-Qadr, Arslān Bey (858-870 H / 1454-1465 M), telah mati dibunuh dan meninggalkan dua orang saudara lelaki, Budaq dan Shāhsuwār (Ibn Iyās, 1972:435; Selahettin Tansel, 1953:332-333; dan Parry, 1976:58-59), masing-masing berebut takhta pemerintahan yang ditinggalkan. Budaq telah berjaya mendapatkan takhta dengan bantuan Sultan Mamluk, Khushqadam.

Pada bulan Rabī' II 870 / Disember 1465, Shāhsuwār dengan bantuan Sultan Mehmet II telah berjaya merampas kuasa dari Budaq. Selepas menguasai wilayah ini, Shāhsuwār cuba membebaskan diri dari kawalan Turki. Walaupun usaha ini berjaya, tapi tidak lama selepas itu beliau pula ditangkap oleh Sultan Qa'itbay pada tahun 877 H / 1472 M dan dibawa ke Cairo lalu dijatuhkan hukuman bunuh. Penyokong Sultan Mamluk, Budaq, sekali lagi dilantik sebagai pemimpin di sana dan wilayah ini dijadikan sebahagian dari taklukan kerajaan Mamluk. Keadaan aman seketika sehingga pada tahun 884 H / 1479 M. Sultan Mehmet II sekali lagi campur tangan dalam urusan wilayah Dhu'l-Qadr apabila beliau berjaya melantik seorang pemimpin lain, yang bernama 'Alā' al-Daula sebagai penguasa di sana (Cook ed., 1976:59).

Apabila Sultan Mehmet II meninggal dunia pada tahun 886 H / 1481 M, dua orang putera beliau, Bayazid dan Jem, berebut takhta kerajaan yang ditinggalkan. Jem dikalahkan oleh saudaranya dalam satu peperangan di Yeni Shehir pada Rabī' II 886 H / Jun 1481 M (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1961:1119; Cook ed., 1976:56; dan Shaw, 1976:71) dan melarikan diri ke Syria dan seterusnya ke Mesir. Di sana, kehadiran beliau telah disambut baik oleh pemerintah Mesir, Sultan Qa'itbay. Langkah Sultan memberikan perlindungan kepada beliau telah menajamkan persengketaan antara dua buah kuasa besar itu. Pada tahun 887 H / 1482 M dan 897 H / 1491 M, Sultan Bayazid II cuba menyerang Mesir tetapi gagal (Lybyer, 1913:583; Stripling, 1942:38; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1961:1119; Cook ed., 1976:60; dan Muhammad Anīs, t.t.:109).

HUBUNGAN TURKI-MESIR PADA ABAD KE-16 DAN 17 M

Semasa Sultan Qansūh al-Ghūrī (Shawwāl 906 – Dhu'l-hijja 922 H / April 1501 – Ogos 1517 M) mengambil alih pemerintahan, beliau terpaksa menghadapi tiga ancaman kuasa besar dari tiga sudut yang berbeza: *pertama*, kuasa Portugis yang datang dari arah laut (Stripling, 1942:29-33; Sergeant, 1963:13-21 Hess, 1973:55-76; dan Salih Ozbaran, 1986:207-214); *kedua*, Shāh Ismā'il, 907-930 H / 1501-1524 M, dari kerajaan Safawiyah Parsi; dan *ketiga*, Sultan Bayazid II dari arah utara. Sebagai langkah keselamatan, beliau telah mengambil strategi terbaik-baik dengan pemerintah Turki. Usaha ini dibalas dengan sokongan Turki bagi menentang serangan Portugis pada bulan Shawwāl 916 H / Januari 1511 M (Stripling, 1942:38; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1961:552; Ibn Iyās, 1972:201; dan Ahmad Harān, 1974:418). Khalifah Uthmaniyyah telah menghantar angkatan lautnya ke Mesir bagi menangkis serangan itu.

Namun demikian, hubungan baik ini hanya bersifat sementara apabila Sultan Uthmaniyyah yang baru dilantik, Sultan Selim I (918-926 H / 1512-1520 M) mengambil langkah yang lebih agresif terhadap seluruh wilayah yang bersempadan dengan Turki pada masa itu, terutamanya Mesir dan Parsi (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1961:214-217). Sebagai seorang pemerintah yang pintar, beliau telah melancarkan satu gerakan perluasan kuasa bukan sahaja terhadap wilayah kesultanan Mamluk tetapi juga kerajaan Safawiyyah dan wilayah yang bersempadan dengan Turki. Pada masa yang sama, beliau tidak mahu menampakkannya sebagai pihak yang memulakan serangan. Sebagai helah bagi mendapatkan Murād, anak saudaranya yang cuba mendapatkan kuasa (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1961:214), Sultan Selim I telah menyerang Parsi di samping menjatuhkan hukuman bunuh kepada pengikut Shi'ah.

Sebagai langkah keselamatan, pihak kesultanan Mamluk telah menghantar utusan ke Istanbul dengan harapan dapat bekerjasama bagi menghalang kemaraan pemerintah Safawiyyah yang bernama Shāh Ismā'il. Pihak Shi'ah telah menjalankan gerakan meluaskan madhhab mereka secara terbuka (Cook ed., 1976:64), telah menyebabkan kedua kuasa besar Sunni merasa terancam dan cuba mengambil langkah berjaga-jaga. Pihak Shi'ah juga telah cuba melebarkan kuasa mereka dengan menakluki sebahagian dari wilayah Kurdistān dan Iraq sejak awal abad ke-16 M. Pada tahun 913 H / 1507 M, tentera Shia'h telah menyerang wilayah penampan Dhu'l-Qadr (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1961:240; dan Cook ed., 1976:65) yang dipimpin oleh 'Alā' al-Daula.

Usaha Sultan Mamluk ternyata berjaya mempengaruhi khalifah Uthmaniyyah apabila Sultan Selim I mula menggerakkan tentera beliau ke sempadan Parsi pada bulan Safar 920 H / April 1514 M. Pada bulan Ogos, kedua tentera bertempur antara satu sama lain dalam peperangan Chaldirān (Holt, 1966:36; dan Cook ed., 1976:70). Dalam peperangan ini, tentera Shi'ah telah dikalahkan oleh askar Uthmaniyyah. Kekalahan ini menyebabkan Shāh Ismā'il terpaksa meminta bantuan dari beberapa pihak seperti Kesultanan Mamluk dan pemimpin wilayah Dhu'l-Qadr; dan mohon pihak terlibat memutuskan hubungan diplomatik dengan khalifah Uthmaniyyah (Stripling, 1942:40; dan *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1961:186), di samping berjanji untuk memerangi Turki demi kepentingan bersama.

Langkah yang diambil oleh kesultanan Mamluk ternyata silap apabila Sultan Selim I mula mengambil tindakan terhadap musuhnya. Antara usaha awal yang dilakukan ialah menghantar tenteranya ke Dhu'l-Qadr. Pada bulan Rabī' I 921 H / Jun 1515 M, 'Alā' al-Daula telah dikalahkan dan wilayah Dhu'l-Qadr telah diserapkan menjadi sebahagian dari wilayah Turki (Holt, 1966:37; dan Cook ed., 1976:71). Apabila hal ini diketahui oleh Sultan Qansūh, beliau segera memutuskan hubungan dengan Parsi dan terus menghantar utusan ke Istanbul pada tahun yang sama sebagai langkah menyelamatkan diri dari serangan Turki.

Pada bulan Jumādā I 922 H / Jun 1516 M, Sultan Selim I memulakan gerakan ketenteraan ke arah selatan, sedangkan komander tentera beliau,

Sinān Pasha, menunggu di Elbistan sejak bulan Rabī' II 922 H / May 1516 M (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1961:215). Keadaan ini menakutkan Sultan Qansūh sehingga beliau teragak-agak, sama ada menggerakkan tenteranya ke utara atau tidak. Walaupun beliau cuba memastikan bahawa tentera Mamluk dapat digerakkan lebih awal, tetapi oleh kerana faktor kewangan dan semangat yang rendah di kalangan tentera menyebabkan perjalanan itu tertangguh selama dua minggu.

Pada saat itu, tentera Turki telah tiba ke perbatasan Mesir dan seorang utusan dihantar ke Mesir (Ibn Zunbul, 1861:10; Holt, 1966:38; dan Cook ed., 1976:72) untuk memaklumkan bahawa Alā' al-Daula telah mati dibunuh sebagai seorang penderhaka, di samping memberi katadua kepada pihak Mesir agar tidak bertindak sesuka hati.

Sebaliknya, Sultan Qansūh yang telah menghantar pengintip yang diketuai oleh *amīr*, Īnāl Bey, untuk memerhatikan pergerakan tentera Sultan Selim I. Sultan Mamluk bukan sahaja menolak cadangan Turki tetapi bertindak lebih berani dengan meminta Turki menyerahkan semula wilayah Dhu'l-Qadr, anak lelaki Alā' al-Daula, dan memenjarakan utusan yang dihantar oleh Turki (Cook ed., 1976:73). Tindakan ini telah menyebabkan Sultan Selim I marah dan terus menyertai tentera Turki pimpinan Sinān Pasha's yang telah berada di Elbistan, walaupun mengikut jadual yang asal tentera Turki akan ke Parsi, bukannya ke Mesir. Peristiwa ini berlaku pada 22 Jumādā II 922 H / 23 Julai 1516 M.

Dalam keadaan kelam kabut, Sultan Selim I mendapat maklumat bahawa tentera Mesir telah bergerak menuju ke Aleppo. Walaupun pemimpin tentera Mamluk, Khair Bey, enggan berperang dengan tentera Turki, keadaan sudah terlambat dan peperangan sudah tidak dielakkan lagi. Pada 24 Rajab 922 H / 24 Ogos 1517 M, kedua pihak bertembung di Marj al-Dābiq, dekat kota Aleppo. Dalam peperangan yang singkat ini, tentera Mesir telah dikalahkan dengan mudah (Ibn Zunbul, 1861:14-15; Muir, 1896:199; Ahmad Zaini Dahlān, 1905:90; Holt, 1966:38; dan Cook ed., 1976:74). Selepas itu Sultan Selim I memasuki kota Aleppo tanpa sebarang tentangan (Ibn Iyās, 1921:46; Holt, 1966:38; dan Cook ed., 1976:75).

Selepas kira-kira tiga minggu, pihak Turki meneruskan perjalanan ke Damascus. Selepas berada di sana selama dua bulan, tersibar berita perlantikan Sultan Mamluk yang baru, Tūmān Bey, berkuasa mula Ramadān 922 – Rabī' I 923 H / Oktober 1516 – September 1517 (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1961:836-837). Utusan terus dihantar ke Cairo untuk menjalinkan persahabatan tetapi ditolak (Ibn Zunbul, 1861:27; Muir, 1896:203; dan Cook ed., 1976:75). Pada hujung bulan Oktober 1516, satu lagi peperangan berlaku antara kedua belah pihak berhampiran Gaza. Dalam peperangan ini, pemimpin Mamluk yang bernama Janberdī al-Ghazālī telah dikalahkan.

Pada bulan Muharram 923 H / Januari 1517 M, Tūmān Bey telah mengalami kekalahan teruk dalam peperangan yang berlaku di Ridāniyya, dekat Cairo (Muir, 1896:205; dan *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1961:837). Catatan

sejarah menunjukkan bahawa sifat berpaling tadah yang dilakukan oleh Janberdī al-Ghazālī telah mempercepatkan proses kekalahan Mesir apabila beliau bersekongkol dengan Khair Bey untuk memberikan laluan mudah kepada tentera Turki. Akhirnya Sultan Mamluk yang terakhir, Tūmān Bey, telah diserahkan oleh pemimpin baduwi kepada tentera Turki. Khair Bey dan rakan-rakannya sekali lagi dikatakan mempengaruhi Sultan Selim I sehingga Sultan Mesir itu dihukum bunuh (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1961:215; dan Holt, 1966:41).

Sultan Selim I tinggal di Cairo selama empat bulan sebelum bertolak balik ke Damascus pada bulan Sha‘bān 923 / September 1517. Beliau telah membawa bersamanya Khalifah Abbasiyyah yang terakhir, Al-Mutawakkil. Sebelum bertolak, beliau sempat menerima perisytiharan taat setia daripada Gabenor Hijaz apabila Sharif Barakāt Mūsā menghantar anak lelakinya, Nāmī, mewakili beliau (Holt, 1966:41; dan Shaw, 1976:84). Kejayaan Turki ini mengakhiri pemerintahan kesultanan Mamluk dan sekali gus menamatkan kekuasaan keluarga Abbasiyyah. Mesir dijadikan sebahagian dari wilayah Turki sehingga kedatangan Napoleon pada tahun 1798 M.

Pada peringkat awal penguasaan Turki, pentadbiran semasa zaman Mamluk dikekalkan. Pentadbiran di Mesir dan Syria dipecahkan kepada dua wilayah yang berbeza dan dua orang Gabenor yang berasingan dilantik, iaitu Khair Bey and Al-Ghazālī.² Mereka telah mengekalkan sistem pentadbiran yang diamalkan sejak zaman Mamluk. Terdapat percubaan dari golongan Mamluk yang cuba memberontak tetapi gagal. Antara usaha yang awal ialah langkah Al-Ghazālī untuk membebaskan diri dari penguasaan Istanbul pada tahun 925 H / 1520 M (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1961:1042; Holt, 1966:43; Cook ed., 1976:80; dan Shaw, 1976:88). Jānim dan Īnāl juga cuba untuk memberontak dan menghalau Gabenor Turki, iaitu Mustafā Pasha (968 H / 1560 M). Kedua usaha di atas telah berjaya dipatahkan dengan mudah oleh penguasa Turki.

Selepas lapan tahun memerintah Mesir, barulah pihak Turki mula menguatkuasakan sistem pentadbiran Turki di sana. Langkah ini telah diambil oleh Sultan Sulaimān al-Qanuni apabila baginda menghantar Perdana Menteri yang bernama Ibrāhīm Pasha ke Al-Qahirah dan menguatkuasakan *Qānūn-Nāme*,³ yang khusus untuk Mesir pada tahun 931 H / 1525 M. Seperti sistem pentadbiran wilayah yang lain, pentadbiran Mesir dipecahkan kepada wilayah yang lebih kecil dan diperintah oleh gabenor wilayah yang dipanggil *Kāshif*.

²Al-Ghazālī telah dilantik sebagai Gabenor Uthmaniyyah yang baru pada bulan Safar 924 H / Februari 1518 M. Lihat Al-Qari (1949:73); Ibn Jum‘ah (1949:2); *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (1961:1042); dan P.M. Holt (1966:43).

³Lihat Anonim (t.t.). Walau pun *qānūn* ini menggunakan nama Sultan Selim, ianya diisytiharkan pada masa pemerintahan Sultan Sulaimān. Lihat juga A.H. Lybyer (1913:159-169); *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (1961:177); dan P.M. Holt (1966:51). Manakala G.W.F. Stripling (1942:71-75) telah menterjemahkan sebahagian dari Undang-Undang ini dari bahasa Peranchis. *Qānūn* adalah satu istilah umum yang digunakan kepada mana-mana Undang-Undang yang diperkenalkan di wilayah yang baru diduduki. Lihat H. Inalcık ed. (1978:103-128 dan 104-138).

Langkah juga diambil bagi menyesuaikan sistem pentadbiran kewangan di Mesir. Antaranya ialah kedudukan pengutip cukai (*iqṭā'*) yang dikenali sebagai *al-muqatta'* telah dihapuskan secara perlahan-lahan dan digantikan dengan sistem *iltizām*. Cukai ini diamanahkan kepada golongan pengutip cukai yang khusus dipanggil *multazim* (Gibb & Bowen, 1950:259-261; Hasan Saab, 1958:111; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1961:177; Shaw, 1962:31; dan Galal H. el-Nahal, 1979:7). Pegawai dari Istanbul dan sebahagian dari golongan *Mamlūk* telah dilantik memegang jawatan yang baru ini.

Kehadiran Turki Uthmaniyyah ke Mesir juga telah mengubah struktur dan hirarki golongan tentera. Sebelum meninggalkan Mesir, Sultan Selim I telah meninggalkan beberapa kelompok tentera Turki. Antaranya ialah dua kumpulan tentera infantri yang dikenali sebagai *Janissari* (*Mustahfizān*) dan '*Azabān* (Tentera Bujang); dan dua kelompok tentera berkuda iaitu *Gonūlliyan* (Sukarela) dan *Tūfengjiyan* (Bersenjata). Pada tahun 930 H / 1524 M, dua lagi kelompok tentera berkuda dihantar ke Mesir iaitu *Cherākisa*⁴ (*Circassians*) dan *Chavushān* (*Messengers*). Selepas itu Gabenor yang dihantar mentadbir Mesir membawa bersama mereka pengawal peribadi dari Istanbul yang dikenali sebagai *Muteferriqa*. Ketiga kelompok terakhir tadi dikenali sebagai *Sipahi*.

Sultan Selim I, yang berjaya menguasai hampir keseluruhan wilayah Arab sehingga ke Yaman dan Hijāz, telah melantik Banū 'Umar dari kelompok Hawwāra (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1961:299-300), berketurunan Barbar sebagai pentadbir bagi wilayah Selatan Mesir (Holt, 1968:81). Perlantikan ini terhenti apabila Sultan Sulaimān telah memasukkan Selatan Mesir di bawah Gabenor pusat dalam perisytiharan *Qānūn-Nāme* yang baru diperkenalkan (Holt, 1968:82). Mereka cuba sedaya upaya untuk mendapatkan semula penguasaan ke atas wilayah ini tetapi gagal.

Wilayah ini mempunyai kepentingan tersendiri kerana ianya terkenal sebagai pembekal batu permata yang bermutu tinggi. Antara Gabenor yang telah berjaya meneroka kawasan ini ialah Ibrāhīm Pasha (991-992 H / 1583-1584 M). Hasil dari penerokaan itu, beliau telah berjaya melombong batu permata dan membawa balik hasilnya ke Al-Qahirah (Anonim, 1855:35a).

Pentadbiran Turki juga tidak disukai oleh orang Baduwi dan penduduk Arab di kawasan pedalaman. Antaranya penduduk di kawasan Utara Mesir dan sempadan Syria. Mereka sentiasa cuba mengadakan rusuhan dan membuat kekacauan. Walau pun mereka hanya mula mengadakan gerakan itu pada penghujung abad ke-16 M,⁵ para pentadbir Turki mengalami pengalaman pahit kesan dari tindakan mereka. Tindakan ini juga menyebabkan kerajaan terpaksa menghabiskan belanja yang banyak dan usaha yang berterusan.

⁴Semua kelompok *Mamlūk* ini disusun dalam rejimen yang berbeza. Lihat Ahmad al-Damurdāshī (1991:1). Kelompok *Mamlūk* terus diberi peranan dalam pentadbiran baru ini. Lihat juga D. Pipes (1983:329-331).

⁵Gerakan anti-kerajaan yang pertama berlaku semasa pentadbiran Ahmad Pasha (999-1003 H / 1591-1595 M), apabila sekumpulan masyarakat Baduwi yang dikenali sebagai *Ghazzāla* telah bangkit. Lihat Anonim (1855:36a).

Keadaan ini menjadi lebih parah sepanjang abad ke-17 M apabila Gabenor gagal mengawal keamanan di Mesir khususnya dan wilayah lain umumnya, kesan dari kelemahan pentadbiran pusat di Istanbul.

Tanda awal kelemahan pentadbiran Gabenor di Mesir juga ditunjukkan apabila golongan tentera mula mengadakan pakatan sulit dan gerakan menentang kerajaan. Antara insiden awal ialah peristiwa yang berlaku pada tahun 994 H /1586 M. Tiga tahun kemudian, satu lagi peristiwa berdarah yang lebih besar berlaku apabila golongan tentera bangkit dan mengakibatkan kematian pegawai di pejabat Gabenor (Anonim, 1855:35b; dan Holt, 1968:82). Kemucaknya ialah beberapa orang Gabenor mati di tangan pemberontak seperti yang berlaku pada awal abad ke-17 M.

KESIMPULAN

Dapatlah dikatakan bahawa kehadiran Turki Uthmaniyyah ke Mesir dan Syria bukan sahaja mengubah kedudukan wilayah itu tetapi juga keseluruhan peta dunia Islam turut berubah. Gabenor yang dihantar ke sana adalah bertujuan memperkukuhkan kuasa Turki di wilayah berkenaan. Hasilnya, Istanbul telah mengambil alih Al-Qahirah sebagai pusat pentadbiran dan fokus kegiatan Islam selama lebih dari tiga ratus tahun selepas itu. Sungguh pun Al-Qahirah masih kekal menjadi pusat pendidikan Islam, kegiatan kebudayaan dan intelektual umat Islam telah dipindahkan dan sekali gus Istanbul menjadi kota pertama yang terletak di dunia bukan Arab menjadi fokus umat Islam pada masa itu.

Beberapa perkembangan yang berlaku di wilayah baru ini sangat diberi perhatian oleh pihak Istanbul. Selepas berjaya mentadbir dengan baik dalam jangka masa yang singkat, para Gabenor yang dihantar ke Mesir didapati gagal menyelesaikan masalah dalam pentadbiran sehingga mengakibatkan ketidakstabilan di Mesir. Suasana ini menjadikan harapan penduduk tempatan yang sangat mengharapkan keamanan selepas diperintah oleh kesultanan Mamluk sejak sekian lama, ternyata tidak kesampaian.

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Models of Political Communication between District Parliament and Local Government: A Case Study of the Regional Autonomy in Sumedang, West Java, Indonesia

ABSTRACT

The research is aimed to create model of political communication between DPRD (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah or House of Representatives at Regional Level) and PEMDA (Pemerintah Daerah or Local Government) for local government board's performance improvement in order to the effectivity of the regional autonomy implementation at Sumedang Regency, West Java Province, Indonesia. The influence of political communication between DPRD and PEMDA for local government board's performance improvement in order to the effectivity of the regional autonomy implementation at Sumedang Regency is small, but it is significant. This is resulted by barrier of political communication between DPRD and PEMDA, especially difference of interest, ideology and paradigm from stakeholders, and shareholders of Sumedang Regency. Meanwhile, the influence of local government board's performance to the effectivity of the regional autonomy implementation at Sumedang Regency is large enough and significant. This is interrelated with job description local government board which is interconnected with functions of management as critical factor in process of work.

Key words: *House of Representative at Regional Level, Local Government, political communication, performance, effectiveness, implementation, and regional autonomy.*

INTRODUCTION

One of the Reform agenda in Indonesia is to strengthen the implementation of regional autonomy. Reform agenda is manifested by changes in decentralization policy of the Law number 5 Year 1974 into Law number 22 Year 1999 regarding Regional Government. Decentralization policy change that gave birth to regional autonomy in Indonesia, bringing a fundamental change in the implementation of local governance, including the duties and functions of the legislature (DRPD, *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah* or House of Representatives at Regional Level)

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and executive (PEMDA, *Pemerintah Daerah* or Local Government) as a head of regional areas with the device.

Basically, the implementation of regional autonomy is the transfer of authority (matter) from government (central) to the autonomous regions (local government). Authority (matter) is transferred from central to regional governments are largely authority (matter) unless the government authority (matter) on foreign policy, defense security, judicial, fiscal and monetary, and religious. This authority is manifested in the authority to regulate and manage the areas of government matter either mandatory or matter choice.

Therefore, local government is composed of the executive and the legislature then in addition to the implementation of regional autonomy refers to the Law number 22/1999 and shall also refers to the Law number 4/1999 on the Structure and Position of the MPR (*Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat* or People's Consultative Assembly), DPR (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat* or House of Representatives) and DPRD (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah* or House of Representatives at Regional Level). In this context, DPRD as the legislature has a unique historical role of regional government in Indonesia, in which the Law number 5/1974 is not anything (considered to rubber stamp the government) to something (to hold the head region) according to Law number 22/1999.

Although Law number 32/2004 on Regional Government neutralizes the role of the DPRD (no longer can hold the head region), however, the legislature of this area still has a unique role, especially because: (1) this institution is an aspirational institutions; and (2) this institution has the functions of legislators, budgetary, and control. As an aspirational institutions, the DPRD has a role to accommodate the growing aspirations in the society, especially to identify the community's needs for the next set and administered by local governments. The implication, the DPRD is not only serve to accommodate and identify the needs of society but also how to realize these aspirations into policy and its implementation in the social reality by the local governance.

To be able to articulate the aspirations, members of the DPRD should make communication with the Regional Head and other local devices. Members of the DPRD can be said as a communications broker, who became an intermediary between the communities they represent with the Head of Local Government and other local devices. Members of the DPRD should be also tapped problems, ideas, or demands of the people who choose to hear their messages and then articulate their aspirations by using any existing communication skills in themselves to achieve goals that they want.

In fact of the field, political communication between the DPRD with the Regional Head are full of dynamics. This is triggered by many conflicts of interest in policy making and implementation, especially the multiparty political system and direct regional head elections. Therefore, it is not surprising that sticking phenomenon is partly public dissatisfaction on the performance of the DPRD, Head of Regional, and Local Government Bureaucracy (local agencies, regional agencies, and regional offices).

This study aims to find models of political communication between the DPRD with the Local Government to improve the performance of regional offices in order to effectiveness of local governance implementation. This study was conducted in Sumedang as one of the regencies in West Java province, Indonesia.

EFFECTIVENESS OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF REGIONAL AUTONOMY

Regional autonomy is defined as self-government (Muslimin, 1978:16). It is also defined as the freedom of self-reliance rather than independence (Syafudin, 1985:23). Meanwhile, regional autonomy itself has some understandings according to Law number 5/1974. According to J. Wayong (1975:74-87), Miftah Thoha (1997:27), and H.A.W. Widjaya (2005:27), regional autonomy refers to: (1) the freedom to maintain and promote the special interests to finance their own regional, determine their own laws, and self-government; (2) maturation of local people's political communication and process of people welfare; (3) the existence of national government is more of giving or give up some household affairs to the government of his subordinates. Instead, the subordinates government who receive most of these affairs have been able to carry out the assignment; and (4) granting the rights, powers, and obligations to the regions that allow the area to organize and manage their own household to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of governance in the context of service to the community and implementation of development.

Many factors and variables that influence the implementation of regional autonomy is able to be successful. H.A.W. Widjaya (2005:39) says that there are three variables that the benchmark capability of autonomous regions, namely: (1) Principal variables which consist of the ability of local revenues/ financial, personnel capabilities, the ability of the people's aspirations, economic ability, the ability of demographic, as well as the ability of the organization and administration; (2) Support variables which consist of factors of geography and socio-cultural factors; and (3) Special variables which consist of socio-political, defense and security, and appreciation of religion.

Josef Riwu Kaho (1997:60) has also identified the factors that influence and determine the implementation of regional autonomy, namely: (1) Human resources and the ability of apparatus and community participation; (2) Financial stability, especially local revenues; (3) Complete equipment; and (4) Good organization and management. Meanwhile, Dharma Setyawan suggests the effectiveness of the implementation of regional autonomy model. He describes then as follows:

Structurally, the role of internal organization (the division of labor, the grouping of work, span of control, and delegation of authority) and the physical resources of organization (technology, materials, and apparatus) in achieving a model of effective implementation of regional autonomy are variables antesenden. This means that the internal environmental

factors of organization and physical resources of organization are two factors that contribute to empower the external environmental variables, organizational rules, doctrine of the organization, program of the organization, and non-physical resources of the organizations in order to influence the effectiveness of implementation of regional autonomy (Setyawan, 2007a:165-167).

S.M. Oentarto, I Made Suwandi and Dodi Riyadmadji (2004:137) concluded that there are seven of main dimensions in the empowerment of local governance, namely: (1) distribution of matter/authority, (2) an institution, (3) personnel, (4) the financial of area, (5) DPRD or Parliament, (6) management of services, and (7) monitoring, supervision, and facilitation. In this study, the effectiveness of the implementation of regional autonomy are reviewed from political communication between DPRD (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah* or House of Representatives at Regional Level) with Local Government and Performance of District Local Government.

MODELS OF POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

Communication is an essential element in the life of nation and state, especially in democratic life. Hence, Alwi Dahlan (1999:4) states that rise and fall of the level of democracy is very much dependent on the structure and characteristics of the communication system of a country, organization, or institution. A nation-state is called a democratic state if it allows communication without barriers. Benchmarks of democracy is the criterion of communication, namely: (1) the public discourse; (2) exchange of opinions, ideas and differences openly, and information flows are not constrained; and (3) the rights and freedom of choice.

Political communication, according to Miriam Budiardjo (1999:200), is a tool used by political parties in running one of its functions to enforce democracy. In the context of political communication, a position of political parties is a bridge of communication flow from top to bottom and from bottom to top, between those who govern (the rules) and the ruled (the ruled). Meanwhile, political parties – according to Newman as cited by Miriam Budiardjo (1999:201) – as articulation organization in which the consists of political activists in the community should be able to capture the aspirations of the community's diverse interests, then the various interests that are processed and formulated (articulated) to be submitted to government and other decision makers in the form of demand or public policy proposals.

Asmara, as cited by Zulkarimen Nasution, defines the notion of political communication as follows:

Political communication is a process of delivering ideas, thoughts, and feelings in the form of aspiration or political interests, made by people within the political infrastructure, direct or indirect, formal or informal, structured or not the structure with the intention that can influence policy in accordance with the aspirations or political interests articulated (Nasution, 2002:111).

Thus, political communication took place with the involvement of at least elements four of communication, namely: (1) political communicators, (2) political messages, (3) channels of political communication, and (4) political feedback effects. Furthermore, Asmara – as cited by Zulkarimen Nasution (2002:112) – says that political communicators and political communicant can alternated among the people who are in the political infrastructure and political superstructure so that both can become the initiator of the activity of political communication.

Formally, a political communications network must be built by regional government; communication channels must be turned on in order to create an atmosphere of two-way communications between local government with the wider community (Nasution, 2002:115). Communication network must also be built up to the level of the smallest institutions in the government, while social communication networks by building on horizontal communication with the institutions that exist in the midst of society, such as NGOs (Non Governmental Organizations), community organizations, religious organizations, professional organizations, functional organizations, and other community institutions. This can be done by direct or indirect communication.

Functionally, political communication – according to Alfian (1991:1) – is able to reduce the withdrawal of blood, stream of political messages in the form of demands, protests, and support (the aspirations and interests) to the heart (central) processing of the political system, and the results of processing it – which is summed up in output functions – flown back by political communication which subsequently became the political system feedback. Next, Alfian (1991:3) also stated that revealed dimensions of political communication are: (1) The process of inculcation of values or political socialization or political education; (2) Articulation and mobilization of political aspirations and interests; (3) Policy-making process; (4) The process of implementation or execution; and (5) Assessment of the policy.

Administrative process, as a political process, is a political process of a nation (Dimock & Dimock, 1991:40). In a political context, public administration was instrumental in the formulation of public policy. This is in line as proposed by Filix A. Nigro and Lloyd G. Nigro (1984:14) that public administration has a very important role in the formulation of public policy and thus it is part of the political process. Gordon also said that the public administration has a greater role and more involved in policy formulation, policy implementation, and policy evaluation (in Robbins, 2000). Therefore, the dimensions of political communication may include: the formulation of public policy, public policy implementation, and supervision or political control.

According to Da Nimmo (2001:222-226), there are three models of how political communication can be organized and then its policies can be made. The third models are the plebiscite model, the rational comprehensive model, and adjustability model.

Plebiscite model is an election in which people vote directly to the proposals or programs proposed to them by political leaders. This election is a line of communication between citizens and officials, which is the privilege of policy-making itself. If presented the option to accept or reject a policy of every voter will vote, and by converting individual choice, it sounds to form people's choices.

Rational-comprehensive model intended to describe a way to organize communication for obtaining policy decisions. *First*, policy-making into account issues that require action, a problem that is separate from other problem areas. *Second*, policy-making explains the purpose, values, and objectives to be achieved in dealing with the problem. *Third*, policy makers identify the alternative solutions and examine each of these alternative; this study considered all the information about the expected consequences of the acceptance of any solution. *Fourth*, policy makers consider the sacrifice and the relative advantages of each alternative, comparing the options, and choosing the alternatives that maximize the goals and values which have been agreed. This procedure is rational in choosing the most effective means to achieve the stated goal. It was comprehensive in considering every factor relevant to each option.

According to Da Nimmo (2001), rational procedure is to formulate a comprehensive policy contains a close relationship with the social control approach to achieve the order: "*People gathered to discuss their course of action for the common welfare, to share ideas, and to build consensus so that after sufficient consideration, they could act collectively*". The goal is to reach a majority consensus agreed upon by everyone.

Adjustability model has many variations, there is scope to each other, there is a separate-infiltrate, gradual change, mixed scanning, and so forth. Its main characteristic is that the determination of the problem, the selection of ends and means, achieving compliance, and assessing the results of all mutual scope. Policy-making is not just designing an effective tool to achieve that goal in mind and are held in common, but a simultaneous search for a meaningful purpose and how to achieve it in a condition in which widespread disagreement about both of them.

Contrary to the rational comprehensive model, adjustability model is looking for not the best policy, but policies that can be made; not ask what good policies, but for what it is good policy. There is no pretense that all information on policy alternatives and their consequences can be analyzed in detail; only relevant consequence (as envisaged by policy makers) that can be estimated, and then only partially. The proposed policies tend not to be assessed based on the profit-sacrifice, but rather based on a process that successively compare each proposal with the perceived successes and failures of existing policies to deal with problems that had to do. Policies are less likely to be perfect than likely be accepted.

REGIONAL AGENCY PERFORMANCE

Performance, according to Stephen P. Robbins (2000:35), is a measure of the process and the work that has been agreed, meaning that the performance of a work process in accordance with job descriptions that have been determined following the results. James L. Gibson, John M. Ivancevich and James H. Donnelly (1994:32) stated that if the dimension of time associated with the goals and objectives of the organization, it has two elements, namely: the short-term nature of the elements which include the size of production (productive, efficiency, and satisfaction); and medium-term indicator which include the adjustment (adaptiveness) and development.

Viewed from the aspect of the process, the performance of an organization or process of execution of work and the work – according to Wibowo (2007:69) – are affected by the plan and managerial action, organizational structure, and internal and external environmental conditions. Therefore, in terms of process, organizational performance is related to the process or management function. This means that management functions are crucial in the effort to improve organizational performance in achieving its objectives. The management function, according to G.R. Terry in Dharma Setyawan (2007a:1), is planning, organizing, actuating, and controlling.

By considering the notion of performance as an organization's performance and appearance model of the organization, then regional offices as a government institution, also requires a distinctive appearance, so the atmosphere and the work of the Regional Office are to describe its success in accordance with the basic tasks and as well as vision and its mission.

The performance of regional offices, in relation to implementing the main tasks the regional offices in the District of Sumedang, have the following functions: (1) make technical policy formulation and planning of program and activities in in each fields; (2) to organize, including the making implementation, units of local office, the main tasks and functions of SOP or Standard Operational Procedure; (3) to implement policies and programs that have been planned, especially in terms of providing licenses and perform public services in their respective fields, to guide the technical implementation unit offices and branch offices in their respective fields, and to implement management of administrative affairs of regional offices; and (4) to supervise the implementation of policies and programs.

RESEARCH METHOD

The study was conducted in the District of Sumedang, West Java Province, Indonesia. The study was using survey method with the sampling technique: cluster random sampling with sample sizes of group legislators, officials of structural, civil service and the community numbered 89 people. Collecting data is using the instruments: questionnaire, interview, observation, and documentation study. For analysis was using the combined analysis where

quantitatively using path analysis, using qualitative descriptions, and interpretations of the interview. Therefore, the data used is quantitative and qualitative data.

RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Overall, path coefficient of political communication of the DPRD (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah* or House of Representatives at Regional Level) with the Local Government (X) towards the performance of Regional Office (Y) in the framework of implementation effectiveness of regional autonomy (Z) equal to 0.2307 is significant. This is based on the calculation of statistical $t_{count} = 2.4639 > t_{table} = 1.66$. This fact indicates that there is a significant path coefficient of the model of political communication between the DPRD with the Local Government and the Regional Office Performance influence significantly towards the implementation effectiveness of regional autonomy. The level of influence of political communication between the DPRD with the Local Government on the performance of the Regional Office within the framework of implementation effectiveness of regional autonomy is 5.32%, while the influence of other variables was 94.68%.

Because the test of overall path coefficient is significant, then followed by testing significance of individual path coefficients. The calculations show that the relationship between variable X on Y is significant with $= 2.698 t_{count} > t_{table} = 1.66$ with the large path coefficient = 0.2513, while the influence of variable X to Y is 6.32%, and the influence of other variables is 93.68%. The calculation result also shows that the variable X to the Z relationship is significant with $= 1.8257 t_{count} > t_{table} = 1.66$ with path coefficient = 0.1730. Thus, the influence of variable X to Z is 2.99% and 97.01% is the effect of other variables. The relationship between the variable Y with Z significant because $t_{count} = 9.7161 > t_{table} = 1.66$ with path coefficient = 0.6829, while the influence of variable Y to Z is 46.64 and the other variable is 53.36%.

From the calculation shows that the influence of both overall and individual are little under 10 percent in a model of the effectiveness of the implementation of regional autonomy in terms of political communication between DPRD with Local Government on performance of Regional Office, unless the level of influence the performance of the Regional Office of the implementation effectiveness of the regional autonomy. Although the magnitude of the effect was relatively small, but significant, therefore for model of the effectiveness of implementation of regional autonomy must also consider political communication between DPRD with the Local Government on the performance of the Regional Office. Thus, model of effectiveness of the implementation of regional autonomy shall take into account the formulation of public policy, public policy implementation, and supervision or political control in addition shall also consider the management process is planning, organizing, implementation, and controlling.

The low of influence of political communication between DPRD with the Local Government on the performance of Regional Office (6.32%) and the low of influence of political communication between DPRD with the Local Government of the effectiveness of implementation of regional autonomy (2.99%) could not be removed from the realities of political system in Indonesia and the regime's general election (elections) in Indonesia. As we know that Indonesia adopted a multiparty system and electoral system of national and local leadership to use the direct election system. Both of these lead to complexity in political communication between DPRD with the Local Government affecting the performance of regional offices and the implementation effectiveness of the regional autonomy, especially in the cases are as follows:

First, no political party that can hold a majority in the DPRD. This resulted in the Regent and Vice Regent shall be carried by a combination or coalition of political parties in the election of regional head. Struggles over resources, the future of winning elections, and interest groups and individuals often create conflicts between: political party as the bearer of regional head, DPRD with Regent and/or Vice Regent, the Regent with Vice Regent, Regent/Vice Regent with Regional Office, Regent/Vice Regent with the Governor and or President.

Second, various conflicts over often triggers barriers of the DPRD political communication with Local Government so that the low of performance of the Regional Office and the effectiveness of the implementation of regional autonomy. This is due to all parties (Parliament/Fraction/Member; Head Office, Regent/Vice Regent) have their own interests. For example, if there is a difference between the Regent with the DPRD in a policy and its implementation, the Regional Office would listen to the Regent or the DPRD. Similarly, if a conflict occurs between the Regents with the Vice Regent, the Regional Offices should listen to whom? Breakdown of political communication can thus lead to performance poor of regional offices.

Number of interests resulted in the existence of discrimination in the conduct of political communication, especially political communication will be more intense with a particular faction or group. According Teuku Rudy May (2005:19), this is due to differences in the mindset or paradigm or ideology in dealing with an issue can be obstacles to political communication. In addition, differences in interests, ideologies, and paradigms, political communication barriers can also be triggered by a communicator who does not sit right in the political problems or issues that develop, the lack of communication skills, lack of knowledge, communication overload, and lack of awareness to educate.

Political communication barriers in the implementation of regional autonomy in the District of Sumedang occur due to the regeneration that is not smooth in the body of political parties and bureaucracy. For example, many new political parties and politicians in Indonesia's political stage after the Reform era (1998 to date). Likewise, not a few officials who occupy positions structurally because of political affiliation well corruption, collusion, and nepotism.

In political communication, conflict is a natural thing to reinforce a policy to be accepted by majority of people. According to B. Aubrey Fisher and Leonard Hawes (2009:126), there are four stages in a group before they take decisions, namely: orientation, conflict, emergence, and reinforcement.

Therefore, deal with conflicts in political communication between the DPRD with Local Government, Local Governments and the DPRD are expected to use policy communication: adjustability model. This is due, adjustability model prefers to make policies that can be made instead of making good policies so that policies can be accepted by all parties (Nimmo, 2001:226).

The results also showed that the effectiveness of the implementation of substantial regional autonomy affected performance of regional offices (46.64%). This shows that the successful implementation of regional autonomy can not be released performance of regional offices, especially in carrying out management functions of planning, organizing, implementing, and monitoring. If the local agency running the main tasks and functions by planning, organizing, implementing, and monitoring by the performance of regional offices will be good. The results of this study reinforced the opinion of Josef Riwu Kaho (1997:60) that one of the factors that determines the implementation of regional autonomy is a good organization and management.

Based on the results of research to develop models of political communications between DPRD with the Local Government in improving the effectiveness of implementation of regional autonomy through the performance of regional offices as follows:

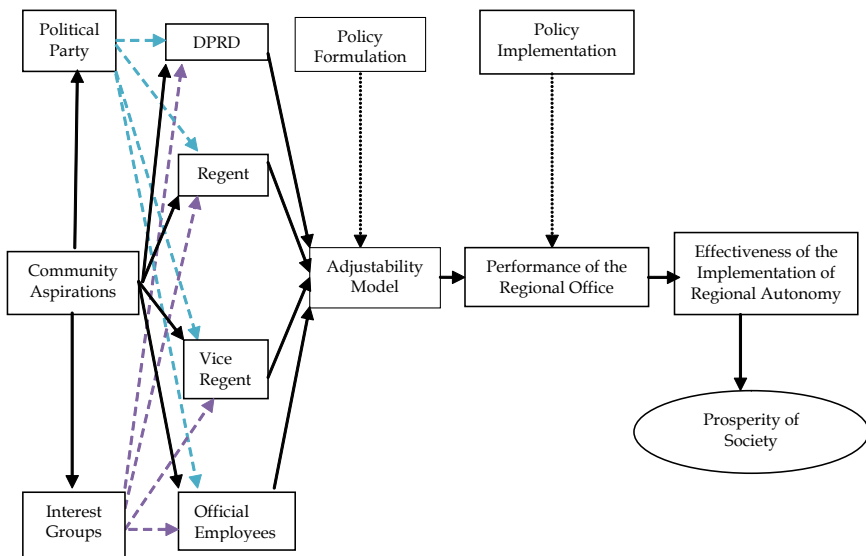


Figure 1
Political Communication Model between Parliament with Local Government in the Context of Regional Autonomy Implementation

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

In Sumedang, West Java, Indonesia, the influence of political communication between DPRD (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah* or House of Representatives at Regional Level) and PEMDA (*Pemerintah Daerah* or Local Government) on the effectiveness of regional autonomy implementation through the performance of regional offices; the influence of political communication between DPRD and PEMDA districts towards the performance of regional offices; and the influence of political communication between DPRD and PEMDA on the effectiveness of the implementation of regional autonomy will be regarded as small but significant. This is caused by many different interests, ideologies and paradigms stakeholders, and shareholders of Sumedang District to trigger the obstacles to political communication. Therefore, it is necessary to develop a adjustment model in policy communications and reduce discrimination in political communication.

Influence the performance of regional offices in implementation of the effectiveness of substantial autonomy is significant. Therefore, Sumedang government needs to continuously improve the competence of staff at regional offices in implementing good management functions in planning, organizing, implementing, and monitoring. Finally, Sumedang Local Government needs to continue to improve the competence of the employees in regional offices in implementing good management functions in planning, organizing, acting, and supervising.

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Sistem Pendidikan di Malaysia: Dasar, Cabaran, dan Pelaksanaan ke Arah Perpaduan Nasional

ABSTRAK

Sistem pendidikan merupakan asas penting bagi membangunkan masyarakat dan negara ke arah yang lebih baik. Malaysia merupakan negara yang mempunyai masyarakat majmuk di mana setiap dasar yang dilaksanakan perlu selari dengan keperluan masyarakat. Dasar pendidikan yang dilaksanakan bukan sahaja bertujuan untuk memberi pelajaran di sekolah semata-mata tetapi sebagai alat untuk merealisasikan perpaduan bangsa. Melalui sistem persekolahan, masyarakat dibentuk dengan memberi pelajaran kepada semua rakyat Malaysia tanpa mengira bangsa, agama, dan warna kulit. Bagaimanapun, setelah 53 tahun mengecapi kemerdekaan, masyarakat Malaysia yang berbilang bangsa masih lagi tidak menunjukkan hubungan perpaduan yang kukuh. Sehingga kini, masyarakat Malaysia masih terpisah melalui sistem persekolahan, iaitu sekolah kebangsaan, sekolah jenis kebangsaan Cina, dan sekolah jenis kebangsaan Tamil. Oleh itu, pihak kerajaan perlu mengambil perhatian serius dalam memastikan isu-isu pendidikan dikawal dengan sebaiknya supaya hubungan masyarakat Malaysia yang berbilang bangsa sentiasa berada dalam keadaan yang harmoni; atau malah menemui kegagalan sekiranya sistem pendidikan tidak dilaksanakan dengan baik dan telus.

***Kata-kata kunci:** Sistem pendidikan, perpaduan bangsa, masyarakat majmuk, kualiti kehidupan, dan keperluan masyarakat Malaysia.*

PENGENALAN

Sistem pendidikan, melalui sistem persekolahan, merupakan elemen yang penting bagi sesebuah negara dalam usaha menuju ke arah membangunkan masyarakat dari segi ekonomi, politik, dan sosial. Sistem persekolahan bukan sahaja berperanan untuk memberi pelajaran kepada masyarakat semata-mata, bahkan ia merupakan saluran untuk menyampaikan kepada rakyat berkenaan dengan wadah perjuangan negara yang sangat mementingkan nilai-nilai murni dalam masyarakat berbilang kaum demi mencapai perpaduan. Malaysia adalah sebuah negara yang mempunyai masyarakat berbilang kaum, agama, dan adat resam di mana ia dikenali sebagai masyarakat majmuk. Pelaksanaan sistem pendidikan yang dijalankan perlu mengikut keperluan dan kesesuaian masyarakat Malaysia.

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Masyarakat Malaysia yang terdiri dari bangsa Melayu, Cina, India, lain-lain etnik, dan beragama Islam, Buddha, Hindu, dan Kristian menjadi rujukan pihak pemerintah sebelum sesuatu dasar dirangka agar manfaat dan faedah dapat dirasakan oleh semua golongan masyarakat. Melalui pendidikan, nilai-nilai murni seperti hormat-menghormati, bertoleransi, bekerjasama, dan aspek-aspek moral diterapkan kepada masyarakat yang bertujuan untuk melahirkan pewaris negara yang berkualiti, bertanggungjawab, berdaya saing, bijak, dan mempunyai sifat patriotik di mana ia penting untuk memupuk perpaduan di kalangan masyarakat.

Sistem persekolahan yang terbaik adalah sistem pesekolahan yang meliputi keseluruhan kehidupan masyarakat Malaysia, di mana ia tidak hanya terhenti apabila seseorang individu tamat persekolahan atau tamat pengajian di institusi-institusi pengajian tinggi, tetapi ia menjadi kesinambungan dalam kehidupan hingga ke hari tua dengan memberi sumbangan bagi memartabatkan bangsa dan negara.

Pendidikan pula dapat menyeimbangkan sosio-ekonomi di antara kaum dan kumpulan etnik di mana ia dapat dilihat melalui peluang-peluang pekerjaan, pendapatan, dan pegangan ekuiti (Robiah Sidin, 1994:8). Apabila keadaan ini tercapai, kestabilan ekonomi, politik, dan sosial akan dapat berkembang maju. Contohnya pada zaman pemerintahan Inggeris, punca kaum Melayu mundur dan miskin adalah disebabkan mereka tidak diberikan peluang yang sama untuk mendapat pendidikan. Ini juga menjadi penyebab utama perpaduan yang erat di kalangan masyarakat majmuk sukar untuk dicapai. Hal ini mempunyai kaitan yang rapat dengan dasar dan sistem pelaksanaan pendidikan yang tidak meliputi semua golongan masyarakat.

Pendidikan, mengikut Plato, ialah suatu proses membentuk individu yang berakhlak mulia. Menurut Jean Jacques Rousseau pula, pendidikan sebagai suatu proses yang berterusan dan bermula dari masa kanak-kanak lagi. Dalam proses ini, segala kebolehan semulajadi lahir dengan sendirinya mengikut kehendak dan peraturan semulajadi (Mok Soon Sang, 2000:xvi). Masyarakat dan pendidikan adalah bergerak seiring kerana pendidikan adalah acuan membentuk insan.

Oleh yang demikian, penulisan ini akan membincangkan dan memperdebatkan berkenaan dengan pelaksanaan dan keberkesanan sistem persekolahan negara dalam konteks perpaduan nasional melalui analisis terhadap strategi yang telah dirangka oleh kerajaan Malaysia sejak sebelum merdeka hingga kini. Artikel ini akan menerangkan bagaimana pelaksanaan dan keberkesananya terhadap hubungan masyarakat, masalah-masalah yang timbul, dan penyelesaian masa depan.

LATAR BELAKANG PENDIDIKAN DI MALAYSIA: SEJARAH AWAL DAN SEMASA PENJAJAHAN BRITISH

Sebelum kedatangan pihak British ke Tanah Melayu, sistem pendidikan orang Melayu adalah berlandaskan kepada pelajaran agama Islam, iaitu kitab

suci Al-Quran. Mereka ketika itu menjadikan surau dan masjid sebagai tempat untuk menuntut ilmu dengan mengkaji ayat-ayat kitab Al-Quran. Pelajaran yang diperolehi ketika itu melalui dengan menghafal ayat-ayat Al-Quran, menghafal doa, dan mempelajari mengenai ajaran Islam dengan merujuk kepada imam dan para guru agama. Pada ketika itu, sistem pemerintahan yang dijalankan adalah pemerintahan beraja. Jadi, tidak timbul masalah berkenaan dengan perebutan kuasa untuk memerintah. Pendidikan yang penting pada ketika itu ialah pendidikan Islam di mana yang mula berkembang dengan kewujudan sekolah-sekolah pondok dan madrasah sebagai tempat mendapat pendidikan Islam. Menurut Wilkinson, murid di pondok mula belajar perkataan-perkataan Arab dan selepas sudah menguasainya, mereka akan terus mempelajari dengan cara menghafal huruf abjad Arab supaya menjadi sebagai panduan membaca doa dan teks Arab (dalam Mok Soon Sang, 2000:1-2).

Sewaktu zaman penjajahan British, mereka telah melaksanakan sistem pendidikan yang berteraskan pendidikan Inggeris, di mana sekolah-sekolah aliran Inggeris ini mengajar mata pelajaran dalam bahasa Inggeris. Hal demikian memberi cabaran dan halangan terhadap bangsa Melayu ketika itu kerana majoriti masyarakat Melayu tidak mahir untuk menggunakan bahasa Inggeris dengan baik. Hal ini pula ditambah dengan dasar yang dibuat oleh pihak British untuk menyekat kemasukan pelajar-pelajar Melayu untuk belajar di sekolah Inggeris kerana mereka bimbang jika orang-orang Melayu belajar dengan pandai, ia akan membuat kedudukan Inggeris tergugat (Sufean Hussin, 2002:129). Hanya pelajar-pelajar Melayu yang terdiri dari kelas atasan sahaja yang diberi peluang untuk belajar di sekolah Inggeris.

Pada zaman penjajahan ini, dasar pendidikan – terutama sistem persekolahan – tidak menghasilkan keberkesanan yang positif, terutama untuk perpaduan dan pelaksanaannya mempunyai banyak kelemahan kerana British hanya mementingkan keuntungan ekonomi dan kedudukan sendiri sahaja (Ibrahim Saad, 1986). Semasa penjajahan British, pihak Inggeris juga telah mewujudkan sekolah vernakular Melayu, sekolah vernakular Cina, dan sekolah vernakular Tamil (Shahril @ Charil Marzuki & Habib Mat Som, 1999:3-7).

Kewujudan sekolah vernakular telah menyebabkan masyarakat Melayu, Cina, dan India dipisahkan mengikut sistem persekolahan; dan menyebabkan hubungan mereka semakin renggang. Sekolah vernakular Melayu, Cina, dan India mempunyai kepentingan tersendiri, terutama untuk kaum tertentu, iaitu sekolah Melayu untuk kepentingan orang Melayu, sekolah Cina untuk kepentingan orang Cina, dan sekolah Tamil untuk kepentingan orang India. Tetapi British tidak memainkan peranan dengan adil, terutama dari segi layanan yang setaraf kepada semua bangsa. Contohnya, sekolah vernakular Melayu dan Tamil hanya terhad untuk sekolah rendah sahaja, manakala sekolah vernakular Cina mendapat keistimewaan melalui sekolah rendah (6 tahun), *junior middle* (3 tahun), dan *senior middle* (3 tahun). Lulusan untuk sekolah Melayu hanya setakat memenuhi keperluan tenaga manusia yang paling rendah.

Laporan Barnes 1950 telah menjadi penggerak perubahan kedudukan pendidikan orang Melayu kerana telah bangkit kesedaran semangat nasionalisme selepas tamat Perang Dunia II pada tahun 1946 (Shahril @ Charil Marzuki & Habib Mat Som, 1999:9). Mengikut laporan Barnes 1950, kewujudan sekolah vernakular tidak menyumbang ke arah perpaduan kaum, di mana antara syor Jawatankuasa Barnes adalah sekolah-sekolah vernakular Melayu, Cina, dan Tamil hendaklah dibubarkan dan digantikan dengan satu jenis sekolah sahaja, iaitu sekolah kebangsaan. Tetapi masyarakat Cina merasa kedudukan mereka tergugat dan atas desakan kaum mereka sendiri, juga kerana terhasilnya Laporan Fenn-Wu 1951, berusaha dan bertujuan untuk mempertahankan kedudukan pendidikan masyarakat Cina. Perubahan pendidikan sentiasa berlaku ketika itu kerana kehendak rakyat perlu dipenuhi bagi menjamin perpaduan dan kesejahteraan negara. Ordinan Pelajaran 1952 telah ditubuhkan, impak daripada hala tuju Laporan Barnes 1950 dan Laporan Fenn-Wu 1951 yang berlainan matlamat untuk dicapai. Maka, singkat kata, kesan daripada sistem pendidikan penjajahan British itu adalah wujudnya: (1) Sekolah Pondok dan Madrasah, (2) Sekolah Vernakular Melayu, (3) Sekolah Vernakular Cina, (4) Sekolah Vernakular Tamil, dan (5) Sekolah Inggeris.

PENDIDIKAN DI MALAYSIA SELEPAS MERDEKA

Laporan Razak 1956 yang dikuatkuasakan sebagai Ordinan Pelajaran 1957 dan Laporan Rahman Talib 1960 menjadi perintis ke arah pengukuhan sistem pendidikan kebangsaan di Malaysia. Selepas merdeka 1957, Malaysia merupakan negara baru dan memulakan zaman untuk mengukuhkan semula pendidikan negara supaya selari dengan matlamat perpaduan nasional. Akta Pelajaran 1961 pula bukti usaha murni yang dilakukan oleh kerajaan Malaysia bagi mengembalikan semula kepercayaan rakyat supaya mereka memahami dasar pendidikan yang dilaksanakan kerajaan demi kepentingan masyarakat Malaysia yang majmuk.

Laporan Razak 1956 boleh dijadikan sebagai batu loncatan ke atas dasar dan sistem pendidikan kebangsaan yang mempunyai perubahan yang positif, terutama membentuk dan memupuk perpaduan negara (Abu Bakar Nordin, 1994). Perpaduan antara masyarakat majmuk merupakan asas utama yang diberi perhatian oleh kerajaan Malaysia ketika menggubal dasar pendidikan selepas negara mencapai kemerdekaan pada tahun 1957. Hal demikian menjadikan dasar-dasar penting dalam Laporan Razak 1956 dan laporan Rahman Talib 1960 yang telah dikuatkuasakan oleh kerajaan melalui Akta Pendidikan 1961.

Peristiwa berdarah 13 Mei 1969 telah mengubah lanskap politik, ekonomi, dan sosial masyarakat Malaysia di mana selepas peristiwa itu berlaku, pihak kerajaan telah mewujudkan Dasar Ekonomi Baru (DEB) yang bermatlamat mencapai perpaduan negara dan integrasi nasional. Peristiwa berdarah itu turut memberi impak yang besar kepada dasar pendidikan. Semasa rancangan Malaysia kedua, iaitu 1971-1975, rancangan pendidikan negara ditumpukan

pada tiga bidang, iaitu: (1) menyatukan sistem pelajaran bagi menggalakkan perpaduan negara, (2) memperluaskan rancangan pelajaran bagi mencapai keperluan negara mengenai tenaga rakyat, dan (3) memperbaiki mutu pelajaran ke arah mencapai masyarakat yang maju berasaskan sains dan teknologi moden.

Bagi mencapai rancangan itu, strategi untuk melaksanakannya disediakan, iaitu melaksanakan Bahasa Malayu sebagai bahasa pengantar utama di semua sekolah secara berperingkat, mengurangkan jurang perbezaan dalam memberikan peluang pelajaran di antara kawasan dan antara kaum melalui pembinaan sekolah dan kemudahan sekolah di luar bandar, dan meningkatkan mutu pelajaran. Pada tahun 1983, kerajaan Malaysia telah wujudkan rancangan Kurikulum Baru Sekolah Rendah (KBSR) untuk dilaksanakan di semua sekolah rendah seluruh negara; dan tahun 1989 kerajaan melaksanakan rancangan Kurikulum Bersepadu Sekolah Menengah (KBSM) di semua sekolah menengah seluruh Malaysia. Kedua-dua KBSR dan KBSM mempunyai objektif yang sama, iaitu sebagai alat perpaduan kaum dan negara. Selepas DEB tamat pada tahun 1990, kesinambungan daripadanya terbentuk Dasar Pembangunan Negara (DPN), 1991-2000, di mana ketika ini ialah berlangsungnya rancangan Malaysia ke-enam dan ke-tujuh. Dalam rancangan Malaysia ke-tujuh, terutama dalam sektor pendidikan, kerajaan merangka untuk menjadikan sistem pendidikan Malaysia bertaraf dunia.

HALA TUJU SISTEM PENDIDIKAN DI MALAYSIA: KE ARAH PERPADUAN NASIONAL

Kementerian Pelajaran Malaysia memainkan peranan yang sangat penting dalam membawa perubahan pendidikan di Malaysia sejak sekian lama lagi. Misi Kementerian Pelajaran Malaysia ialah membangunkan sistem pendidikan yang berkualiti dan bertaraf dunia, di samping memperkembangkan potensi individu sepenuhnya dan memenuhi aspirasi negara. Kementerian Pelajaran Malaysia menetapkan matlamat, iaitu melahirkan bangsa Malaysia yang taat setia, bersatupadu, beriman, berakhlak mulia, berilmu, berketerampilan, sejahtera, menyediakan sumber tenaga manusia untuk keperluan kemajuan negara, dan memberi peluang-peluang pendidikan kepada semua warganegara. Pada tahun 2007, bekas Perdana Menteri Malaysia, Tun Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, telah melancarkan Pelan Induk Pembangunan Pendidikan (PIPP) 2006-2010 yang bertujuan untuk melonjakkan tahap kecemerlangan sekolah, melahirkan rakyat Malaysia yang berilmu pengetahuan, berakhlak mulia, bertanggungjawab, berkemampuan, dan dapat mengangkat imej sistem pendidikan negara di mata dunia (<http://www.mohe.gov.my>, 19/2/2010). Melalui PIPP 2006-2010 tersebut, 6 teras strategik digaris, iaitu: (1) Membina negara-bangsa, (2) Membangunkan modal insan, (3) Memperkasakan sekolah kebangsaan, (4) Merapatkan jurang pendidikan, (5) Memartabatkan profesyen perguruan, dan (6) Melonjakkan kecemerlangan institusi pendidikan.

Jika dikaji secara teliti, ternyata enam strategik yang digariskan itu mampu untuk membawa perubahan kepada sistem persekolahan yang berperanan sebagai alat perpaduan. Strategik yang pertama iaitu pembinaan negara-bangsa sangat ditekankan oleh kerajaan untuk dilaksanakan kerana melaluinya perpaduan di kalangan masyarakat Malaysia yang berbilang bangsa dapat diperkukuhkan lagi. Pelan rancangan ini seiring dan dapat merealisasikan matlamat utama pendidikan kebangsaan negara sejak merdeka, iaitu matlamat pendidikan untuk perpaduan bangsa Malaysia. Sebab itu sekolah memainkan peranan yang penting untuk menyatupadukan masyarakat Malaysia yang berbilang bangsa untuk menjalinkan hubungan baik dan saling bertoleransi.

Apabila mereka pulang ke rumah, hubungan antara bangsa yang berbeza terhenti kerana di rumah mereka hanya bergaul dengan keluarga, bahasa yang digunakan adalah bahasa ibunda, dan untuk keluar bersama jarang dilihat. Masyarakat Malaysia lebih selesa dan kerap keluar ke mana sahaja bersama-sama dengan sahabat yang sama bangsa, agama, dan budaya. Masyarakat Malaysia yang berbilang bangsa hanya bertemu di pasar, di tempat awam, dan pejabat kerana atas urusan kerja dan kemudian mereka pulang ke rumah.

Jadi, melalui sistem persekolahan, mereka yang berbilang bangsa dapat saling kenal-mengenal dan berinteraksi dengan baik. Dari ketika itu mula wujud hubungan antara masyarakat dan seterusnya membina perpaduan nasional yang kukuh. Perpaduan yang erat dapat dikekalkan dan diperkukuhkan melalui dasar-dasar yang kerajaan laksanakan. Strategik Pelan Induk Pembangunan Pendidikan yang ketiga adalah memperkasakan sekolah kebangsaan, iaitu sekolah rendah dan menengah, merupakan usaha yang bertepatan dengan keperluan semasa kerana melaluinya masyarakat mempunyai kepercayaan serta keyakinan yang tinggi untuk menghantar anak-anak mereka ke sekolah kebangsaan.

Pelan Induk Pembangunan Pendidikan (PIPP) tidak hanya memberi fokus kepada satu jenis sekolah dan kaum tetapi ia untuk semua jenis aliran sekolah, termasuk sekolah jenis kebangsaan Cina dan Tamil. PPIP termasuk dalam RMK 9, iaitu Rancangan Malaysia ke-sembilan (2006-2010), adalah rancangan lima tahun pertama daripada tiga rancangan lima tahun yang akan memacu Misi Nasional ke arah mencapai Wawasan 2020. RMK 9 merangkumi strategi, program, dan peruntukan yang diperlukan bagi merealisasikan impian negara melalui Misi Nasional. Fokus utama ialah pembangunan modal insan, khususnya pendidikan tinggi, dan penyediaan tenaga mahir. Rancangan Malaysia ke-sembilan telah menetapkan pembangunan modal insan berminda kelas pertama sebagai salah satu daripada lima teras utama ke arah mencapai Wawasan 2020.

Sekolah Wawasan merupakan merupakan antara percubaan yang dilakukan oleh kerajaan bagi membawa perubahan dalam sistem pendidikan negara. Sekolah Wawasan bererti sekolah rendah yang berkonsepkan belajar bersama-sama dalam satu kawasan yang sama tanpa mengira kaum atau agama. Di bawah konsep ini, tiga buah sekolah rendah berlainan aliran akan ditempatkan

dalam kawasan yang sama, iaitu sekolah kebangsaan, sekolah jenis kebangsaan Cina, dan Tamil. Setiap sekolah akan mempunyai bangunan sendiri yang boleh disambung antara satu sama lain dengan menggunakan jambatan penghubung (KPM, 2010a).

Antara tujuan utama penubuhan Sekolah Wawasan ialah mewujudkan perpaduan di kalangan murid-murid yang berbagai bangsa dan latar belakang, memupuk semangat integrasi antara pelajar dari pelbagai aliran, melahirkan generasi yang mempunyai sifat toleransi dan persefahaman yang tinggi demi mewujudkan sebuah negara yang bersatu padu, dan menggalakkan interaksi maksimum antara semua warga sekolah melalui perkongsian kemudahan sekolah dan pelaksanaan aktiviti-aktiviti lain di sekolah (KPM, 2010a). Melalui cara ini ternyata ia dapat membawa kesedaran yang tinggi kepada masyarakat tentang pentingnya perpaduan di kalangan masyarakat yang perlu dipupuk sejak dari kecil lagi.

Kewujudan Sekolah Bestari dan Kluster juga menjadi perintis perubahan kepada sistem pendidikan di Malaysia. Mengikut perancangan kerajaan, Sekolah Bestari akan dilaksanakan di seluruh negara pada tahun 2010, namun begitu hasrat untuk melihat kejayaan pelaksanaan Sekolah Bestari di seluruh negara masih tidak kesampaian. Sama seperti Sekolah Kluster dan Sekolah Wawasan, ia hanya berjaya dilaksanakan di beberapa kawasan tertentu sahaja.

Sekolah Bestari merupakan sekolah yang ditubuhkan dengan teknologi canggih, dengan pengubahsuaian kurikulum agar selari dengan perkembangan pesat dalam era sains dan teknologi. Secara khususnya, objektif Sekolah Bestari ialah melatih pelajar-pelajar supaya cerdas dan pandai menggunakan teknologi terkini dalam aktiviti pembelajaran mereka yang bermatlamat menjadikan Malaysia sebagai sebuah pusat kecemerlangan pendidikan bertaraf dunia dan melahirkan generasi yang mampu menghadapi cabaran Wawasan 2020.

Sekolah Kluster pula ialah satu jenama yang diberi kepada sekolah yang dikenal pasti cemerlang dalam klusternya daripada aspek pengurusan sekolah dan kemenjadian murid. Kewujudan Sekolah Kluster bertujuan untuk melonjakkan kecemerlangan sekolah dalam sistem pendidikan Malaysia dan membangun sekolah yang boleh dicontohi oleh sekolah dalam kluster yang sama (KPM, 2010b).

Dalam pada itu, konsep 1Malaysia yang diilhamkan oleh Perdana Menteri Malaysia sekarang, Y.A.B. (Yang Amat Berhormat) Datuk Seri Najib Tun Razak, menjadi penggerak utama ke arah mencapai perpaduan dan integrasi kaum yang bertemakan "rakyat didahulukan, pencapaian diutamakan". Konsep 1Malaysia merupakan satu gagasan bagi memupuk perpaduan di kalangan rakyat Malaysia yang berbilang kaum, berteraskan beberapa nilai-nilai penting yang seharusnya menjadi amalan setiap rakyat Malaysia. Dalam menjayakan matlamat ini, sektor pendidikan – terutamanya melalui sistem persekolahan – memainkan peranan utama dengan menerapkan nilai-nilai murni dan perpaduan nasional (Atan Long, 1984:181-184). Ini bukan sesuatu

yang baru untuk dilaksanakan di sekolah tetapi ia boleh menjadi perintis bermulanya perubahan masyarakat Malaysia supaya mencapai matlamat perpaduan nasional.

Terkini, pada tahun 2010 pula, mengikut Pengarah Pelajaran Malaysia, Tan Sri Alimuddin Mohamad Dom, pihak kerajaan telah merangka kurikulum yang baru untuk diterapkan dalam sistem pembelajaran (*Sunday Times*, 3/1/2010). Pelaksanaan kurikulum yang baru ini akan dikuatkuasakan tidak lama lagi dan bertujuan untuk meningkatkan mutu pendidikan di Malaysia. Pelaksanaannya nanti diharapkan akan memberi keberhasilan yang positif kepada mutu pendidikan murid-murid dan menjadi pemangkin pengukuhan perpaduan negara Malaysia.

ISU-ISU DAN MASALAH DALAM SISTEM PENDIDIKAN:

A. SISTEM PERSEKOLAHAN PELBAGAI ALIRAN

Memasuki tahun 2010 telah menjadikan sistem pendidikan di Malaysia bergerak seiring dengan keperluan semasa kerana masyarakat juga turut berubah disebabkan oleh arus permodenan dan globalisasi. Sehingga kini, Malaysia masih meneruskan kesinambungan sistem persekolahan lama dengan mengekalkan sekolah kebangsaan, sekolah jenis kebangsaan Cina, dan sekolah jenis kebangsaan Tamil. Seringkali isu-isu berkenaan dengan sistem persekolahan dibincangkan dan diperdebatkan yang akhirnya tiada jalan penyelesaian yang dilakukan bagi mengubah kepada sistem persekolahan yang baru. Isu-isu sistem persekolahan merupakan isu yang sensitif bagi masyarakat Malaysia yang berbilang bangsa, kerana bukan sesuatu yang mudah untuk mendapat persetujuan daripada masyarakat yang mempunyai pandangan dan kepentingan yang berbeza.

Seringkali setiap keputusan, sama ada yang hendak mahupun yang telah dibuat, dipengaruhi oleh politik tanah air yang bermula sejak zaman penjajah lagi. Umum mengetahui bahawa pihak kerajaan sentiasa memainkan peranan bagi menaikkan mutu pendidikan kebangsaan, tetapi sejauh mana setiap tindakan yang diambil dapat menyelesaikan masalah yang timbul. Sistem persekolahan Malaysia kini masih tidak banyak berubah dari aspek perpaduan kaum. Murid-murid dan pelajar-pelajar dapat menjadikan sekolah sebagai asas permulaan membina hubungan baik sesama mereka di mana di sekolah, mereka dapat beramah mesra, bergaul, bersukan, makan bersama, saling kenal-mengenal, dan merapatkan hubungan silaturahim.

Namun begitu, kewujudan sekolah yang pelbagai aliran – seperti sekolah kebangsaan dan sekolah jenis kebangsaan Cina dan Tamil – telah menjejaskan perpaduan kaum di Malaysia. Kini, ianya sudah tidak relevan untuk diguna pakai kerana sekiranya ia masih diteruskan, maka hubungan antara masyarakat Malaysia akan semakin pudar. Hal demikian kerana sekolah merupakan tempat mula-mula masyarakat Malaysia yang berbilang bangsa bertemu untuk saling mengenal.

Perdana Menteri Malaysia, Datuk Seri Najib Tun Razak, mengatakan bahawa beliau sedia menimbangkan untuk mewujudkan hanya satu sistem sekolah sahaja yang diguna pakai sekiranya rakyat Malaysia bersetuju untuk mengikuti satu sistem persekolahan. Dalam melaksanakan dasar baru itu, kerajaan perlu mengambil kira kehendak rakyat kerana tidak mahu timbul perbalahan dan kesan buruk kepada rakyat. Sehingga kini, masyarakat Malaysia masih belum bersetuju untuk menggunakan satu sistem sekolah sahaja. Masyarakat Cina dan India dilihat masih mahu menggunakan sistem sekolah pelbagai aliran yang dianggap dapat menjaga bahasa ibunda mereka dan menjamin hak-hak mereka.

Idea menubuhkan satu aliran sistem persekolahan perlu dilaksanakan kerana melaluinya semangat perpaduan di kalangan rakyat dapat dipupuk. Pelaksanaan sekolah satu aliran tidak akan menyebabkan kehilangan identiti kaum tertentu, malah ia akan terus menyemai semangat perpaduan yang kukuh di kalangan masyarakat Malaysia. Masyarakat Cina, India, dan semua kaum masih boleh mengekalkan penggunaan bahasa ibunda mereka, walaupun belajar di sekolah yang sama aliran.

Di sekolah-sekolah jenis kebangsaan Cina dan Tamil, bilangan murid-murid Melayu terlalu sedikit jika dibandingkan dengan sekolah kebangsaan. Keadaan ini menunjukkan jurang yang begitu luas antara murid-murid Melayu, Cina, dan India. Masalah ini disebabkan oleh penggunaan bahasa, iaitu bahasa Melayu, Cina, dan Tamil yang menjadi faktor utama wujud jurang pendidikan antara masyarakat. Contohnya, di sekolah kebangsaan, bahasa Cina dan Tamil tidak diterapkan; manakala di sekolah jenis kebangsaan Cina dan Tamil, bahasa Melayu bukan bahasa utama. Jadi, wujud dua keadaan yang berbeza dan masalah ini sering berlanjutan sehingga kini.

B. PENGAJARAN PENDIDIKAN SAINS DAN MATEMATIK DALAM BAHASA INGGERIS (PPSMI)

Pada tahun 2003, semasa era pemerintahan Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, suatu dasar baru pendidikan diperkenalkan, iaitu Pengajaran Pendidikan Sains dan Matematik dalam Bahasa Inggeris (PPSMI). Tujuan ianya dilaksanakan adalah untuk memperkukuhkan penguasaan bahasa Inggeris di kalangan masyarakat Malaysia. Namun begitu pada tahun 2009, Menteri Pelajaran Malaysia mengumumkan bahawa PPSMI akan dimansuhkan sepenuhnya pada 2012, disebabkan timbulnya masalah-masalah. Walau bagaimanapun, atas sebab-sebab tertentu, pelajar yang telah memulakannya boleh meneruskan pembelajaran dalam bahasa Inggeris.

Isu PPSMI merupakan isu besar dalam pendidikan Malaysia kerana mendapat tentangan daripada masyarakat Melayu terutamanya. Antara sebab-sebab ia mendapat bantahan dari banyak pihak ialah kerana: (1) ianya bertentangan dengan Perlembagaan Perkara 152, iaitu memartabatkan bahasa Melayu; (2) prestasi pelajar-pelajar Melayu terutamanya merosot

dalam subjek Sains dan Matematik; (3) kurangnya guru yang terlatih; dan (4) tentangan daripada pejuang-pejuang bahasa Melayu, para cendekiawan, tokoh akademik, ahli politik, dan NGO atau *Non Governmental Organization* yang memperjuangkan bahasa Melayu sebagai bahasa rasmi.

Ada sesetengah pihak mempersoalkan mengapa setelah 7 tahun ia dilaksanakan, kini mendapat tentangan? Mungkin kah ianya sejajar dengan kehendak masyarakat yang telah merasai kesan daripada pelaksanaan dasar tersebut kepada pelajaran anak-anak mereka? Sememangnya, murid-murid dan pelajar-pelajar di luar bandar menunjukkan keputusan yang merosot kerana ternyata sehingga kini mereka masih lagi ketinggalan, terutama dalam penguasaan bahasa Inggeris. Masyarakat luar bandar terutamanya masih belum bersedia sepenuhnya menerima PPSMI dilaksanakan kerana bimbang dengan masa depan.

C. PENGISIAN KURIKULUM DAN KO-KURIKULUM

Masalah lain yang turut timbul ialah berkenaan dengan pengisian dalam kurikulum dan aktiviti ko-kurikulum yang menjadi penentu kepada perkembangan murid-murid dan pelajar-pelajar (Awang Had Salleh, 1980). Hal ini penting kerana ia memberi kesan, sama ada positif atau negatif kepada masyarakat dalam membentuk jati diri dan disiplin. Sekiranya pengisian dalam kurikulum dan ko-kurikulum mengikut keperluan rakyat, maka tentu sebarang masalah tidak timbul. Tetapi oleh kerana wujud kelemahan-kelemahan dalam pengisian kurikulum dan ko-kurikulum, reaksi yang negatif kelihatan dalam hubungan masyarakat. Contohnya, sekolah kebangsaan tidak menjadikan bahasa ibunda kaum Cina dan Tamil sebagai subjek wajib telah menyebabkan ibu bapa daripada Cina dan India tidak mahu menghantar anak-anak mereka ke sekolah kebangsaan.

Bagi mereka, bahasa ibunda ialah identiti yang harus dipelihara. Mukriz Mahathir (2008) memberi pandangan supaya satu sistem persekolahan sahaja diwujudkan dengan menerapkan bahasa Mandarin dan Tamil sebagai subjek yang wajib diambil oleh murid-murid Cina dan India (kenyataan dalam *Utusan Online* di <http://www.utusan.com.my>, 2/12/2008). Murid-murid Melayu boleh mengambil bahasa Mandarin dan Tamil sebagai salah satu subjek pilihan. Secara tidak langsung, orang Melayu akan dapat menguasai bahasa Mandarin dan Tamil yang akhirnya dapat merapatkan jurang pendidikan antara kaum.

Masyarakat perlu memahami bahawa objektif penggubalan dasar dan sistem pendidikan adalah berlandaskan keperluan pembentukan negara Malaysia sebagai negara demokrasi yang mempunyai masyarakat berbilang bangsa, agama, dan menjadikan Malaysia maju ke hadapan. KBSR (Kurikulum Baru Sekolah Rendah) dan KBSM (Kurikulum Bersepadu Sekolah Menengah) merupakan kurikulum yang diperkenalkan bagi meningkatkan lagi pendidikan dan perpaduan masyarakat, tetapi keberkesannya untuk menyatupadukan

rakyat yang berbilang kaum masih memerlukan penambahbaikan (Shahril @ Charil Marzuki *et al.*, 1995:110-126).

D. MEREALISASIKAN WAWASAN 2020

Wawasan 2020 telah dicetuskan oleh bekas Perdana Menteri Malaysia, Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, pada 28 Februari 1991 yang akan menjadikan Malaysia sebagai sebuah negara perindustrian dan negara maju menjelang tahun 2020. Reformasi yang telah dilakukan dalam sektor pendidikan adalah langkah konkrit untuk menuju ke arah Wawasan 2020. Bagi merealisasikan Wawasan 2020, antara sasaran yang mahu dicapai adalah mengenai perpaduan negara di mana sektor pendidikan menjadi peneraju utama. Dalam sektor pendidikan, sistem persekolahan yang sempurna menjadi pendekatan yang digunakan untuk memastikan perpaduan di kalangan masyarakat. Tema perpaduan dalam sistem persekolahan amat dititiberatkan kerana hanya melalui perpaduan matlamat mencapai Wawasan 2020 dapat direalisasikan. Bermula dari sekarang (2010), hanya 10 tahun sahaja masa yang ada untuk negara Malaysia menjadi negara maju.

Namun begitu, dengan situasi masyarakat dan negara sekarang timbul persoalan tentang persediaan untuk menghadapinya. Contohnya, hubungan masyarakat Malaysia kini masih lagi perlu diperkukuhkan kerana masih wujud tanda-tanda kelemahan dalam hubungan masyarakat. Sistem persekolahan sepatutnya menjadi medium penggerak kepada masyarakat supaya mereka dapat disatupadukan melalui peluang pendidikan. Tetapi, masih wujud permasalahan dalam menentukan sistem persekolahan kerana ada sesetengah pihak mahu mengekalkan sistem persekolahan yang sedia ada, manakala sesetengah pihak lain mahu perubahan.

Masalah-masalah dalam sistem pendidikan yang bermatlamatkan perpaduan negara diringkaskan melalui: (1) Masalah isu berbangkit hak bumiputra dan bukan bumiputra; (2) Jurang pencapaian pendidikan orang Melayu dan bukan Melayu melalui peluang pekerjaan dan pendapatan; (3) Masalah keciciran pelajar-pelajar Melayu dan bukan Melayu; (4) Hubungan yang renggang antara pelajar Melayu dan bukan Melayu; (5) Kurangnya pergaulan antara pelajar Melayu dan pelajar bukan Melayu, terutama selepas waktu sekolah; dan (6) Kurangnya pengetahuan dan tidak memahami dengan mendalam mengenai budaya, amalan, dan adat resam sesuatu kaum.

LANGKAH-LANGKAH PENDIDIKAN KE ARAH PERPADUAN

Pertama, Peranan Dasar Kerajaan. Kerajaan memainkan peranan utama dalam membentuk lanskap masyarakat Malaysia, terutama selepas merdeka. Melalui dasar-dasar dan strategik yang dilaksanakan, perubahan demi perubahan telah kelihatan, malah menjadi agenda utama negara untuk membangunkan masyarakat (INTAN Malaysia, 1994). Dasar-dasar awam merupakan alat yang digunakan untuk memastikan pentadbiran kerajaan berjalan dengan lancar dalam membangunkan negara dan masyarakat.

Dasar awam boleh didefinisikan, antaranya, sebagai apa sahaja pemilihan kerajaan, sama ada untuk membuat sesuatu atau tidak membuat sesuatu (Jan-Erik Lane, 2000). Selain itu, dasar awam ialah sesuatu pilihan utama yang dibuat oleh seseorang individu bagi menjelaskan, menerang, mempertahankan, memimpin atau menggariskan sesuatu tindakan, sama ada yang nyata atau bertujuan (Jeong Chun Hai @ Ibrahim & Nor Fazlina Nawawi, 2007). Menurut Ahmad Atory Hussin, dasar awam ialah program atau projek yang dirancang oleh kerajaan yang mempunyai tujuan dan matlamat tertentu. Contohnya, Laporan Razak 1956 dan Laporan Rahman Talib 1960 telah menampakkan keberkesanan pelaksanaan dasar yang dirangka (dalam Syed Othman Alhabhi & Hasnan Hakim, 2010). Setiap dasar yang dirangka perlu mengikut kehendak dan keperluan masyarakat supaya tidak timbul sebarang masalah. Contohnya, sistem persekolahan satu aliran dan Pengajaran Pendidikan Sains dan Matematik dalam Bahasa Inggeris (PPSMI) menjadi penanda aras bahawa dasar yang dilaksanakan memerlukan penambahbaikan segera.

Melalui dasar pendidikan, kerajaan boleh memainkan peranan dengan: (1) Semua sekolah kebangsaan, sekolah jenis kebangsaan Cina dan Tamil bergabung mengadakan dan menganjurkan program bersama yang melibatkan penyertaan semua murid-murid dan guru; (2) Pengisian pelajaran di sekolah kebangsaan, sekolah jenis kebangsaan Cina dan Tamil diselaraskan semula dengan menggunakan isi kandungan yang sama dengan menambah bahasa Mandarin dan Tamil sebagai matapelajaran wajib; (3) Satu sistem persekolahan boleh dijalankan melalui penggabungan elemen-elemen – termasuk kebudayaan, pemakanan, dan adat resam – yang terdapat dalam sekolah kebangsaan, sekolah jenis kebangsaan Cina dan Tamil; (4) Pengisian kurikulum dan ko-kurikulum perlu seiring dengan keperluan masyarakat kini yang menekankan nilai-nilai jati diri, mempunyai sifat patriotisme, bertoleransi yang harus diperkasakan lagi, dan memerlukan nilai tambah; serta (5) Menjadikan gagasan 1Malaysia sebagai tambahan wajib dalam matapelajaran di semua jenis sekolah yang menjadi peneraju pembinaan bangsa kerana pendidikan merupakan cabang utama penggerak kepada tercapainya gagasan 1Malaysia.

Kedua, Sistem Penyampaian. Pihak kerajaan adalah pihak pemerintah yang berkuasa penuh untuk membuat keputusan kerana telah mendapat mandat daripada rakyat. Kerajaan seharusnya menggunakan segala keperluan dan kebebasan yang ada untuk menjadi pihak penyampai yang efisien. Sistem penyampaian merupakan alat yang sangat penting yang berperanan sebagai pemberi maklumat yang tepat dan berinformasi. Masalah yang perlu diambil serius ialah mengenai cara penyampaian oleh pihak pemerintah kepada rakyat. Biasanya, sistem penyampaian ini ialah melalui media-media dan juga agensi-agensinya kerajaan, contohnya Kementerian Penerangan dan Komunikasi.

Dalam menyampaikan informasi mengenai pendidikan, tidak semua masyarakat tahu mengenai perubahan yang dilakukan terhadap dasar, dan mereka juga sering terpengaruh dengan berita-berita yang salah. Keadaan

ini menyebabkan masyarakat akan memandang serong terhadap kerajaan, walaupun sebenarnya kerajaan telah menjalankan tanggungjawab dengan baik. Zaman kini merupakan zaman yang terbuka dari segala segi, termasuk sumber maklumat. Melalui Kementerian Penerangan dan Komunikasi serta agensi-agensi kerajaan yang lain, sistem penyampaian dapat menjadi penggerak utama dalam mengambil semula hati rakyat dan kepercayaan mereka terhadap dasar-dasar kerajaan.

Sistem penyampaian sistematik dan berkesan boleh dilakukan melalui: (1) Menggunakan sepenuhnya peranan media, sama ada cetak mahupun elektronik, sebagai medium utama dengan menayangkan iklan-iklan TV bertemakan perpaduan dengan lebih kerap lagi dan ruang papan kenyataan yang mempromosikan keunikan masyarakat Malaysia; (2) Melakukan promosi-promosi dengan lebih kerap lagi dengan membuka pusat sehati di merata tempat, terutama memberi fokus kepada masyarakat luar bandar berkenaan dengan dasar-dasar kerajaan yang terkini supaya rakyat memahami perkara sebenar; (3) Menggunakan Van bergerak di seluruh negara yang menjadi simbol dan rujukan untuk rakyat mengetahui perancangan yang dilakukan kerajaan; serta (4) Menjadikan sekolah sebagai pusat sumber maklumat bagi segala dasar-dasar dan program-program yang dijalankan oleh kerajaan.

Ketiga, Hubungan Masyarakat. Masyarakat Malaysia yang berbilang bangsa dan agama mempunyai risiko untuk berkonflik, malah di kalangan bangsa yang sama, banyak masalah yang timbul. Bagi menjaga keharmonian negara, masyarakat Malaysia perlu sentiasa menjaga perhubungan kaum agar dapat membangunkan masyarakat yang mempunyai minda kelas pertama. Menurut Simon Fisher *et al.* (2000), konflik dalam masyarakat disebabkan oleh polarisasi, ketidakpercayaan, dan permusuhan di antara kelompok-kelompok yang berbeza. Teori ini boleh menjadi tunjuk sebab mengapa perpaduan negara ini sukar untuk dicapai secara keseluruhan, di mana rakyat yang berbilang kaum mempunyai pemikiran dan persepsi yang negatif terhadap kaum lain. Contohnya, peristiwa 13 Mei 1969 menjadi petunjuk hubungan kaum di Malaysia (Shamsul Amri Baharuddin, 1990: 31). Melalui pelaksanaan dasar pendidikan yang terancang dan hubungan masyarakat yang baik, maka tentunya perpaduan di kalangan Masyarakat Malaysia semakin kukuh. Jika hanya dasar-dasar sahaja yang berjalan dengan baik tetapi hubungan masyarakat tidak baik, pastinya negara Malaysia masih sukar untuk bergerak maju ke hadapan. Dasar-dasar yang dirancang perlu seiring dengan hubungan masyarakat yang harmoni.

PENUTUP

Perkembangan pendidikan di Malaysia ternyata mengalami banyak perubahan, terutama sejak zaman penjajahan hinggalah zaman selepas merdeka. Perkembangan masyarakat seiring dengan perkembangan dasar-dasar negara yang sentiasa ditambahbaik bagi memastikan keperluan rakyat

terbela. Perubahan dalam sektor pendidikan menjadi intipati penting dalam pengukuhan perpaduan negara ke arah yang lebih baik kerana pendidikan menjadi peneraju pembentukan masyarakat.

Aspek-aspek murni amat ditekankan dalam pendidikan kerana sebagai sebuah masyarakat majmuk, nilai-nilai murni perlu ada dalam diri setiap masyarakat. Namun, walaupun banyak perubahan yang telah dilakukan, kelemahan-kelemahan masih lagi wujud dan perlu diambil serius oleh pihak kerajaan untuk menyelesaikannya dengan segera. Kelemahan yang wujud umpama barah yang akan merebak menjadi semakin besar, malah boleh menyebabkan perpecahan dalam masyarakat. Masalah-masalah yang melibatkan isu-isu antara kaum perlu diselesaikan segera, bukan dibiarkan senyap begitu sahaja.

Oleh itu, untuk mencapai matlamat perpaduan negara yang kukuh, seluruh masyarakat perlu berganding bahu, seiring dengan usaha murni kerajaan melalui dasar-dasar dan rancangan baru. Mutu pendidikan yang sempurna serta hubungan masyarakat yang harmoni menjadi tunggak kejayaan yang akan menjadikan Malaysia sebuah negara maju dan dapat merealisasikan Wawasan 2020.

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Pihak kerajaan Malaysia perlu mengambil perhatian serius dalam memastikan isu-isu pendidikan di kawal dengan sebaiknya supaya hubungan masyarakat Malaysia yang berbilang bangsa sentiasa berada dalam keadaan yang harmoni.

A Comparative Study of the English Language Performance of Islamic Studies and Education Students in KIRKHS and INSTED

ABSTRACT

The research is a comparative study of the English language performance among Islamic studies or Education students in the Kulliyah of Islamic Revealed Knowledge and Human Science (KIRKHS) and the Institute of Education (INSTED). The main aim of the research is to observe how the undergraduate students perform in the English language and to examine the standard of English language performance for both kulliyahs. The respondents of this study were taken from the Kulliyah of IRKHS and the INSTED, both at the IIUM (International Islamic University of Malaysia). According to the figures obtained from the Centre for Languages and Pre-university Academic Development (CELPAD) of the IIUM, it was revealed that many of Islamic studies students were dubbed poor performers in English language. Evidently, the average scores for English language courses were C plus and C as shown by the statistics from CELPAD. The result of study shows that the majority of the respondents considered themselves as competent in terms of English language as compared to other languages, and they indicated that their English competence was mostly sufficient for their academic activities. And finally, the respondents indicated that they would like to improve their English language competence.

Key words: *Comparative study, English language performance, Islamic studies or Education students, poor performers, and to improve their English language competence.*

INTRODUCTION

Low English competency among Islamic or Arabic studies students is associated with their educational background at the school level, their attitudes, and also the situation of the Islamic or Arabic studies programme. The use of the Arabic language as a medium of instruction is very common in Islamic or Arabic studies programmes in higher education in Malaysia. Sometimes, Malay is used alongside Arabic as the medium of instruction. However, English is rarely used except for particular subjects. For example, the students in the Islamic Studies IRKHS (Islamic Revealed Knowledge and Human Science) and

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Arabic Language INSTED (Institute of Education) programmes receive almost all of their course instruction in Arabic.

Generally, before they join the International Islamic University of Malaysia (IIUM) in Islamic or Arabic studies programmes, they have completed their secondary schools studies in Malay or Arabic. Therefore, their performance in English is generally lower than their ability in Arabic. The students with a negative attitude towards English language usually attribute their failure or their low achievement if compared to students with a positive style and attitude towards this language to their inability to speak and comprehend the English language. These are considered as the reasons for the poor performance in English among Islamic or Arabic studies students.

THE PURPOSE OF STUDY

The research is primarily a comparative study of the English language performance among Islamic studies or Education students in KIRKHS (*Kulliyah* Islamic Revealed Knowledge and Human Science) and INSTEAD (Institute of Education). The main aim of the research is to observe how the undergraduate students perform in the English language in the International Islamic University of Malaysia (IIUM) in both KIRKHS and INSTEAD; and to examine the standard of English language performance for both *kulliyahs*.

The study aims also to assist the undergraduate students in Islamic studies and in Arabic studies (B.Ed. TASL) to master the English language and to ensure good caliber graduates when they graduate from the IIUM or join Master's programmes at KIRKHS or INSTED; and also to make employment in the various sectors easier for them against the backdrop of global market competition in the near future. This will also enable the Islamic or Arabic studies programme in the IIUM to not only produce good caliber undergraduates with high competency in Arabic but also competency in English too. In addition, the IIUM authorities strongly encourage students to upgrade their language competency and to become fluent in this language before they enter in the various sectors of the job market.

LITERATURE REVIEW: ON THE ATTITUDES, MOTIVATION, AND SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING

A substantial number of research studies have been conducted which focus on the corroborating factors that influence second language learning (L2) and performance. One of the established factors is the impact of motivation in second or foreign language learning. Researchers such as R.C. Gardner and W.E. Lambert (1959) and R.C. Gardner, P.C. Smythe and R. Clement (1979) have extensively stressed the influence of attitude and motivation and their correlation with the linguistic performance of learners. By the same token, R.K. Agnihotri and A.L. Khanna (1994) highlighted that the successful learner of L2 (Second Language) must be psychologically prepared to acquire the

symbolic elements of a different ethno-linguistic community, and to impose elements of another culture into one's own life space. On this notion, V. Burr (1995) highlights that the importance of external factors on L2 learning reflects the merits of essentialism, that is the cognitive essence of the individual who observes that the world objectively determines what he or she learns; and social constructivism, that is knowledge is a social contract influenced by historic and cultural variables. A. Firth and J. Wagner (1997) declared that the best predictive models of SLA (Second Language Acquisition) consider the interaction of social activity and psycholinguistic elements.

Similarly, studies by M. Long and G. Crookes (1992) and I.S. Choudhury (2001) have focused on the types of tasks in which learners might engage to advance acquisition. Various researchers have concentrated on the relative efficacy of implicit and explicit teaching techniques (Fotos & Ellis, 1991; and Fotos, 1994); whether learners' attention should be directed at form during meaning-focused lessons (Lightbown & Spada, 1990; Doughty & Williams eds., 1998; and Williams & Evans, 1998); the role of negative feedback (Long, Inagaki & Ortega, 1998); the psycholinguistic principles of input processing (Van Patten, 1996); and the role of output on development (DeKeyser & Sokalski, 1996). The results of their studies revealed that there is no precise best methodology or instructional technique that facilitates acquisition, even if techniques that emphasize meaningful language use are more commensurate with what psychologists know about how the brain internalizes new knowledge (Norris & Ortega, 2001). M. Long (1997) highlights that a wide, context-sensitive, participant-sensitive, and generally socio-linguistic orientation may benefit SLA research.

Similarly, language acquisition has been strongly related to consciousness, evolution, and intelligence that learning of English language must be done intelligibly and with consciousness and only then will the learner be able to strive for greater success in the mastery of the language. Also, some researchers have established the use of English language as a powerful language in order to influence others (Sik Hung Ng & Bradac, 1993), as well as the best approaches for the learner to learn English successfully (Wardhaugh, 1993).

Researchers have reported findings on varieties of factors that have an impact on second language learning. Among the documented ones are: age, attitude, motivation, aptitude, amount of exposure, and anxiety. R.C. Gardner (1985a) highlights that second language acquisition is based on a socio-psychological phenomenon because it is the intercultural development of communication skills between an individual and members of another cultural background. These factors are also responsible for individual differences in learning a Second Language (L2) / Foreign Language (FL). It is a common pronouncement among social psychologists that learners' individual differences have a significant impact on the learners' overall L2/FL learning and performance. Hence, this is the reason why the major focus of research in social psychology has been on

social psychological variables like attitude, motivation, age, aptitude, anxiety, and intelligence, and their impact on Second Language Acquisition (SLA).

In addition, psychological factors such as anxiety, motivation, and self-confidence, which can strongly enhance or inhibit second language acquisition, have been tested by Stephen Krashen in his study (2002). He reported that an input rich environment is required where the learners can relax, be motivated and have self confidence in acquiring the second language uninhibitedly, and that learners with high motivation, self-confidence, a good self-image, and a low level of anxiety are well-equipped for success in second language acquisition (Krashen, 2002).

J. Schumann (1978 and 1986) mentions *attitude* as a social factor along with other variables like "learning group size", motivation as an affective factor alongside "cultural shock". Resultant from this proposition, J. Schumann formulated the acculturation model in which he tested for the effects of personal variables such as relative status, attitude, integration, amount of time in the culture, size of the learning group, and cohesiveness of the group on adult language learning. He suggests that the degree of acculturation determines the level of second language acquisition (Schumann, 1978 and 1986). When an individual chooses to acculturate and experiences success, the motivation to learn the L2 (Second Language) increases. Yet, Hudson (as cited in Ellis, 2002) emphasis that sociolinguistics is interested in variation, be it regional or social variations of language, diachronic change, and intra-individual variation focused on differing communicative situations. Therefore, Kemmer and Israel declared that "the more speakers talk to each other, the more they will talk alike, and so linguistic variation will pattern along lines of social contract and interaction" (in Ellis, 2002).

Further still J. Schumann (1978) expounded that the demonstration of positive and favourable attitudes by L2 learners towards the people of the target language (TL), enhances the learning of the desired language efficiently as compared to normal settings in the classroom. And acculturation, which is the degree to which learners acculturate themselves to the TL group, will control the degree to which they acquire the TL. Acculturation is a major causal variable in second language acquisition (SLA).

There are two forms of acculturation. The first type is when the learner is socially integrated with the TL group, and the second type is when the TL group acts as the reference point. In the former type, the learners' original identities are never at stake. Their social integration leads to sufficient contact, and their psychological openness converts the input they receive into intake. N.C. Ellis (2002) enumerates that much of language learning is the gradual strengthening of associations between co-occurring elements of the language and that fluent language performance is the exploitation of this probabilistic knowledge, because language learning is conscious experience and implicit learning. Furthermore, according to Lado's theory of L2 (Second Language)

learning built on the behaviourist principles of learning, grammatical structure is a system of habits, and L2 acquisition is the learning of patterns of expression, content, and their association (as cited in Ellis, 2002).

METHOD OF THE STUDY

A set of questionnaires and in-depth interview questions are developed for selecting the respondents in the IIUM (International Islamic University of Malaysia) to represent the entire population targeted in the IIUM. The targeted population is the Islamic studies / Education undergraduate students. The objective is to make sure that from the findings, the researcher will be able to analyze the data about the competency of English performance among the students.

The study employed adapted instruments found in some previous studies. The instrument was the English Language Performance Questionnaire (ELPQ) with 32 items on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from "very strongly disagree" to "very strongly agree", which was used for collecting data from a proportional stratified random sample of 150 students studying in the *Kulliyah* of Islamic Revealed Knowledge and the Institute of Education of the International Islamic University of Malaysia. Data was collected and analyzed quantitatively by using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS).

The researcher applied correlation analysis, ANOVA and linear regression to test for the interactions among the variables of the study. The content validity and construct validity of the instrument were adequately established through a pilot-study. The alpha Chronbach reliability in the final data analyses was 0.8. The principal component analysis (PCA) revealed that the Bartlett test of spheroid was significant at .000, and the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy was 0.871, while the anti-image correlation matrix revealed that measures of sampling adequacy ranged between 0.702 and 0.925. Furthermore, five factors were extracted with *eigenvalues greater than 1, and they accounted for 66% of the total variance.*

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF ATTITUDE TOWARDS LEARNING ENGLISH BETWEEN STUDENTS IN KIRKHS AND INSTED

This section highlights the effects and implications of the respondents' gender (male and female) and faculty (KIRKHS and INSTED). The researcher employed a Two-Way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) test to examine whether there are significant differences between the means of the two demographic variable groups (gender and faculty) and the five extracted factors of this study.

First, Gender and Faculty on Attitude towards Learning English Language. In table 1, the means and standard deviations of the scores on Gender and Faculty on Attitude towards Learning English were presented. The Levene's tests revealed to us that the homogeneity of variance assumption was significant, thus, this assumption has been violated; $F(3, 138) = 6.213, p = .001$.

The overall F-test for the combined effects of the two independent variables was statistically significant; $F(3, 138) = 2.722$, $p = 0.047$, $MSE = 24.102$. It appears that the variability of Attitude towards Learning English Language was larger among the male subjects in INSTED ($SD = 7.602$). The main effects of gender on Attitude towards Learning English Language were not statistically significant, $F(3, 138) = .143$, $p = 0.706$, $MSE = 24.102$. The result revealed that gender has no significant influence on the respondents' Attitude towards Learning English Language. However, the effects of faculty on Attitude towards Learning English Language was statistically significant, $F(3, 138) = .143$, $p = 0.011$, $MSE = 24.102$. The result revealed that faculty has a statistically significant influence on the respondents' Attitude towards Learning English Language.

However, with regard to the interactive effects of gender and faculty on Attitude towards Learning English Language, the results revealed that there is no statistically significant effect between the groups and Attitude towards Learning English Language, $F(3, 138) = 0.299$, $p = 0.586$, $MSE = 24.102$. This means that gender and faculty have no combined interactive influence on the respondents' Attitude towards Learning English Language.

Table 1
Mean Percentage of Attitude towards Learning English Language

		KIRKH	INSTED	ALL
Female	M	26.10	23.75	25.89
	SD	3.9	4.0	3.91
	N	80	8	88
Male	M	27.17	23.56	25.96
	SD	5.49	7.60	6.43
	N	36	18	54
All	M	26.43	23.62	25.92
	SD	4.43	6.61	5.0
	N	116	26	142

Having achieved a significant interaction in the main effects between faculty and Attitude towards Learning English Language, the researcher conducted an analysis of simple effects (POST-HOC analysis) to reveal the effect of one factor at one level on the other factor. That is to see if the larger variability among male subjects in INSTED ($SD = 7.60$) and the significant effects that were obtained from the main effects (faculty) can be confirmed as genuine. Therefore, a simple One-Way ANOVA was conducted. The Levene results confirmed that there was a significant interaction between faculty and Attitude towards Learning English Language among the male respondents, $F(1, 142) = 8.229$, $p = 0.005$, $MSE = 24.210$. Additionally, the results of this test indicated that the mean difference between the male and female subjects in KIRKHIS (*Kulliyah* Islamic Revealed Knowledge and Human Science) and INSTEAD (Institute of Education) was significant.

On the Assumptions of the Multiple Regression Analysis. Multiple Regression analysis is the main statistical analysis of the study upon which the predictions of the study were based. Therefore, before each regression analysis was carried out, the assumptions underlying the use of multiple regression analysis such as normality, linearity, *heteroscedasticity* (constant variance of error terms) and cases of outliers were examined with regard to normality of error term distribution and the normal probability plot. As for variances of the criterion variables, they were the same for all the predictors the *Studentized* (SRED) residual plot against the dependent variable was examined. In terms of the linearity of scores distribution, the residual was plotted against the hypothesized criterion variables. Finally, for cases of outliers (i.e. extreme observations), the case-wise diagnosis of the linear regression was scrutinized, and thus several outliers were detected. The result of the diagnostic tests showed that there was no need to delete or eliminate any observation.

J.F. Hair Jr. *et al.* (1998) explained that outliers should be retained unless there is demonstrable proof that they are truly aberrant and not representative of any observations in the population. But their representation of the population necessitates their retention to ensure generality to the entire population. Therefore, outliers were retained and included in the analysis for their representation in the population.

On Testing for the Predictors of E-learning Adoption and E-learning Readiness. For this purpose, multiple regression analysis was conducted. The regression analysis examined the predictors of Attitude towards Learning English Language. Initially, the independent variables are: Confidence in Using English, Exposure to English Outside University, and Attitude towards Cooperative Learning. In each of the regression analyses, a detailed report of descriptive statistics, inter-variable correlations, Analysis of Variance (ANOVA), the regression coefficients, confidence intervals, collinearity statistics, and the thresholds for the practical importance of the results were tabulated and discussed.

Second, Predictors of Attitude towards Learning English Language. Table 2 summarizes the descriptive statistics (mean scores and standard deviations) and correlations among the predictors and the criterion variable (Attitude toward Learning English Language) as shown by the outputs from the SPSS. The analysis of the correlations revealed that there were statistically significant linear relationships between Attitude towards Learning English Language, Attitude towards Cooperative Learning, Confidence in Using English, and Exposure to English Outside the University.

Table 3 tabulates the results of the inter-item correlation tests between the extracted factors in this study. The correlation table tabulated four extracted factors of the study, namely: Confidence in Using English, Exposure to English Outside the University, Attitude Towards Learning English, and finally Attitude Towards Cooperative Learning. Therefore, looking at the interactions one by one, it can be observed that there were positive linear relationships between Confidence in Using English and the three other extracted factors, namely:

Attitude towards Learning English and Confidence in Using English [$r = .542$, $p = .01$, $M = 32.67$, $SD = 8.18$], Exposure to English Outside the University [$r = .203$, $p = .01$, $M = 32.95$, $SD = 8.23$], Attitude towards Cooperative Learning [$r = .594$, $p = .01$, $M = 50.49$, $SD = 9.68$]. The correlation test showed that there were statistically significant relationships between Confidence in Using the English Language and the other three extracted factors. The results of this test indicated that all the extracted factors had statistically significant relationships among them.

Table 2
Inter-Variable Correlations between the Respondents' Attitude towards Learning English and the Extracted Factors

	Attitude towards Learning English	Confidence in Using English	Exposure to English Outside University	Attitude towards Cooperative Learning
Attitude towards Learning English.	1.000			
Confidence in Using English.	.542(**)	1.000		
Exposure to English Outside University.	.203(*)	.278(**)	1.000	
Attitude towards Cooperative Learning.	.594(**)	.597(**)	.379(**)	1.000
M =	25.97	28.31	16.16	26.94
SD =	5.0	6.0	6.3	6.2

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

In table 3, the results of the regression analysis for Attitude towards Learning English were presented. In this model, the criterion variable, Attitude towards Learning English, was tested using three predictors, namely Attitude towards Cooperative Learning, Confidence in Using English, and Exposure to English Outside the University. Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) revealed that the overall model was statistically significant: $F(3, 139) = 31.372$, $p = 0.00$, $MSE = 15.288$. The set of independent variables explained 40 per cent of the total variance in Attitude towards Cooperative Learning. The adjusted coefficient of determination (adjusted R square) was 0.39, with an estimated standard error of 3.9. Further analysis of the predictive power of the individual predictors indicated that only two predictors were statistically significant, namely: Attitude towards Cooperative Learning ($t = 5.105$, $p = .000$, $Beta = 0.433$) and Confidence in Using English ($t = 3.561$, $p = .001$, $Beta = 0.290$). And Attitude towards Cooperative Learning was the best predictor of Attitude towards Learning English with the highest Beta value 0.433 (the best predictor is determined by looking at the regression coefficient and t value). The estimated equation model

can be summarized as follows:

$$\hat{Y} \text{ (Attitude towards Learning English Language)} = 10.158 + 0.347 \text{ (Attitude towards Cooperative Learning)} + 0.245 \text{ (Confidence in Using English)} + -.030 \text{ (Exposure to English Outside the University)}.$$

Note: \hat{Y} = the predicted Attitude towards Learning English.

ATLE = Attitude towards Learning English.

ATCL = Attitude towards Cooperative Learning.

CUE = Confidence in Using English.

EEOU = Exposure to English Outside the University.

Table 3
Summary of Regression Analysis for the Predictors of Attitude towards Learning English Language

	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval for B		Collinearity Statistics	
	B	Std. Error	Beta			Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Tolerance	VIF
(Constant)	10.158	1.738		5.846	.000	6.722	13.593		
Attitude towards Cooperative Learning.	.347	.068	.433	5.105	.000	.212	.481	.597	1.674
Confidence in Using English.	.245	.069	.290	3.561	.001	.109	.381	.645	1.550
Exposure to English Outside University.	-.030	.056	-.038	-.538	.591	-.140	.080	.855	1.169

(Alpha is significant at $p \leq 0.05$)

According to the multiple regression equation, the partial regression coefficient for each variable signifies how much the value of the dependent variable changes when the value of the particular independent variable increases by one unit when other IVs are kept constant (Norusis, 2000).

However, among all of the predictors, Attitude towards Cooperative Learning had the highest coefficient value (0.347). This means that increasing efforts towards cooperative learning among students will improve their attitudes towards the learning of English significantly. Therefore, Attitude towards Cooperative Learning is a very powerful and significant predictor for Attitude towards Learning English as compared with other predictors in the study. Also, looking at the Beta value coefficient, it was confirmed and evident that Attitude towards Cooperative Learning was the best predictor that can influence Attitude toward Learning English.

Additionally, another way of examining the best predictor is through the examination of the (*t*) values. Thus, between the two significant predictors

of Attitude towards Learning English, only Attitude towards Cooperative Learning has the highest value (5.105).

To check whether there was any violation of the results of the analysis due to the effects of multicollinearity, the correlation matrices, tolerance values, and the variance inflation factors (VIF) were examined. According to J.F. Hair Jr. *et al.* (1998), tolerance and variance inflation factors (VIF) are two common measures for assessing both the pairwise and multiple variables collinearity. They defined tolerance as “*the amount of variability of the selected independent variables not explained by the other independent variables*” (Hair Jr. *et al.*, 1998:193), and that “*a common cut-off threshold is a tolerance value of 0.10, which corresponds to a VIF value of 10*”. Also, “*cut-off for the tolerance value of 0.10 corresponds to a multiple correlation of 0.95*”. Therefore, by examining the values of tolerance and the VIF, it was indicated that their values were below the cut-off points for collinearity, thus providing more evidence that the effects of multicollinearity were not a threat to the analysis. Precisely, the highest value of tolerance is 0.855, while the lowest is 0.597. Also, the values of the variance inflation factors (VIF) show that the highest value was 1.674, while the lowest value was 1.169. It can be deduced that the prescribed variance inflation factor of 10 has not been violated by any of the independent variables. The correlation matrices also show the independent variables that correlated very well with the dependent variable.

Additionally, to decide whether the results were of any practical importance, the value of the thresholds of practical importance for each analysis was computed and the results were compared with the values of confidence intervals for the respective predictors (Kirk, 1996; and Hansen, 2000). Thus, if the computed threshold is smaller than the upper and lower bounds in the confidence intervals, then the particular independent variables (IV) are considered as having practical importance. A standardized regression coefficient of 0.1 was used as the threshold of practical significance for the predictors in each analysis. To calculate the equivalent threshold of the un-standardized coefficients, the following formula was used:

$$\text{Un-standardized threshold} = (\text{SD cv} / \text{SD p}) \times 0.1$$

Note: SD cv is the standard deviation of the criterion (dependent) variable and SD p is the standard deviation of the predictors (independent) variable.

Based on the result presented in table 3, it was revealed that Attitude towards Cooperative Learning and Confidence in Using English were of practical importance to Attitude towards Learning English. This was because their computed thresholds were smaller than the upper and lower bounds in the confidence intervals.

However, the above cross-checking was carried out in regression analyses to assess whether there was a violation of the results of the analysis due to the effects of multicollinearity, the correlation matrices, tolerance values, and the variance inflation factors (VIF). There was no violation to the results of the analyses.

Third, Cross-Validation of the Results of the Predictors of Attitudes towards Learning English Language. This section focused on validating the results of the previous two regression analyses to determine the predictors of Attitudes towards Learning English Language. Apart from validating the predictors, this section was also concerned with the examination of the replicability of the results that were obtained in this regression analysis.

Therefore, in order to cross-validate the results obtained in the regression analysis, and to assess whether those results were replicable, the data collected for the study with 150 respondents were split into two equal parts by using the SPSS case selection random tool. The data was divided into two equal halves, 75 sub-samples each. Therefore, a sub-sample ($n = 75$) was used to conduct two more regressions with the same predictors and criterion variables.

On the Cross-Validation of Attitudes towards Learning English. To cross-validate Attitude towards Cooperative Learning and Confidence in Using English as significant predictors of Attitudes towards Learning English, data of the sub-sample ($n = 75$) was analyzed. A summarized report of the regression analysis was undertaken and presented in table 4 below.

Fourth, Summary of the Estimated and Cross-Validated Regression Models. To sum up the estimation and the cross-validation regression models, a summary of the significant predictors of each of the criterion variables, the significant predictors of practical importance, and the adjusted R squares are presented in table 4 above. From the table it can be seen that Attitude towards Cooperative Learning and Confidence in Using English were consistently the two most important predictors of the criterion variable, Attitudes towards Learning English.

Categorically, Attitude towards Cooperative Learning and Confidence in Using English were the two predictors that were statistically significant predictors of Attitudes towards Learning English, and they were replicated in the two cross-validation analyses. The cross-validation analyses further showed that at least Attitude towards Cooperative Learning and Confidence in Using English are the significant predictors of the criterion variables, which are not due to capitalization or chance and that these results are generalisable to the population of the study. If the results are due to chance, these two predictors, Attitude towards Cooperative Learning and Confidence in Using English, will not be replicated, but since the researcher obtained the same results more than once, it is more reasonable to consider that the results are not due to chance. This cross-validation strengthens the precision of the predictors, and the generalisability of the findings to the population, and hence the credibility of the study.

Having reported the estimates and cross-validation of the regression models, the study also highlighted the practical importance of each of the predictors through computation of the thresholds of practical importance. In the regression analysis, both predictors, Attitude towards Cooperative Learning and Confidence in Using English, were statistically significant predictors and

were of practical importance Attitude towards Learning English in this study, and they were replicated in the cross-validation analyses.

Table 4

Summary of the Results of Regression Models for the Predictors and their Cross-Validations

Estimated Regression Models (Sample 1, N = 75)				Cross-Validated Regression Models (Sample 2, N = 75)		
Criterion Variable	Statistically Significant Predictor(s)	Predictors of Practical Importance	Adjusted R Square	Statistically Significant Predictor(s)	Predictor(s) of Practical Importance	Adjusted R Square
Attitude towards Learning English	Attitude towards Cooperative Learning	√	.525	Attitude Towards Cooperative Learning	√	.490
	Confidence in Using English	√	.525	Confidence in Using English	√	.490
	Exposure to English Outside the University	X		Exposure to English Outside the University	X	

Note Key:

√ = Significant predictor of Attitudes towards Learning English with practical importance.

X = Significant predictor of Attitudes towards Learning English with no practical importance.

DISCUSSION

The respondents of this study were taken from the *kulliyah* of Islamic Revealed Knowledge and Human Science (IRKHS) and the Institute of Education (INSTED), both at the International Islamic University of Malaysia (IIUM). According to the figures obtained from the Centre for Languages and Pre-university Academic Development (CELPAD) of the IIUM, it was revealed that many of IRKHS students, especially those who specialized and were studying for a degree programme in *Fiqh* and *Usul Fiqh*, and *Qur'an* and *Sunnah* were dubbed poor performers in English language. Evidently, the average scores for English language courses were C plus and C as shown by the statistics from CELPAD. However, the expectation of the University authorities is to see all its students performing very well in their language courses, both Arabic and English. But the worrying situation is that on the average IRKHS students are becoming weaker at English.

In the light of this perturbing situation of English language performance among IRKHS students, many reasons were cited for these weaknesses which included among others, lack of confidence in using English, lack of exposure to English outside of the University campus, attitudes towards learning English, attitudes towards cooperative learning among students, and probably, a weak

background in preliminary or pre-university English language acquisition, and finally, lack of day-to-day practice in English.

The demographic characteristics of the respondents: gender, age, nationality, *kulliyah*/faculty/institute/center, and specializations showed that the majority of the respondents were females (n = 91), representing 62% of the total respondents, while there were 57 (39%) males in the selected sample. The majority of the respondents were within the age range of 20-24 years, which accounted for 111 (74%). As for the respondents' area of specialization, the majority (62 or 41%) were from *Qur'an* and *Sunnah*. As for English language, the majority of respondents (54 or 36%) have taken not less than five courses using English language as the medium of instruction, while (66 or 44%) claimed that they used English for academic purposes several times a day in their courses.

In terms of the types of communication needs for academic purposes, the majority (104 or 69%) declared that they needed both oral and written communications equally and they opted for Arabic, English, and Malay as their preferred languages for communication. The majority (91 or 61%) of the respondents indicated that they were sometimes limited in their ability to communicate when using English. As for respondents' feeling of comfort when speaking English, the majority (74 or 49%) responded that they were sometimes uncomfortable when using English in the classroom / group discussions, and they also indicated that they sometimes felt intimidated or scared to talk to a native speaker in English.

For the self-assessment of language competence of the respondents, for spoken English, the majority (91 or 61%) rated themselves as fair/average in spoken English, also (79 or 52%) of the respondents rated themselves as fair/average in writing, but the rating was different for reading (62 or 41%) and listening (60 or 40%) where the respondents rated themselves as good at both skills respectively. On average, the majority of the respondents considered themselves as competent in terms of English language as compared to other languages, and they indicated that their English competence was mostly sufficient for their academic activities. And finally, the respondents indicated that they would like to improve their English language competence.

As for overall responses to the factors, the majority of the respondents agreed with all items under the factor (*Confidence in Using English*), with the highest percentage of agreement being 93% and the lowest being 39% respectively. This finding is consistent with Kemmer and Israel's statement that "*the more speakers talk to each other, the more they will talk alike, and so linguistic variation will pattern along lines of social contract and interaction*" (as cited by Ellis, 1985).

In terms of this factor (*Exposure to English Outside of University*), the majority of the respondents disagreed with it, with the highest percentage of disagreement being (71%) and the lowest being (45%) respectively. As for this factor (*Attitudes towards Learning English*), the majority of the respondents agreed with it, the highest percentage of agreement being (84%) and the lowest being

(59%) respectively. Finally, regarding this factor (*Attitudes towards Cooperative Learning*), the highest of agreement of the respondents being (57%) and lowest being (41%) respectively.

D.W. Johnson, R.T Johnson and B. Stanne (2000), in their analyses of studies on cooperative learning, found that instructional methods of cooperative learning had a significant positive impact on student achievement and they concluded that as compared to other instructional methods, cooperative learning has been validated as superior to all other instructional methods in the SLA (Second Language Acquisition) process, with over 900 research studies having validated the effectiveness of cooperative learning. Likewise, the study by Humphreys, Johnson and Johnson (as cited in Abu & Flowers, 1997) which compared cooperative learning, competitive, and individualistic learning strategies in Science classes found that students who were taught CL (Cooperative Learning) methods learned and retained more. This finding was also congruent with Sherman and Thomas' reports on cooperative learning in Math classes; Johnson *et al.* in their meta-analysis of 122 studies showed strong evidence for cooperative learning's superiority in promoting achievement compared to over competitive and individualistic strategies (as cited in Johnson *et al.*, 1981; Johnson & Johnson, 1994; Johnson, Johnson & Smith, 1995a and 199b; and Slavin, 1995).

However, as for analyses of variance, the means and standard deviations of the scores on Gender and Faculty on Attitude towards Learning English showed that the overall F-test for the combined effects of the two independent variables was statistically significant. The variability of Attitude towards Learning English was larger among the male subjects in INSTED ($SD = 7.602$). The main effects of gender on Attitude towards Learning English were not statistically significant. The result revealed that gender has no significant influence on the respondents' attitude towards learning English. Nevertheless, the effects of faculty on Attitude towards Learning English were statistically significant. The result revealed that faculty has a statistically significant influence on the respondents' attitude towards learning English. Meanwhile, the interactive effects of gender and faculty on Attitude towards Learning English Language revealed that there are no statistically significant effects between the groups and Attitude towards Learning English. This shows that gender and faculty have no combined interactive influence on the respondents' attitude to learning English.

As for the results of the regression analysis for Attitude towards Learning English, the analysis of variance (ANOVA) revealed that the overall model was statistically significant. The set of independent variables explained 40 per cent of the total variance in Attitude towards Cooperative Learning. The adjusted coefficient of determination (adjusted R square) was 0.39 with an estimated standard error of 3.9. The predictive power of the individual predictors indicated that only two predictors were statistically significant, namely: Attitude towards Cooperative Learning and Confidence in Using English. Indeed,

Attitude towards Cooperative Learning was the best predictor of Attitude towards Learning English with the highest Beta value 0.433 (the best predictor is determined by looking at the regression coefficient and *t* value), **while the predictors**, Attitude towards Cooperative Learning and Confidence in Using English were of practical importance to Attitude towards Learning English and they were replicated in this study.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this study has demonstrated that to assist the undergraduate students in Islamic Studies and B.Ed. TASL to master the English language and to maintain the good caliber graduates when they branch off later as M.Ed. students at INSTEAD (Institute of Education), and also to make employment in the various sectors easier for them against the backdrop of global market competition in the near future, efforts to improve their attitude to learning English and their attitude to cooperative learning and confidence in using English would be worthwhile. Therefore, improved attitudes towards cooperative learning and more practice in using the language regularly in the classrooms, during their interactions among themselves and outside the campus will lead to a better performance in English for academic purposes and future employment after they have completed their various programmes of studies. Also, as shown by the study, helping students to improve their confidence in English and their attitude to cooperative learning must be given adequate emphasis since they are the significant predictors of Attitude towards Learning English.

However, as far the exposure to English outside of the university is concerned which was not significant, efforts should be stepped up to ensure students get involved in various programmes such as participating in literary and debating competitions, symposia, seminars, conferences etc. which will allow them to interact with students and non-students from the outside world in the community. Additionally, off campus programmes such as extra-curricular activities will provide an environment where students can interact without the pressures of their lecturers' supervision and can provide a good milieu for quick language learning.

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This study has demonstrated that to assist the undergraduate students in Islamic Studies and B.Ed. TASL to master the English language and to maintain the good caliber graduates when they branch off later as M.Ed. students at INSTED, and also to make employment in the various sectors easier for them against the backdrop of global market competition in the near future, efforts to improve their attitude to learning English and their attitude to cooperative learning and confidence in using English would be worthwhile.

**AZLIZAN MAT ENH
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Persaingan Amerika Syarikat – Soviet Union dalam Pembentukan Order Baru Pasca Perang Dunia II

ABSTRAK

Perang Dunia II (1939-1945) menyaksikan pembentukan pakatan kuasa antara Amerika Syarikat dan sekutunya dalam menghadapi Nazi, German. Soviet Union merupakan salah satu sekutu yang penting kepada Amerika Syarikat dalam menghadapi tekanan Nazi di bahagian Eropah, khususnya Eropah Timur. Kejayaan pakatan Amerika Syarikat dan sekutunya berjaya mengalahkan Nazi, German, tetapi membawa masalah dalam hubungan Amerika Syarikat – Soviet Union pasca Perang Dunia II. Apatah lagi selepas Perang Dunia II, kedudukan kuasa-kuasa besar lain seperti Britain dan Perancis agak lemah kerana menumpukan kepada kestabilan semula ekonomi dan empayar mereka kesan dari peperangan tersebut. Kelemahan dan kejatuhan dua buah kuasa besar ini membawa kepada kebangkitan kuasa Amerika Syarikat dan Soviet Union dalam menentukan Order Baru dunia pasca perang sehingga mencetuskan krisis dalam hubungan kedua-dua kuasa besar ini. Objektif esei ini adalah untuk menganalisis isu-isu yang telah membawa konflik dalam hubungan Amerika Syarikat – Soviet Union sepanjang era Perang Dingin. Melalui kajian ini didapati bahawa antara isu-isu utama yang menjadi konflik dalam hubungan Washington dan Moscow sepanjang era Perang Dingin antaranya ialah perbezaan ideologi, perlumbaan pembinaan senjata nuklear, persaingan ekonomi, serta krisis di Cuba dan di Afghanistan.

Kata-kata kunci: Amerika Syarikat, Soviet Union, Perang Dingin, Liberalisme, Komunisme, dan pembentukan Order Baru dunia.

PENDAHULUAN

Istilah *Cold War* atau “Perang Dingin” pertama kali istilah tersebut digunakan oleh Bernard Baruch, kemudiannya digunakan secara berterusan oleh seorang wartawan yang dikenali sebagai Lippman sekitar tahun 1947. Istilah tersebut adalah merujuk kepada hubungan dingin dan tegang antara Soviet Union dengan kuasa Barat ketika itu, terutamanya Amerika Syarikat (Graebner, 1963).

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Pada masa yang sama, turut menjelaskan bahawa kerjasama antara blok Barat dan Timur yang pernah bersama menentang Nazi telah berakhir.¹ Dengan erti kata lain, Perang Dingin bermula sebagai kesan daripada berakhirnya Perang Dunia II (1939-1945). Amerika Syarikat dan Soviet Union yang menjadi kuasa dominan selepas Perang Dunia II menjadi musuh selepas kekalahan gabungan Adolf Hitler dengan sekutunya. Ini antara lainnya kerana perlumbaan kuasa untuk mengisi *vacuum of power* di Eropah dan Asia Timur yang ditinggalkan oleh German dan Jepun. Masing-masing ingin menjadi kuasa yang lebih berpengaruh di negara-negara ketiga (negara bukan sekutu).

Kontroversi yang berterusan ke atas Eropah Timur, German dan Berlin, Balkan, Turki, Iran, Jepun, dan Korea merupakan sebahagian daripada perubahan selepas perang di kalangan kuasa-kuasa besar ini. Kontroversi ini berkembang kemudiannya kepada intip-mengintip di sempadan lingkungan pengaruh masing-masing dan syak wasangka antara satu sama lain. Banyak perkara yang berlaku dalam hubungan Amerika-Soviet sehingga menyebabkan hubungan yang renggang dan *cold* hampir bertukar menjadi perang yang *hot* antara Washington dan Moscow.

Artikel ini akan membincangkan mengenai isu-isu yang menyebabkan hubungan yang renggang antara kedua-dua sekutu tersebut selepas Perang Dunia II seperti perbezaan ideologi, perlumbaan penciptaan senjata, ekonomi, dan krisis di Cuba dan di Afghanistan.

IDEOLOGI

Masalah yang berlaku dalam hubungan Soviet Union dan Amerika Syarikat sering dikatakan berpunca daripada ideologi komunis yang bertentangan dengan ideologi demokrasi yang diperjuangkan oleh Amerika Syarikat selepas Perang Dunia II. Mengikut John Lewis Gaddis (1981:74-75), pada awalnya ideologi bukan penyebab utama kepada ketegangan antara Soviet Union dan Amerika Syarikat. Kenyataan John Lewis Gaddis ini berdasarkan hubungan yang terjalin antara Amerika Syarikat dan Soviet Union dalam Perang Dunia II. Hubungan mereka dapat diberi justifikasi kerana kedua-duanya mempunyai kepentingan yang sama, iaitu untuk menghapuskan Nazi dari German.

Walhal, komunisme telah wujud di Soviet Union sejak kejayaan revolusi Bolshevik. Namun selepas Perang Dunia II, hubungan kedua-duanya menjadi tegang dan ideologi dijadikan propaganda utama dalam menerangkan mengapa wujudnya konflik antara Amerika Syarikat dan Soviet Union. Kenyataannya, ideologi akhirnya menjadi isu utama dalam hubungan kedua-dua negara kerana apabila kedua-dua kuasa besar itu tidak lagi mempunyai keinginan atau kepentingan antara satu sama lain selepas perang tamat, kedua-duanya melihat ideologi sebagai penyebab utama yang membezakan kedua-duanya daripada kawan kepada lawan.

¹FO 371/86736, "Lecture by Sir Gladwinn Jebb on the Conduct of the Cold War by the UK and Her Allies", 24 February 1950.

Soviet Union selepas Persidangan Yalta (1945) tidak begitu ketara mengembangkan pengaruh komunis di kawasan dominasinya di Eropah Timur, dan begitu juga dengan Amerika Syarikat di Eropah Barat. Akhirnya, ideologi tersebut menjadi persaingan kuasa kepada Amerika-Soviet di peringkat antarabangsa dalam mempengaruhi dan mengembangkan ideologi masing-masing sehingga mencetuskan konflik yang dikenali sebagai *Cold War* atau Perang Dingin. Pada peringkat ini, berlakunya persaingan untuk mempengaruhi negara-negara berkecuali atau *non aligned*. Ini merupakan aspek kepada usaha keras mereka. Joseph Stalin mempunyai kepentingan dan minat menyokong kumpulan-kumpulan gerakan pembebasan yang bukan di bawah lingkungannya semakin ghairah dan aktif. Semasa Nikita Krushchev pula, arena yang menjadi persaingan kepada mereka ialah di Asia, Afrika, dan Amerika Latin. Ini dibantu pula dengan dendam daripada negara-negara tersebut yang membenci perindustrian di Barat.

Soviet intentions and our own policy clearly differ in these widely differing regions of Europe, each of which, therefore, requires separate consideration. [...] Assuming a conflict of interests between US and the Russians to be inevitable in any region of Europe.²

Russia atau Soviet Union telah menunjukkan minat ke atas negeri-negeri di Eropah Tengah dan pada masa yang sama mempunyai rasa curiga kerana pembentukan negara konfederasi di kalangan negeri-negeri ini selepas tamatnya Nazi. Seperti di Poland, pemerintahannya di sana amat dibimbangi oleh Russia kerana dapat mencetuskan permusuhan ke atas Russia. Di Czechoslovakia, Perjanjian Czechoslovakia-Soviet tahun 1943, yang memberi kebenaran untuk Soviet Union menjadikan Czechoslovakia sebagai pangkalan kepada Russia di Eropah Tengah. Ini jelas menunjukkan pengaruh Soviet Union ke atas negeri itu, di mana negara kuasa besar itu telah bersedia sepenuhnya untuk berunding dengan golongan politik dan usahawan yang sekarang ini membentuk kerajaan, dan sebagai petanda bahawa negeri-negeri jiran Czechoslovakia juga terdedah kepada dominasi Soviet Union.³

Selain itu, Soviet Union yang mempunyai kepentingan di Laut Hitam, iaitu yang terletak di Selat Bosphorus dan Dardanelles di bawah jagaan kerajaan Turki. Perkara ini telah memberi cadangan kepada Turki agar membuat satu rundingan untuk meletakkan Laut Hitam di bawah pengawasan bersama Soviet Union dan Turki. Tindakan Soviet Union ini mendapat reaksi daripada Presiden Truman daripada Amerika Syarikat yang memberi amaran kepada Soviet Union bahawa sebarang tindakannya haruslah dengan persetujuan Amerika Syarikat. Ini kemudiannya diikuti oleh nota bantahan terhadap Soviet Union. Tindakan Presiden Truman ini adalah kerana pengawasan Soviet Union ke atas Laut Hitam akan memberi laluan kepada negara kuasa besar itu untuk meletakkan pengaruhnya di seluruh Timur Tengah dan Timur Dekat (Poole, 1978:15).

²FO 371/39041, "Letter of State Secretary to Foreign Affairs", 7 July 1944.

³*Ibid.*

Amerika Syarikat kemudiannya telah memberi amaran kepada Soviet Union bahawa negara tersebut tidak berhak memaksa negara Turki berbuat demikian. Polisi Amerika Syarikat untuk menghapuskan pengaruh Soviet Union di Turki jelas melalui bantuan yang banyak kepada negara Turki dari segi kewangan dan militari untuk membangunkan semula negara berkenaan tanpa kebergantungan daripada Soviet Union.

For the last year, we (US) had been carrying out a policy of giving Turkey and Greece certain military equipment, a policy which we had not thus far adopted with regard to any Western European country. It seemed to me that by selecting Turkey and Greece as the first countries of Europe to receive grants for strengthening their military establishments, the US had already manifested an interest in their security which the Turkish government and people as well as other governments, could not ignore.

For the United States government to make it clear to the Soviet Union aggression against Turkey would involve the Soviet Union at once in a war with the United States and other powers interested in the maintenance of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.⁴

Amerika Syarikat bukan sahaja ingin meletakkan ideologi di negara-negara yang berada di bawah lingkungan pengaruhnya di Eropah Barat, tetapi juga mengambil peluang di negara-negara blok Timur walaupun negara tersebut berada di bawah pengaruh Soviet Union seperti di Yugoslavia. Pada tahun 1948, pemimpin Yugoslavia, Joseph Broz Tito, menghadapi masalah dalam hubungannya dengan Joseph Stalin. Ada beberapa isu yang menjadi perbalahan kedua-dua pemimpin ini, antaranya ialah tujuan Soviet Union untuk menjadi penaung kepada Yugoslavia dan ingin mengawal urusan dalaman dan antarabangsa Yugoslavia. Ini bertentangan dengan Joseph Broz Tito yang ingin pemerintahan bebas dan tersendiri di Yugoslavia. Soviet Union pula menganggap bahawa Joseph Broz Tito dan komunis Yugoslavia adalah pengkhianat kepada Soviet Union.⁵

Amerika Syarikat kemudiannya mengambil kesempatan dalam pertelingkahan antara Tito-Stalin ini dengan menyokong Joseph Broz Tito, bertujuan untuk merenggangkan hubungan Belgrade dan Moscow.

Western powers should obviously do everything possible encourage the rebellious child, it is questionable if he can hold out for long against Soviet-Communist efforts which must now be made to cleanse the Yugoslav Party, although it is to be hoped he will be successful. Situation may well become one which we can exploit by more propaganda.⁶

Soviet Union telah mengutuk tindakan Amerika Syarikat yang menyokong Yugoslavia kerana Yugoslavia bukanlah di bawah pengaruh Amerika Syarikat,

⁴Lihat "Memorandum of Conversation by the Secretary of State in Washington: 11 May 1948" dalam *FRUS 1948 Eastern Europe: The Soviet Union, Vol IV*. Washington, USA: National Archive Library, 1974, ms.83-84.

⁵RG 59, "American Embassy Sofia to Secretary of State, Washington: 29 June 1948".

⁶RG 59, "American Embassy Moscow to Secretary of State, Washington: 1 July 1948".

dan negara kuasa besar yang liberal itu tidak sewajarnya terlibat dalam urusan Moscow dan Belgrade. Soviet Union turut menyelar Yugoslavia yang menerima bantuan ekonomi Amerika Syarikat melalui Rancangan Ekonomi 5 Tahun di bawah *Marshall Plan*. Soviet Union telah melabelkan Yugoslavia sebagai salah satu negara yang menyokong imperialisme Amerika Syarikat dan Barat. Oleh itu, pertentangan ideologi antara komunisme dan demokrasi yang sebelum ini boleh dikompromi oleh kedua-dua negara akhirnya menjadi faktor yang membawa ketegangan dalam hubungan Amerika-Soviet apabila masing-masing bersaing antara satu sama lain untuk menjadi lebih berkuasa dan berpengaruh selepas Perang Dunia II (1939-1945).

PERLUMBAAN PENCIPTAAN SENJATA NUKLEAR

Satu lagi isu yang menjadi sebab kepada konflik Amerika-Soviet sepanjang tempoh Perang Dingin ialah perlumbaan dalam penciptaan senjata nuklear. Ketidakpercayaan di kalangan kuasa-kuasa besar semasa Perang Dingin membawa kepada satu situasi di mana berlakunya curiga-mencurigai antara satu sama lain tentang kehebatan teknologi senjata masing-masing. Persaingan yang bersungguh-sungguh dan jelas dalam perlumbaan senjata antara Amerika Syarikat dan Soviet Union, sama ada tentera laut atau udara yang telah dilaksanakan dengan gigih, tekun, dan tanpa henti.

The absence of mutual trust in relations among the great powers has led to a situation where, after the end of World War II, there has been a continuous threat of a new war, a war still more tragic in its consequences. The armaments race is being intensified armies, navies, and air forces are being incessantly developed. The greatest achievements of science and technology serve the production of the most destructive means for the extermination of mankind. The armaments race in the field of production of the most dangerous atomic and hydrogen weapons has assumed particularly great proportions.⁷

Apatah lagi kedua-dua pihak yakin bahawa melalui kekuatan militeri, mereka tidak akan tergugat jika diancam oleh pihak musuh. Amerika Syarikat sendiri, melalui pegawainya iaitu George Kennan, berpendapat bahawa usaha negara tersebut untuk menghapuskan ancaman komunis akan tercapai sekiranya Amerika Syarikat telah mempunyai persediaan militeri yang kuat dan mencukupi (Mayers, 1986:149-150). Perlumbaan dalam bidang senjata membawa kepada pengeluaran senjata atom yang paling berbahaya yang dicipta dengan begitu banyak oleh kuasa-kuasa besar antaranya Amerika-Soviet. Sehingga Perang Dingin ada yang menyebutnya sebagai Perang Atom.⁸

Selain itu, perlumbaan penciptaan antara kedua-duanya adalah lebih untuk menunjuk-nunjuk tentang kehebatan masing-masing berbanding kenyataan

⁷FO 371/116118(1), "Report of Warsaw Conference, from the British Legation towards Foreign Office, Budapest, 1955" dalam *On the Setting Up of a Unified Command of the Armed Forces of the Countries Signatory to the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance*.

⁸*Ibid.*

yang sebenarnya. Pada dua setengah abad pertama Perang Dingin, Soviet Union merasa ketinggalan dan kekurangan daripada Amerika Syarikat dalam semua aspek dalam penciptaan senjata, kecuali pemilikan tenaga buruh yang ramai berbanding Amerika Syarikat. Malah Soviet Union juga bimbang bahawa ketegangan di peringkat antarabangsa antara Amerika-Soviet berhubung beberapa isu seperti di German Timur dan Timur Jauh boleh mencetuskan perang yang baru antara mereka. Soviet Union mencadangkan pada 1955 supaya propaganda terhadap perang patut dihentikan. Selaras dengan itu, dalam Persidangan Warsaw, Soviet Union mengemukakan cadangan supaya Amerika Syarikat dan Soviet Union hanya patut memiliki tentera yang tidak melebihi daripada 1,000,000 ke 1,500,000 orang.⁹ Mereka tidak wajar memiliki tentera melebihi tentera tersebut kerana boleh menggugat keamanan antarabangsa dan propaganda perang. Soviet Union melihat perkembangan Amerika Syarikat yang menghantar bom atom ke German Barat sebagai satu percubaan serangan untuk menentang negeri-negeri di Eropah Timur dan khususnya Soviet Union.

Semasa zaman persaingan penghantaran satelit, walaupun Amerika Syarikat dan Soviet Union menghantar satelit masing-masing, tetapi kedua-duanya tidak pasti siapa antara mereka yang mempunyai teknologi lebih hebat. Sebelum tahun 1961, Washington merasa bahawa mereka mempunyai kekurangan pemilikan senjata nuklear berbanding Moscow dan merasa ketinggalan dan rendah diri terhadap Moscow. Akibatnya, perlumbaan dari segi penciptaan senjata menjadi semakin sengit. Hanya pada tahun 1961, Washington baru mendapat kepastian bahawa senjata nuklear mereka adalah jauh lebih canggih ke hadapan dari segi teknologi berbanding Soviet Union yang mana selama ini hanya retorik sahaja daripada kebenaran. Maklumat ini hanya diketahui setelah Kremlin meletakkan semua missiles-nya di Cuba dan dapat dikesan oleh Amerika Syarikat pada tahun tersebut.

Pada tahun 1969, dalam keadaan ekonomi yang tidak berkembang, Amerika Syarikat dan Soviet Union telah bersetuju untuk mengawal pembuatan senjata nuklear melalui rundingan yang dikenali sebagai *Strategic Arms Limitation Talk (SALT)*. Perbincangan yang berterusan mengenai SALT 1 telah diadakan pada tahun 1969 hingga 1972 dan berjaya mengurangkan isu sensitif ini antara Amerika-Soviet serta dapat membantu meningkatkan keselamatan antarabangsa. Rundingan mencapai persefahaman apabila pada bulan Mei 1972, Presiden Amerika Syarikat dan Presiden Soviet Union, iaitu Richard Nixon dan Leonid Brezhnev, menandatangani *Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty and Interim Agreement between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Certain Measures with Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms*.

⁹Ibid.

SALT merupakan elemen penting bagi keseluruhan pola dalam rundingan Timur-Barat.¹⁰ Sehingga tahun 1976, perbandingan kekuatan senjata nuklear antara Amerika-Soviet adalah seperti berikut:¹¹

USA	Soviet Union
1054 ICBMs	1500 ICBMs
656 SLBMs	700 SLBMs
460 Bombers	140 Bombers
2170	2340

Amerika Syarikat jangkakan perkembangan senjata nuklear Soviet Union pada akan bertambah pada tahun 1985, seperti berikut:¹²

USA	Soviet Union
550 Minuteman III	--
464 Poseidon	1300 (16-17-18-19)
192 Trident	920 SLBM
1206	2220

Data pemerolehan senjata nuklear dalam jangka panjang antara Amerika-Soviet telah membimbangkan Amerika Syarikat tentang ancaman Soviet Union ke atasnya. Oleh itu pada tahun 1976, Amerika Syarikat telah mendesak supaya mengadakan rundingan SALT 2 antara Amerika-Soviet untuk menseimbangkan semula pemilikan senjata antara mereka, tambahan pula SALT I akan berakhir pada 1977. Antara cadangan tersebut ialah: (1) Membincangkan perkembangan dalam Strategik Missiles sejak SALT 1; (2) Membentangkan baki perolehan senjata nuklear antara Amerika Syarikat dan Soviet Union pada pertengahan 1974; (3) Meramalkan baki antara 1979 dan pertengahan 1984; serta (4) Membuat semakan semula antara ke atas SALT 1.¹³

Bagi membuat perbandingan hubungan antara Soviet Union dengan Amerika Syarikat, kayu ukur yang digunakan adalah seperti berikut: (1) Penghentian pengeluaran nuklear secara menyeluruh; atau (2) Keupayaan misil menepati sasaran yang dikenalpasti; atau (3) Keupayaan misil mengena tepat pada kawasan yang dituju.

Berdasarkan kayu ukur tersebut, Soviet Union ternyata mendahului Amerika Syarikat bagi kategori (1) dan (2) serta berkemungkinan (3) pada masa hadapan sekiranya tiada tindakan dilaksanakan oleh Amerika Syarikat. Selain itu didapati bahawa Amerika Syarikat dan Soviet Union membelanjakan jumlah wang yang besar dalam penciptaan senjata, tetapi Soviet Union didapati

¹⁰Lihat FCO 46/1006, "SALT: Notes for Meeting with Mr. Brennan, Washington DC: 7 February 1973".

¹¹FCO 46/1162, "SALT: Intelligence Note by DGI, Washington DC: 7 January 1976".

¹²FCO 46/1162, "SALT: Intelligence Note by DGI, Washington DC: 27 November 1974".

¹³FCO 46/1162, "US Defence Department: 24 November 1974".

melabur lebih besar berbanding Amerika Syarikat dalam R&D (*Reserach and Development*) untuk menaik taraf kebolehan bom nuklear yang boleh menggugat keseimbangan nuklear antara Amerika Syarikat dan Soviet Union. Ini untuk memastikan pihak yang satu lagi tidak menandinginya.

Kedua-dua pihak telah berusaha mencipta pelbagai senjata nuklear yang berteknologi tinggi dalam MIRV (*Missiles Inter Re-entry Vehicle*), antaranya *Submarine Launched Ballistic Missiles* (SLBMs), *Anti Ballistic Missiles* (ABMs), dan *Surface to Air Missiles* (SAMs). Kedua-duanya juga memperbaiki penciptaan bom, peralatan, dan senjata mereka seperti *Anti Submarine Warfare* (ASW) dan berkemungkinan *Mobile Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles* (MICBMs). Setiap pihak berazam untuk mencegah pihak yang satu lagi mengatasinya. Perundingan baru antara Amerika Syarikat dan Soviet Union dijangka akan berlangsung pada Januari 1975 di Geneva.¹⁴

SALT II lebih kontroversi antara Jimmy Carter daripada Amerika Syarikat dan Leonid Brezhnev daripada Soviet Union. SALT kali ini lebih kepada pengurangan senjata nuklear antara kedua-duanya pada 1977 hingga 1979. Namun SALT II tidak lama menjamin keamanan dalam hubungan Amerika Syarikat dan Soviet Union. Ini kesan daripada tindakan Soviet Union yang telah mencerobohi perjanjian tersebut dengan penjelajahan negara tersebut di Afghanistan. Soviet Union telah membantu pembentukan kerajaan Sosialis di Afghanistan selepas 6 bulan menandatangani SALT II pada bulan Jun 1979. Malah pada tahun yang sama, juga Soviet Union telah menjadikan Cuba sebagai pangkalan missile-nya di benua Amerika. Akibat daripada tindakan Soviet Union yang tidak mematuhi SALT II, Presiden Ronald Reagan daripada Amerika Syarikat telah mengambil keputusan menggugurkan SALT II. Selepas 1981, perjanjian tersebut tidak dipatuhi lagi, sama ada oleh Soviet Union mahupun oleh Amerika Syarikat.

SALT 1, bagaimanapun, tidak menyelesaikan konflik antara Amerika-Soviet dalam perlumbaan senjata.¹⁵ Ini kerana perjanjian tersebut tidak menyekat MIRV untuk penciptaan *ballistic missiles*, *ballistic missiles* pada jarak sederhana dan jarak pendek, kapal pemusnah dan senjata, termasuk tidak menghadkan kualiti dan kemampuan bagi setiap senjata nuklear tersebut. Tambahan pula, tiada sekatan kepada kedua-dua pihak untuk membuat R&D bagi memantapkan teknologi senjata nuklear mereka dalam mana-mana bidang pembuatan senjata. Sehubungan itu, USA berterusan mengagihkan/meletakkan MIRVs, membina lebih banyak SLBM jarak jauh dan kapal terbang pemusnah B1. Amerika Syarikat juga menambah baik lagi ketepatan senjata nuklearnya, iaitu *Minuteman* ICBM dan mencipta ICBM (*Inter Continental Ballistic Missiles*) yang baru untuk menggantikan *Minuteman*, serta sedang merancang dan mempertimbangkan untuk pembinaan lanjut bagi pangkalan ICBM dan serangan udara. Amerika Syarikat juga giat menjalankan kajian

¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁵FCO 46/1162, "US and Soviet Deterrent Postures, DI: 25 November 1974".

untuk MARVs (*Manoeuvrable Re-entry Vehicles*) melalui pelbagai kaedah dan dapat mengenal pasti serta menjejaki sasaran khusus untuk jangka masa lama ketika pecutan berbanding *Missiles Inter Re-entry Vehicle* (MIRV).¹⁶

Manakala Soviet Union juga tidak mahu ketinggalan dalam penciptaan senjata nuklear. Soviet Union telah mula giat mengatur kedudukan jarak jauh SLBM (*Submarine Launched Ballistic Missile*) dan mula mengusaha mencipta MIRVs dengan menambah baik SS-N-8 dan menunjukkan tanda pembinaan mobile ICBMs (*Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles*) dan telah pun mencipta dan mempunyai kapal terbang pemusnah, iaitu *Backfire* yang mempunyai kecanggihan yang setanding dengan ketepatan kapal terbang B1 yang merupakan milik Amerika Syarikat. Kedua-duanya terbukti menambah baik senjata nuklear masing-masing untuk meningkatkan keupayaan *missile cruise* mengekori kapal musuh.¹⁷

Walaupun Soviet Union yang pertama memasang misil balistik kepada kapal selam atau *submarine* pada tahun 1950, tetapi pada tahun 1960 didapati Amerika Syarikat lebih ke hadapan berbanding Soviet Union dalam teknologi tersebut. Pada tahun 1970-an, Amerika Syarikat mengeluarkan SS-N-8 yang mana mempunyai jarak yang hebat daripada *Poseidon System* milik Soviet Union. Ketika itu Soviet Union tidak mempunyai MIRV, tetapi sedang *upgrade* SS-N-8 untuk mengeluarkan MIRV.

Amerika Syarikat bimbang sekiranya Soviet Union mungkin akan membina secara besar-besaran peluru berpandu untuk memusnahkan *Minuteman* miliknya. Oleh itu, Amerika Syarikat sentiasa memastikan keupayaan *Minuteman* agar ditingkatkan dan berkesan untuk berjaya dalam peperangan. Ini kerana sekiranya mereka tewas dalam serangan Soviet Union yang pertama, tetapi mereka akan dapat menewaskan Soviet Union dalam serangan yang kedua. Dengan MIRV juga, sekiranya Soviet Union berkemungkinan untuk menyerang submarine Amerika Syarikat.

Secara tersiratnya, perjanjian SALT 1 pada tahun 1972 dapat dikatakan telah mengubah perlumbaan senjata nuklear daripada sudut kuantiti kepada perlumbaan tentang kualiti untuk mengekalkan kredibiliti pemintas bom nuklear ketika dalam keadaan diserang ataupun menyerang kapal musuh. Kedua-dua pihak, Amerika-Soviet, meneruskan kegiatan penciptaan ke atas MIRV dan SLBM pada jarak jauh dengan menambah baik sasaran yang dituju supaya lebih tepat dan tajam. Mereka akur pada kuantiti yang digariskan, tetapi menambah kualiti senjata nuklear mereka kerana perjanjian tidak menyentuh tentang kualiti senjata nuklear. Masing-masing ingin memastikan supaya pihak yang satu lagi tidak mendapat kelebihan untuk memanipulasi terma-terma perjanjian.

¹⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁷*Ibid.*

The 1972 SALT 1 Treaty transformed the arms race from one of quantity and nuclear yield into another race of quality to maintain the credibility of nuclear deterrent systems in the face of advances in offensive and defensive capabilities. Both the US-USSR continues to work on MIRVs, longer range SLBMs, improved delivery accuracy. ABMs, SAMs, silo hardening, bombers and their equipment, and weapons and possibly on mobile ICBMs. Each side is determined to prevent the other from gaining an advantage which might enable it to dictate terms.¹⁸

EKONOMI

Ekonomi juga menjadi faktor yang membawa kepada konflik antara Amerika Syarikat dengan Soviet Union. Ini kerana kedua-duanya mengamalkan sistem ekonomi yang berbeza antara satu sama lain. Amerika Syarikat telah muncul sebagai sebuah kuasa hegemoni dunia selepas Perang Dunia II, menggantikan kuasa Barat yang lain iaitu Britain, Perancis, dan Jerman. Ini kerana kuasa-kuasa Eropah selepas tamat Perang Dunia II terpaksa menumpukan kepada pembangunan ekonomi negara mereka yang lemah akibat perang. Pasca Perang Dunia II menonjolkan Amerika Syarikat sebagai sebuah kuasa besar yang unggul. Amerika Syarikat telah mengenenepikan dasar keterasingannya, sebaliknya menjadi negara kapitalis yang ingin mengembangkan ekonomi dengan semua negara, terutamanya di Eropah. Dasar ekonomi kapitalis Amerika Syarikat ini merupakan saingan kepada Soviet Union yang ingin menjalinkan hubungan dengan negara-negara Eropah berasaskan ekonomi komunisme atau Marxis. Ini membawa kepada persaingan kuasa di antara mereka untuk mempengaruhi negara-negara lain, sama ada di Eropah, Asia atau Timur Tengah untuk menjalinkan hubungan perdagangan dengan mereka.

Peranan Amerika Syarikat yang semakin menonjol turut membimbangkan Soviet Union. Tambahan pula apabila tamat Perang Dunia II, Amerika Syarikat menunjukkan minatnya untuk menguasai perdagangan minyak di Arab Saudi dan Teluk Persia. Kesan daripadanya, Amerika Syarikat mula meningkatkan hubungan dengan negara-negara Arab di Timur Tengah.¹⁹ Antaranya ialah tindakan Amerika Syarikat untuk melihatkan kuasanya di Timur Tengah, peranan Amerika Syarikat yang semakin aktif dalam perbalahan minyak di Persia, dan keputusan Amerika Syarikat untuk memberi bantuan yang besar dari sudut ekonomi dan militari kepada negeri-negeri di Timur Tengah. Ini adalah kerana didorong oleh perasaan takut Amerika Syarikat sekiranya pengaruh Soviet Union dapat menembusi negara-negara Timur Tengah.²⁰ Malah sebagai menyekat ekonomi Soviet Union yang merupakan antara negara pembekal minyak, Amerika Syarikat telah mendesak semua negara pengeluar minyak di Arab Saudi, termasuk negara bukan OPEC (*Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries*), supaya mengeluarkan minyak sebanyak

¹⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁹FO 371/124970, "Mr. Barnes Minutes, Foreign Office: 3 December 1951".

²⁰*Ibid.*

yang mungkin. Tujuannya ialah supaya negara luar tidak akan mengadakan hubungan perdagangan minyak melalui Soviet Union.

Tindakan Amerika Syarikat ini berjaya menjatuhkan harga minyak di pasaran dunia dan membekukan ekonomi Soviet Union. Polisi Amerika Syarikat dalam perdagangannya dengan blok Timur adalah berasaskan kepada kepentingan Amerika Syarikat, iaitu mendapatkan bahan mentah yang diperlukan oleh Amerika Syarikat supaya dapat menguatkan lagi ekonomi negara Barat.²¹ *National Security Council* juga telah memutuskan supaya Amerika Syarikat menghentikan semua penghantaran perdagangan daripada negara berkenaan ke Soviet Union dan negara satelitnya bagi barangan komoditi yang mana Amerika Syarikat sendiri mempunyai dengan kadar yang terhad dan kritikal. Namun pada masa yang sama, Amerika Syarikat pula perlu memastikan tindakannya ke atas Soviet Union tidak menyebabkan negara kuasa besar tersebut menyekat keperluan Amerika Syarikat. Ini menunjukkan diskriminasi Amerika Syarikat ke atas negara Soviet Union dan satelitnya di blok Timur.²²

It likewise important that our restrictions on trade should not cause the Soviet Bloc to limit the strategic materials which they have been supplying to us. It is believed that this can be accomplished by our refusing to issue export licenses unless we are assured of the supplies which we desire. This would mean that we deal with the Soviets on a strictly quid pro quo basis with respect to the significant items of trade between the two countries.²³

Walau bagaimanapun, usaha Amerika Syarikat ini menunjukkan sedikit keberkesanan kerana negara kuasa besar tersebut tidak dapat menghalang negara Barat yang lain untuk mengadakan hubungan dengan Soviet Union dan Blok Timur yang lain. Ini kerana perdagangan antara Barat dan Timur adalah penting dalam menjayakan *European Recovery Program*. Eropah Barat tetap menjalankan hubungan perdagangan dengan Soviet Union untuk barang keperluan negara mereka, iaitu arang batu, gandum, dan kayu balak. Pada tahun 1947, perdagangan Soviet Union dengan negara *European Recovery Program* adalah berjumlah \$1 ½ billion.²⁴ Namun dasar sekatan ekonomi yang dikenakan ke atas Soviet Union pada zaman Presiden Ronald Reagan daripada Amerika Syarikat berjaya melumpuhkan ekonomi Soviet Union pada hujung tahun 1980-an dan awal tahun 1990-an.

KRISIS DI CUBA DAN DI AFGHANISTAN

Pertama, Krisis di Cuba. Era Perang Dingin antara Amerika Syarikat dan Soviet Union mencapai satu tahap yang tegang sekitar tahun 1960-an hingga 1970-an. Sejak tahun-tahun tersebut, usaha Amerika Syarikat untuk memerangi

²¹NSC 46, "Note by the Executive Secretary to the National Security Council: 3 May 1949".

²²*Ibid.*

²³NSC 46, "Paper Presented to Cabinet Meeting by Secretary Marshall: 26 March 1948".

²⁴*Ibid.*

komunis memang tidak pernah terhenti. Pemimpin-pemimpin Amerika Syarikat memahami mengenai masalah Perang Dingin dan mereka berusaha untuk menghalang ancaman Soviet Union dengan pelbagai cara.

Negara Cuba pada awalnya bukanlah dilihat sebagai negara yang dapat menggugat keselamatan Amerika Syarikat. Tetapi pada masa pemerintahan Presiden John F. Kennedy, negara Cuba telah menjadi medan pertempuran antara Amerika Syarikat dengan Soviet Union.²⁵ Ini apabila Fidel Castro berjaya melaksanakan revolusi dan mendapatkan negara Cuba dengan bantuan Soviet Union pada tahun 1959, dan seterusnya dilantik sebagai Presiden Cuba. Kejayaan Fidel Castro telah menyebabkan hubungan Cuba-Soviet menjadi rapat, sebaliknya hubungan Amerika-Cuba menjadi terbantut. Amerika Syarikat telah memutuskan hubungan diplomatik dengan Cuba sebelum John F. Kennedy menjawat jawatan Presiden.

Amerika Syarikat sejak zaman pentadbiran Presiden Eisenhower, menjawat jawatan Presiden USA (*United States of America*) dari tahun 1953-1961, telah merancang supaya CIA (*Central Intelligence Agency*), iaitu agensi perisikan Amerika Syarikat, melatih pelarian-pelarian Cuba yang mendapat perlindungan di negara kuasa besar tersebut semasa revolusi Cuba tahun 1959. Tujuannya adalah supaya kumpulan pelarian yang mendapat latihan ketenteraan daripada Amerika Syarikat ini pulang ke Cuba dan mencetuskan kekacauan di sana. Sejurus selepas John F. Kennedy menjawat jawatan Presiden Amerika Syarikat (1961-1963), beliau telah memberi kebenaran kepada pelarian ini untuk melaksanakan seperti yang dirancang oleh Presiden Eisenhower sebelumnya.

Pelarian-pelarian ini telah pulang ke Cuba dan mencetuskan satu kekacauan dan serangan di *Bay of Pigs* pada tahun 1961. Kerajaan Fidel Castro dengan segera berjaya menumpaskan serangan di *Bay of Pigs* tersebut. Presiden John F. Kennedy telah membuat pengakuan bahawa beliau bertanggungjawab ke atas kekalahan di *Bay of Pigs*. Menurut John F. Kennedy, pelarian Cuba yang membuat serangan tersebut kurang kapasiti dari segi kemahiran dan keselamatan untuk menentang sistem yang dikawal oleh kerajaan komunis.²⁶

Pada tahun berikutnya, 1962, Presiden John F. Kennedy telah mendapat maklumat bahawa kerajaan Soviet Union telah secara rahsia membuka pangkalan untuk menempatkan bom nuklear di Cuba. Adalah dilaporkan bahawa sekurang-kurangnya 1,700 tentera teknikal Soviet Union telah tiba di Cuba pada penghujung bulan Julai dan awal bulan Ogos 1962 sehubungan dengan aktiviti *military* di Cuba.²⁷ Presiden John F. Kennedy telah

²⁵FRUS Doc 406, "Memorandum from the Counselor of Department of State and Chairman of the Policy Planning Council to President Kennedy, Washington: 3 September 1962" dalam *Department of State, Washington D.C., Vol.X, 1961-1963*.

²⁶*Ibid.*

²⁷FRUS Doc 407, "Memorandum from the Deputy Director for Intelligence to Acting Director of Central Intelligence Carter, Washington: 3 September 1962" dalam *Department of State, Washington D.C., Vol.X, 1961-1963*.

bertindak tegas menentang tindakan Soviet Union tersebut. John F. Kennedy memaklumkan bahawa Amerika Syarikat tidak dapat menerima pemasangan bom dan senjata nuklear di Cuba.

Selepas menimbangkan pelbagai cara, akhirnya Presiden John F. Kennedy mengambil keputusan untuk kuarantinkan Cuba bagi menghalang kapal-kapal Soviet Union membawa peluru-peluru tambahan ke Cuba. Sebagai bertindak balas, Amerika Syarikat telah menambah tekanan ekonomi kepada Cuba dengan menyekat perdagangan Cuba dengan negara-negara bebas dan berkecuali. Melalui tindakan tersebut, Amerika Syarikat berharap dapat memberi mesej kepada sekutu-sekutunya bahawa negara kuasa besar itu memandang serius komitmen Soviet Union di Cuba.²⁸ John F. Kennedy telah membuat kenyataan secara terbuka bahawa polisi Amerika Syarikat adalah menentang penghantaran senjata nuklear dan bom Soviet Union di Cuba dan menuntut supaya Soviet Union mengeluarkan semua senjata nuklearnya dari Cuba.

Mengikut Nikita Khrushchev, Soviet Union mengambil tindakan meletakkan peluru berpandu di negara Cuba adalah untuk mengimbangi kekuatan Amerika Syarikat yang memiliki kebolehan menghantar peluru berpandu ke Cuba. Ini adalah satu cara untuk melindungi Cuba daripada penaklukan Amerika Syarikat seperti peristiwa serangan di *Bay of Pigs*. Selepas mendapat kebenaran Fidel Castro, Soviet Union dengan segera membina pangkalan peluru berpandu di Cuba. Pada bulan Oktober 1962, Presiden John F. Kennedy telah ditunjukkan gambar pembinaan pangkalan peluru berpandu Soviet Union di Cuba.²⁹ Gambar tersebut juga menunjukkan beberapa jenis peralatan perang Soviet Union seperti pemusnah *submarine*, bot torpedo, termasuk lapan senjata nuklear jenis SAM (*Surface to Air Missile*) yang diletakkan di lokasi yang disediakan, di samping kerja-kerja pembinaan yang giat dilaksanakan. Selepas tujuh hari perbahasan di Parlimen, Presiden John F. Kennedy telah membuat kenyataan tentang pendirian kerajaannya bahawa sebarang serangan bom dari Cuba akan dianggap adalah daripada Soviet Union dan akan dibalas dengan sewajarnya.

President's statement as containing a clear warning to the USSR as well as to Castro of the types of possible future action which the US would not tolerate. As a reminder, partly to the US public, that the Cuban problem cannot be isolation, but rather within the framework of the Cold War.³⁰

Pada 27 Oktober 1962, Nikita Khrushchev telah menghantar surat kepada John F. Kennedy dan memberi tekanan kepada Washington dengan mengatakan bahawa Moscow hanya akan merobohkan pangkalan peluru berpandu mereka

²⁸*Ibid.*

²⁹*Ibid.*

³⁰FRUS Doc 412, "Memorandum Conversation, Washington: 5 September 1962" dalam *Department of State, Washington, Vol.X, 1961-1963.*

di Cuba, sekiranya Amerika Syarikat melakukan yang sama ke atas pangkalan Amerika di Turki.³¹ Amerika Syarikat enggan memenuhi syarat tersebut, sebaliknya menegaskan bahawa pangkalan mereka di Turki mempunyai sejarah yang panjang dan berdasarkan perjanjian yang berteraskan kepentingan serantau sekiranya berlaku pencerobohan. Amerika Syarikat selanjutnya meyakinkan Soviet Union bahawa negara kuasa besar liberal itu berjanji tidak akan menyerang Cuba. Atas jaminan Amerika Syarikat tersebut, pada 28 Oktober 1962, Nikita Krushchev bersetuju untuk menarik balik semua senjata nuklear Soviet Union di Cuba dan perjanjian antara Amerika-Soviet dimeterai bahawa kemerdekaan Cuba akan dijamin oleh Amerika Syarikat.

Kedua, Krisis di Afghanistan. Afghanistan merupakan sebuah negara yang terasing dari campur tangan antarabangsa dan sebagai negara penampan kepada pertembungan Amerika Syarikat dan Soviet Union sejak dari beratus-ratus tahun dahulu. Namun begitu, hubungan negara tersebut dengan Soviet Union berubah selepas 1947, apabila Amerika Syarikat menarik diri daripada Asia Tengah, serta penambahan kuasa dan kedudukan Soviet Union sebagai kuasa besar selepas tamat Perang Dunia II.³² Sejak itu, hubungan Afghanistan dengan Soviet Union bertambah baik, malah Soviet Union telah banyak membantu Afghanistan, sama ada dari segi ekonomi mahu pun militeri untuk membangunkan negara tersebut.³³

Hakikatnya, walaupun hubungan antara Afghanistan dan Soviet Union berjalan baik, tetapi Afghanistan tidak mengikut budaya dan model pemerintahan daripada Soviet Union. Sebaliknya, Afghanistan mengikuti model pemerintahan Barat. Propaganda imperialisme Barat yang diuar-uarkan oleh Soviet Union tidak berjaya menjadikan negara kuasa besar komunis tersebut sebagai negara model kepada Afghanistan. Pada tahun 1963, pemimpin Afghanistan telah memilih untuk membentuk kerajaan demokrasi. Ini kerana ramai di kalangan pemimpin Afghanistan telah mendapat latihan sejak tradisinya dari Barat, termasuk dari Amerika Syarikat sendiri. Pengaruh yang kuat oleh Soviet Union telah membimbangkan pemimpin-pemimpin Afghanistan, lalu kerajaan itu menjalinkan hubungan baik dengan Amerika Syarikat dengan tujuan untuk mengimbangi semula pengaruh Soviet Union di Afghanistan.³⁴

Pada tahun 1970-an, sekali lagi, membawa ketegangan kepada hubungan Amerika-Soviet dalam tempoh Perang Dingin yang dikenali sebagai *international superpower struggles in Central Asia*. Ini adalah akibat tindakan Soviet Union yang mencerooboh Afghanistan pada tahun 1979. Amerika Syarikat melihat percubaan Soviet Union untuk bertapak di Afghanistan sebagai ancaman kepada kepentingan negara kuasa besar liberal tersebut di negara-negara

³¹*Ibid.*

³²FRUS Doc 326, "Country Policy Statement of Afghanistan, Washington: 6 August 1969" dalam *Documents on South Asia, 1969-1972: Volume E-7*.

³³*Ibid.*

³⁴*Ibid.*

Teluk. Sebaliknya, Soviet Union menegaskan kepada Amerika Syarikat bahawa mereka bukannya mencerooboh Afghanistan tetapi atas jemputan Presiden Afghanistan, iaitu Mohamed Amin, untuk menghapuskan pemberontak Islam yang menggelarkan diri mereka sebagai *Mujahidin*. Soviet Union mengatakan bahawa golongan *Mujahidin* ini adalah penganas. Mohamed Amin ingin menubuhkan kerajaan Islam yang moderat dengan menghapuskan kesemua tradisi Islam di negara tersebut. Umat Islam yang menentang Mohamed Amin telah bertindak atas nama *jihad* dalam agama Islam. Oleh itu, Soviet Union telah membantu Mohamed Amin untuk terus berkuasa di Afghanistan.³⁵

Walau bagaimanapun, Mohamed Amin telah ditembak mati oleh tentera Soviet Union dan Mohamed Kamal menggantikan posisi Mohamed Amin atas restu kerajaan Soviet Union. Mohamed Kamal sepenuhnya mengharapkan sokongan Soviet Union dan menjadi boneka kepada Negara kuasa besar komunis tersebut. Ini menggiatkan lagi usaha orang-orang Islam Afghanistan, termasuk yang menjadi pelarian, untuk membantu menggulingkan Soviet Union dan kerajaan Mohamed Kamal.

Amerika Syarikat telah secara rahsia, melalui CIA, menyatakan sokongan penuh mereka ke atas pemberontak Islam yang menggelarkan diri mereka sebagai *Mujahidin* ini. Amerika Syarikat telah memberikan bantuan dari segi kewangan dan senjata bagi keperluan *Mujahidin* di Afghanistan.³⁶ Malah Amerika Syarikat juga menyediakan *missiles* dari darat ke udara secara sulit untuk digunakan oleh kumpulan *Mujahidin* bagi menyerang tentera Soviet Union. Bagi Amerika Syarikat, Soviet Union seharusnya berundur dari Afghanistan kerana penaklukan Afghanistan akan mendedahkan negara-negara Teluk kepada pengaruh komunis yang boleh menggugat kepentingan Amerika Syarikat ke atas negara-negara yang kaya dengan minyak itu. Tambahan pula, mengikut perencanaan dan dasar kerajaan Amerika Syarikat, komunis harus dibanteras. Sebaliknya, Soviet Union menegaskan bahawa apa yang mereka lakukan di Afghanistan adalah sama seperti apa yang dilakukan oleh Amerika Syarikat dalam Perang Vietnam.

Penglibatan Amerika Syarikat di Vietnam dijadikan sebagai alasan yang membenarkan Soviet Union untuk berada di Afghanistan. Pada tahun 1980, Amerika Syarikat mengenakan tindakan menghentikan penjualan bijirin yang merupakan makanan rugi kepada Soviet Union dan memboikot sukan Olimpik di Moscow. Presiden Amerika Syarikat, Ronald Reagan, yang menggantikan Jimmy Carter pada tahun 1981 meneruskan polisi Jimmy Carter di mana menghentikan rundingan SALT II dengan Soviet Union sebagai tindak balas terhadap pencerobohan negara kuasa besar komunis tersebut di Afghanistan.

³⁵Lihat "Documents on the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan" dalam www.wilsoncenter.org/topics/pubs/e [dilayari di Bangi, Selangor Darul Ehsan, Malaysia: 2 September 2010].

³⁶Lihat www.guidetorussia.com/russia-afghanistan [dilayari di Bangi, Selangor Darul Ehsan, Malaysia: 2 September 2010].

Peperangan antara *Mujahidin* di Afghanistan dengan Soviet Union telah mendapat bantuan daripada semua negara yang pro Amerika Syarikat. Pada tahun 1982, kumpulan *Mujahidin* telah menguasai 75 peratus daripada kawasan di Afghanistan dan Soviet Union terpaksa mengundurkan tenteranya daripada negara itu. Kekalahan Soviet Union di Afghanistan telah memberi peluang kepada Amerika Syarikat untuk meletakkan negara-negara Teluk dan Asia Barat yang *vacuum of power* di bawah lingkungan dan pengaruh Barat, khususnya Amerika Syarikat.

KESIMPULAN

Konflik atau permusuhan antara Amerika Syarikat dan Soviet Union dalam era Perang Dingin mencetuskan satu lagi fenomena yang membimbangkan dunia selepas Perang Dunia II (1939-1945). Ini kerana konflik tersebut boleh mencetuskan satu lagi perang antara Amerika Syarikat dan Soviet Union yang tentunya akan dapat menjejaskan kehidupan manusia melalui penggunaan senjata nuklear oleh kedua-dua kuasa besar ini. Permusuhan kedua-dua kuasa ini berpunca daripada perasaan tidak selamat atau terancam tentang kuasa dan pengaruh baru dunia selepas tamat Perang Dunia II. Masing-masing melihat ingin meletakkan pengaruh dan kuasa mereka bukan sahaja di bawah pengaruh lingkungan masing-masing, tetapi juga di negara-negara yang ditinggalkan German, Itali, dan Jepun. Ini menjadikan permusuhan semakin sengit tentang persoalan kepimpinan order baru dunia.

Tidak dapat dinafikan bahawa perbezaan ideologi antara Amerika Syarikat dan Soviet Union menjadikan kedua-dua kuasa ini tidak mempunyai kepercayaan antara satu dengan yang lain, dan telah memburukkan konflik Amerika-Soviet. Bagi menguatkan kedudukan masing-masing, Amerika Syarikat dan Soviet Union mendapati bahawa kekuatan militari adalah penting bagi kejayaan mereka di medan perang. Ini menyebabkan mereka berlumba-lumba mencipta senjata nuklear yang canggih, sehingga menjadikan hubungan Washington dan Moscow semakin tegang disebabkan oleh isu penciptaan senjata nuklear. Ini dapat dibuktikan di mana isu penciptaan dan perlumbaan senjata nuklear menjadi kebimbangan kedua-dua pihak, sehingga kedua-duanya bersetuju untuk menyelesaikan melalui SALT 1 dan SALT II yang bertujuan untuk mengawal kuantitinya untuk kedua-dua pihak.

Kertas kerja ini merumuskan bahawa konflik antara Amerika Syarikat dan Soviet Union adalah lebih didorong oleh ketidakpercayaan antara satu sama lain, disebabkan oleh keinginan untuk menguasai order baru dunia selepas Perang Dunia II yang akhirnya menyebabkan isu-isu seperti perbezaan ideologi, perlumbaan penciptaan senjata nuklear, ekonomi, serta krisis di Cuba dan di Afghanistan menjadikan kemelut konflik antara Amerika Syarikat dan Soviet Union dalam tempoh Perang Dingin semakin nyata, jelas, dan berpanjangan sehingga kejatuhan Soviet Union pada tahun 1991.

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Promotion, Behavior, and Consumption: A Correlation Study between Promotion and Consumer's Behavior in Indonesian Higher Education

ABSTRACT

The management of university must be managed as the industry, because the education itself has also been become as an industry. As an industry, including in the human resource development, education must be managed professionally by so many activities such as to produce and to distribute, and to sale the education service to the people or consumer that be done by professional manpower. Meanwhile, in the economic perspectives, promotion is the activity of marketing which informs about the products in order being influenced and remembered by stakeholder. In the activity of promotion, it contains the meaning of communication. In the framework of theoretical perspective above, the objective of the study was to determine the relationship between promotion and consumer's behavior in Indonesian higher education. The study was conducted at the University of Muhammadiyah Prof. Dr. HAMKA (UHAMKA) in Jakarta on April to June 2006 with a sample of 40 selected randomly. The study concluded that there was a positive relationship between promotion and consumer's behavior in Indonesian higher education, whereas $Y = 37 + 0.955 + 0.767 X$ at $\alpha = 5$ meaning with 1 unit increase in promotion will cause 0.767 unit increase in consumer's behavior in higher education.

Key words: *management of university, professional manpower, promotion, consumer's behavior, and higher education in Indonesia.*

INTRODUCTION

The progressive of a nation is being decided by the ability of human resource who be owned by human itself. It is also of course for Indonesia today that developing needs smart human resource in order to manage so many resources. In order to create such smart human resource, it needs strategy namely through the formal education path, non formal education thing, and informal education (Sudjana, 2008).

In order to make sure that the implementation of development continually in every level of such education, it needs a feasible budget, both the source of it from government and from the society or private. The sources of education

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budget are as arranged in Article 31 Constitution 1945 and its revision also in Article 49 the Laws Number 20/2003 about the national education system. The Laws have pointed out whereas the government has to supply the budget of education in every year, minimally 20 percent from the state budget. After that, the people – both as individual and group – have the role and contribution that is very high in order to implement the education (Suyanto, 2006).

Special for the management of university that is being implemented by the private, its source of budget is come from the management itself and the donation from the people, and the participation of the university and academy student like the donation of education implementation (school fee and other donation). Accordingly, H.A.R. Tilaar (2003:153) states that the management of university must be managed as the industry because education has been become as an industry. As an industry, including in the human resource development, education must be managed professionally by so many activities such as to produce and to distribute, and to sale the education service to the people or consumer that be done by professional manpower.

In the business field be known “production and marketing” activity like goods and service. In this activity, it is not only talk about and sell of but how to understand the behavior of consumer in doing buying goods and service. Such behavior is possible to be influenced by the internal and external factor of that consumer. Practice of such marketing is valid in education service practice that be influenced by internal and external factor of consumer.

THE PROBLEM AND PURPOSE OF RESEARCH

The main problem of this research is to identify the relationship between promotion and consumer behavior of UHAMKA (University of Muhammadiyah Dr. HAMKA, *Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah*)’s students in Jakarta. The purpose of this research is to know the level of relationship between promotion with the behavior of University consumer, also its functional as the advice for the leader of university in order to make the decision, especially in order to manage the education that be implemented by the private.

These research is based on the assumption that the consumer of university has the equivalent of the definition with consumer for manufacture product, because both of them need and produce goods and service that be produced by other party or producer.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Nanang Fattah (2000:4) mentions that the transactions activity of economy that have a relation with the education that be distinguished become two groups namely: (1) *producer* that produces the knowledge, skill, and expertise, in this context similar with educator, the implementer of education, institution or board of education owned by the government or private; and (2) *consumer*, user or the education service involve the student or university student, the institution of government or private.

Meanwhile, Malcolm S. Greenwood and Gaunt J. Helen (1994:143) state that the party of producer of university must be developed a system (curriculum, schedule, and culture that be adjusted in order to fulfill the needs of consumer). It is feasible where there are two parties that have close relation each other or depend each other, namely "producer" and "consumer". The producers supply goods and service for consumers. Meanwhile, producer depends highly on the consumer because producer needs the continuity of its business through the transaction of purchasing from consumer.

According to the marketing experts, such as Leon G. Schiffman and Leslie L. Kanuk (2000:7), the behavior of consumer is as the behavior that be looked by consumer not only in finding out, buying, using, and evaluating but also in consuming product and service which they hope will satisfy their needs. According to William M. Lindsay and Joseph B. Petrick (1997:95-96), the behavior of consumer is about the consumers must find out, get, use, and stop in using product or service.

After that, according to P. Kotler and R. Armstrong (2000:162), the behavior of consumer is about making decision and purchasing action through five steps, namely: (1) the knowing of needs, (2) finding out the information, (3) the evaluation of alternative, (4) the decision in purchasing, and (5) behavior post purchasing. After that, J.F. Enggel *et al.* (1990:4) state that the behavior of consumer is as the action that involve in getting, consuming, and spending product and service directly, including process of decisions that precede and follow this action.

Meanwhile, the opinion of P. Kotler, J. Bowen and J. Makens (1996:179), about the consumer behavior, is very complicated that is the aspect of so different factors is not being understood yet and it is the core of marketing management. Those matter means whereas the behavior of consumer is influenced by so many factors, starting with the aspect of social life education, education and position, also profession, religion, race, gender, nationality, and so many aspects that can influence the behavior of consumer.

The behavior is the most important level for someone in making the assessment to the fact in order that makes easily in understanding how about the level of perception become potency on the behavior (Schermerhorn, & Osborn, 1997:124). It is true whereas someone must get the understanding of situation of out her/his people in implementing the assessment during the level of such person in making perception to the decided situations that illustrate the behavior of such person based on her/his perception.

The behavior of consumer is so many affection factor in attempting how about the consumer in deciding the decision that be made by them, in way and attempt in order to fulfill every their needs. The behavior of affection is the illustration of cognitive behavior level. The more higher and old are more also in their needs (Kotler & Armstrong, 2000:134). It means whereas the affection of consumer depends on that be made by them in the way and the attempt in

order to fulfill every their willingness. The behavior of affective is the illustration of cognitive behavior level. The more higher on cognitive level of someone, of course, it will influence to affection of someone on fulfilling their needs. It is true whereas the factors that influence the behavior of consumer are the condition, the completeness of information, and level of consumer's needs in fulfilling their needs.

Based on theory description above, it can be concluded whereas the behavior of university consumer is the activity of student in finding out and getting the study program to register as the university student and to do re-registration by indicator: to know to have initiative and to choose so various of study programs, to become an university student, and to do registration in the end of semester.

How about the quality of a product is highly if consumers are never listening about it and also they do not sure whereas that product will functional for them, so that they will not buy it. Because of that it needs effective promotion from producers.

Promotion is the message of quality (Sallis, 1993:88), and the supplying of quality is attempted to be communicated to the people (Greenwood & Helen, 1994:12), because the quality becomes the ambition of every consumer to mean it as the characteristic that makes the consumer has been gaining the happiness.

After that, according to William G. Nickel, James M. Hugh and Susan M. Hugh (1996:492), promotion is the activity of marketing which informs about the products in order being influenced and remembered by the stakeholders. In the activity of promotion, it contains the meaning of communication. According to H. Schermerhorn and M. Osborn (1997:399), communication is as the activity of conveying the information and the understanding by using the same signs. Meanwhile, Charles W. Lamb, Joseph F. Hair and Carl M. Daniel (1999:345) state that the promotion is the communication from the marketer who is informing and remembering the potential buyer of the product to influence his/her opinion in order appearing as the real consumer.

According to Ricky W. Griffin and Ronald J. Ebert (1999:338), promotion is also the aspect of marketing program that be held effectively in order to support the sales of goods and service. And then, P. Kotler and R. Armstrong (2000:98) state that in marketing there is being known 4 Ps, namely: Product, Price, Place, and Promotion. The combination of promotion is a process of advertisement, promotion of sales of individual and publicity which consistently and specific in increasing the marketing target.

RESEARCH RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Based on the theory description above, it can be concluded that promotion is the activity of marketing communication from the university to the students of university who use combination of promotion media by indicators to inform,

to influence, and to remember of study program. The relation of such matter can be formulated the hypothesis of its research that there are positive relation between promotion and the behavior of university's consumer.

The method that be used in this research is survey method and correlation technical. This is suitable with the opinion of Donald Ary, Lucy C. Jacobs and Asghar Razavieh (1979:201) that the survey can be used in order to investigate the relation or to test the hypothesis. Correlation technical is being used in order to measure the level of relationship between promotion and consumer behavior of university.

The target population in this research is all of university student S2 (Master or Magister programs) who register to UHAMKA (University of Muhammadiyah Prof. Dr. HAMKA, *Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah*) in Jakarta. Meanwhile, the population that be reached are 160 university students who register to the UHAMKA in Jakarta. Technical of sample that be used is random sampling technical with sample 40 persons of respondent. It is also feasible with the opinion of Donald Ary, Lucy C. Jacobs and Asghar Razavieh (1979:307) that descriptive research can be used the amount of sample between 10% to 25% from reached population. This research was being done in UHAMKA Jakarta on April to June 2006.

Instrument of research is being arranged based on the definition of conceptual framework that be learnt from theory of every variable. The items of instrument are also being arranged based on the dimension and indicator of variable. The calibration of instrument – in order to know the level of validity and reliability of research instrument – is being used in order to find out the data from respondent.

Technical of analysis, that be used in order to test the hypothesis, is technical of regression statistic and simple correlation. This data analysis technical involves the requirement of data analysis as the requirement in using analysis technical and test of hypothesis

As well as suitable with the purpose of the research, the result is to test whether or not about the existence of positive relation between the promotion and the consumer behavior of university students. Realization of the relation between those variables has needed the requirement of analysis that must be fulfilled in order to make sure that there are some correlations in this study.

The requirement that be meant in this research is the requirement of data analysis that use normality test and homogeneity test. The normality test that be meant in order to find out about feasible or not for the data of research result, meanwhile homogeneity test be meant to look out the equivalent part parts of variant of population that have the normal distribution. Data normality test use "Kolmogorove Smirnov" sample criteria that have normal distribution if L be calculated $<$ from L table in the level of significance about 0.05. Normality test analysis resist Galat of estimation Y on X where $L_h (0.1014) < L_t (0.1369)$ normal .

Homogeneity test of Varian done by using "Bartlett" test technical. Sample criteria have homogeneity characteristic, if T calculate < T table the result of analysis about homogeneity test where T calculate (19.1044) < T table (19.3) homogeneity.

On an Analysis of Regression. Regression analysis of simple linear Y on X produce the equation of linear line $Y = 37.955 + 0.767 X$. The equation of such regression line have an enough meaning and linear. The meaning test result regression linear thing is being pointed out in table 1 as follows.

Table 1
ANAVA for Significant and Linear Regression Test
 $Y = 37.955 + 0.767 X$

Varian Source	DF	AQ	QAA	F-Calculate	F-tab	
					0.05	0.01
Total	39	9065.600				
Regression (b/a	1	4473.020	4473.020	37.011	4.10	7.35
Residual	38	4592.580	120.857			
Feasible Tuna	20	3921.246	196,062	2,157	4.41	8.28
Galat	18	1228.167	81877			

** = Regression is significant (F-hit = 37.011) > (F-tab = 7.35)

NS = Non Significant or Linear Regression (F-hit = 2.157) < (F-tab = 8.26)

DF = Degree of Freedom

AQ = Amount of Quadrate

QAA = Quadrate amount of average

Result of testing such as be pointed out in table 1 above can be concluded whereas the relation of promotion with university consumer behavior is significant absolutely because F-hit = 37.011 more bigger than F-tab 7.35 ($\alpha = 0.01$) and have linear regression from because F-hit = 2.157 more smaller than F-tab = 4.41 ($\alpha = 0.05$).

After that such equation point out whereas every progressive of one score of promotion (x) can make the increasing of score of university consumer behavior (Y) is about 0.767 in constant 37.955. For further clearly the regression equation $Y = 37.955 + 0.766 X$. Correlation of co efficient between promotion (X) with university consumer behavior (Y).

The testing of hypothesis between promotion (X) and university consumer behavior (Y) is being gotten for relation coefficient result 0.702 and determination coefficient 0.493. After correlation coefficient significant test with T test is being gotten T-calculate = 6.0729 > T table = 2.46, it is true that there is a positive relation between promotion (X) and university consumer behavior (Y) or it is more higher (X) than, and, of course, also more higher of university consumer behavior (Y).

Table of simple correlation coefficient test between X with Y is as follows.

Table 2
Simple Correlation Coefficient Testing between X and Y

N	Correlation between	Coefficient Correlation	Coefficient Determinant	F-Calculate	F-Tab	
					0.05	0.01
40	X and Y	0.702	0.493	6.0729	1.70	2.46

From table 2 above, it is clear that F-Calculate (6.0729) is more bigger than F-Tab = 2.46 ($\alpha = 0.01$), so that it can be concluded that the simple correlation coefficient between promotion (X) and university consumer behavior (Y) is very significant, by determination coefficient = 0.493 - 49.30% variants of university consumer behavior (Y) be divided by promotion (X).

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

Base on hypothesis testing in discussion before so that it can be made the conclusion as follows:

First, there is positive relation between the promotion and consumer with university consumer behavior, in this case is the UHAMKA (University of Muhammadiyah Dr. HAMKA)'s students.

Second, both of them run as long as which the meaning of it is more higher for promotion and it is more higher also for university consumer behavior. The correlation coefficient for the relation of this variable is being gotten the value is about 0.702. From the correlation coefficient, we can found the determination coefficient about 0.493. It means that the variation of university consumer behavior is being decided by promotion variation about 49.30%.

Third, the form of relationship between promotion and university consumer behavior is being pointed out by regression equivalent $Y = 37.955 + 0.767 X$. It means that every progressive of one score of promotion (X) can make the increasing of score of university consumer behavior (Y) is about 0.767 in constant about 37.955.

Base on the conclusions that have been described above, so we can suggested as follows:

First, creating the study program should be needed and be wanted by the people in facing of today globalization competition.

Second, the management of university should be tried an international study program that same as study program in other countries so that its graduate can compete with the graduate from other countries.

Third, domestic level feels the default of young professional apparatus main powers in the state so that it should be opened the Master or Magister study program but its content more oriented with situation and condition in such states.

Fourth, to make the effective about study program communication to the customer, it should be informed through the advertisement and the visiting to the decision maker officer in educational field.

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Mek Mulong: Antara Persembahan dan Ritual Perubatan di Malaysia

ABSTRAK

Makalah ini merupakan kajian tentang sebuah warisan persembahan rakyat, iaitu Mek Mulong yang bertapak di negeri Kedah, Malaysia. Kajian ini didasarkan kepada pemerhatian dan kajian khusus terhadap persembahan Mek Mulong yang diadakan di Kampung Baru, Wang Tepus, Jitra, Kedah. Objektif kajian ini adalah untuk mendokumentasikan sepenuhnya warisan persembahan rakyat yang masih wujud di kalangan masyarakat pedalaman dan juga masih aktif dipersembahkan sehingga ke hari ini. Namun, dalam konteks yang lebih mendalam, kajian ini tidak tertumpu sekadar mendeskripsikan sahaja corak persembahan Mek Mulong tetapi ingin melihat perkaitan persembahan ini dengan upacara ritual yang turut termuat di dalam Mek Mulong. Perkara ini disebabkan pengkajian dan penelitian yang dilakukan sebelumnya hanya menumpukan kepada persembahan secara dasar tanpa menelusuri aspek ritual tersebut secara mendalam. Makalah ini memperlihatkan bagaimanakah ritual itu diadakan, fungsinya, pengaruh, dan juga perkaitan ritual tersebut dengan komponen persembahan Mek Mulong peringkat awal. Secara tidak langsung, ia akan menentukan, sama ada ritual tersebut hanya sampingan ataupun pelengkap kepada persembahan rakyat ini secara keseluruhannya. Kajian ini relevan dalam situasi pada hari ini kerana ia membincangkan suatu bentuk kesenian dan warisan unik yang dimiliki oleh masyarakat Melayu di Malaysia.

Kata-kata kunci: Mek Mulong, persembahan rakyat, ritual, dokumentasi, kesenian, dan warisan unik masyarakat Melayu.

PENDAHULUAN

Makalah ini membicarakan suatu warisan kesenian rakyat, iaitu persembahan Mek Mulong, yang terdapat di negeri Kedah, Malaysia. Persembahan rakyat ini – ataupun yang dikategorikan sebagai *folklore* oleh Alan Dundes (1965 dan 1980); digolongkan dalam "tradisi lisan" oleh Mohd Taib Osman (1982); dan juga dikelompokkan dalam "teater tradisional Melayu" oleh Mohamed Ghouse Nasarudin (2000) – merupakan suatu warisan penting di Utara Semenanjung Malaysia memandangkan ia masih mampu bertahan di era globalisasi dan cabaran kemodenan hari ini. Mek Mulong yang menggabungkan elemen bercerita, nyanyian, lakonan, tarian, dan juga ritual perubatan ini masih diminati dan diterima oleh masyarakat di Kampung Baru, Wang Tepus, Jitra, Kedah. Dengan demikian, persembahan Mek Mulong ini menjadi suatu bahan

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budaya yang penting kepada pengkaji untuk didokumentasikan serta dianalisis dari pelbagai perspektif agar warisan persembahan rakyat seperti ini akan kekal diketahui hingga ke generasi akan datang.¹

Dalam konteks semasa, kajian tentang persembahan *Mek Mulong* pada hari ini sangat terhad. Berbanding kajian-kajian terhadap persembahan seumpamanya, seperti *Mak Yong* di Kelantan yang mendapat perhatian agak meluas, bukan sahaja dari khalayak umum malah daripada pengkaji-pengkaji budaya juga. Kajian tentang *Mak Yong* begitu meluas disebabkan persembahan itu telah diketahui ramai, malah seolah-olah menjadi sinonim dengan budaya masyarakat di Kelantan. Dalam konteks *Mek Mulong*, Mohamed Ghouse Nasarudin (2000) telah membicarakan persembahan *Mek Mulong* ini dalam bukunya yang bertajuk *Teater Tradisional Melayu*. Kajian beliau yang bersifat dokumentasi ini ditumpukan kepada aspek persembahan, prop, pelakon, serta peralatan yang digunakan.

Zainal Alam Kadir (2002) dalam tulisannya bertajuk "Keeping *Mek Mulong* Alive", disiarkan dalam akhbar *New Strait Times*, 16 Februari, pula membincangkan persembahan *Mek Mulong* secara ringkas dan mengutarakan beberapa langkah untuk memastikan kelestarian warisan persembahan tersebut. Usaha yang sama turut dilakukan oleh Kementerian Kebudayaan, Kesenian, dan Pelancongan Malaysia apabila menerbitkan buku tentang *Teater Tradisional Melayu: Buku Satu* (Mohd Ghazali Abdullah ed., 1995). Selain beberapa deskripsi tentang warisan persembahan rakyat yang terdapat di Malaysia, ia turut memuatkan huraian ringkas tentang *Mek Mulong*. Walaupun sekadar paparan dasar, namun ia tetap berfungsi sebagai sumber maklumat terhadap warisan seperti ini. Kementerian ini juga sekali lagi telah menerbitkan *Siri Mengenal Budaya: Mek Mulong*, dengan menampilkan persembahan teater tradisional ini (Umi Abdullah ed., 2003). Namun, fokus paparannya lebih tertumpu kepada dokumentasi serta rakaman persembahan di ruang pentas dewan yang lebih formal. Keadaan ini agak kurang memperlihat situasi sebenar persembahan dalam masyarakat tersebut di kampung.

Justeru, makalah ini – yang didasarkan kepada kajian lapangan di Kampung Baru, Wang Tepus, Jitra, Kedah – adalah melibatkan rakaman dan penyelidikan khusus semasa persembahan *Mek Mulong* yang sebenar dijalankan. Justeru, tulisan ini akan dibahagikan kepada dua bahagian, iaitu bahagian pertama lebih ditumpukan kepada aspek dokumentasi persembahan secara keseluruhan, termasuk latar kemunculannya; manakala bahagian kedua pula lebih memfokuskan kepada aspek ritual dalam *Mek Mulong*. Memandangkan kajian sebelum ini agak kurang memberi tumpuan kepada aspek ritual tersebut, makalah ini akan memperdalamkan unsur yang unik. Kajian akan memaparkan fungsi sebenar ritual ini, pengaruh, perkaitannya

¹Selaras dengan pengkategorian oleh Alan Dundes (1965 dan 1980), pengkelompokkan warisan rakyat di bawah *folklore* ini turut diutarakan dengan terperinci dalam *Standard Dictionary of Folklore: Mythology and Legend*, yang diedit oleh Maria Ledge (1972).

dengan elemen nyanyian, tarian, dan lakonan; seterusnya menentukan sama ada ritual ini hanya sampingan atau sebagai pelengkap dalam persembahan *Mek Mulong*.²

LATAR KEMUNCULAN MEK MULONG PELBAGAI VERSI

Terdapat pelbagai versi yang menggambarkan sejarah kemunculan persembahan *Mek Mulong* di Jitra, Kedah ini. Secara keseluruhan, latar kemunculan dan asal-usul *Mek Mulong* secara khusus dikaitkan dengan cerita-cerita lisan tertentu yang memerihalkan bagaimana *Mek Mulong* ini boleh berada di Wang Tepus tersebut. Mohamed Ghouse Nasarudin (2000:78-80) mengemukakan beberapa versi cerita lisan tentang asal-usul *Mek Mulong* ini.

Versi pertama menceritakan tentang kisah tujuh puteri jelita Raja Ligor. Puteri Bongsu dibenci oleh kakak-kakaknya yang menghasut Raja Ligor menghalau dia keluar negeri. Dalam buangan itu Puteri Bongsu ditemani oleh dayang pengasuh yang menjaganya. Setelah masa berlalu, Puteri Bongsu membesar dan menjadi gadis yang paling cantik. Sepanjang tempoh itu dia telah belajar cara menglipur lara, menyanyi, dan menari daripada inang pengasuh yang cuba menghiburkan puteri itu. Apabila remaja, dia muncul sebagai penglipur lara dan penyanyi yang memberi hiburan dari kampung ke kampung. Dalam perjalanan itu, Kampung Wang Tepus memberi sambutan yang begitu hebat kepada persembahannya dan akhirnya Puteri Bongsu menubuhkan kumpulan yang dikenali sebagai *Mek Mulong*.

Cerita yang lain pula ialah bermula dengan kehidupan sepasang suami isteri di Ligor yang inginkan anak. Mereka berdoa kepada Tuhan dan akhirnya dikurniakan seorang anak perempuan dengan dibantu oleh bidan ketujuh. Kepercayaan umum ialah kehadiran bidan ketujuh ini merupakan suatu gambaran bahawa anak yang bakal dilahirkan itu memiliki kuasa sakti. Berita anak perempuan sakti yang diberi nama *Mek Julung* itu mendapat perhatian luas daripada orang ramai, yang akhirnya berhijrah ke tempat tersebut sehingga terbentuk sebuah negara. Bapa kanak-kanak tersebut dilantik menjadi raja. Apabila kanak-kanak tersebut membesar, dia menunjukkan minat mendalam dalam tarian dan nyanyian. Lagu yang sangat disukainya ialah lagu "Kecik Milik" yang kini sering dinyanyikan dalam persembahan *Mek Mulong*. Akhirnya, bapa kanak-kanak tersebut menubuhkan satu kumpulan yang mempersembahkan cerita-cerita rakyat, nyanyian, dan lakonan di negeri tersebut.

Dalam buku *Siri Mengenal Budaya: Mek Mulong*, yang diedit oleh Umi Abdullah (2003) dan diterbitkan oleh Bahagian Pembangunan Kebudayaan dan Kesenian, Kementerian Kebudayaan, Kesenian, dan Pelancongan Malaysia pula mendakwa bahawa *Mek Mulong* ini berasal dari Ligor, Siam. Ia kemudiannya

²Makalah ini adalah hasil penyelidikan geran Universiti Penyelidikan (*Research University*) yang bertajuk Warisan Alam dan Budaya dengan Memfokuskan Negeri-negeri di Utara Semenanjung Malaysia (Oktober 2007 - September 2010).

diperkenalkan di Kedah ketika berlaku persengketaan Kedah-Siam. Tempat pertama yang diperkenalkan persembahan ini ialah di Kampung Perit, Mukim Kurung Itam, Kuala Nerang. Seterusnya ia berkembang ke Kampung Belukar Mulung, Kampung Paya Keladi, dan akhirnya di Kampung Wang Tepus, Jitra, Kedah.

Namun, hasil temubual atau wawancara dengan penggiat *Mek Mulong* di Wang Tepus didapati bahawa versi ceritanya menampilkan banyak perbezaan, terutamanya galuran asal-usul persembahan ini sehinggalah ia bertapak di Wang Tepus sekarang.³ *Mek Mulong* dikatakan bermula apabila sepasang suami isteri yang berasal dari Kedah telah dibenci keluarga mentua mereka. Mereka telah membawa diri ke Ligor, Siam. Si suami bernama Mohar, dan isterinya bernama Bunga. Mereka mengerjakan huma. Tidak lama selepas itu Bunga telah hamil. Apabila hamil, hanya Pak Mohar saja yang mengerjakan huma, manakala Bunga pula hanya di rumah. Sewaktu hampir bersalin, menjelma seorang nenek yang mengaku dirinya Bidan ke-7. Nenek tersebut mengatakan bahawa anak mereka yang bakal dilahirkan itu akan menjadi "kebesaran". Dengan bantuan bidan itu, Bunga melahirkan seorang anak perempuan yang diberi nama *Mek Julong*. Semasa *Mek Julong* semakin membesar, anak perempuan itu pandai mengarang bunga tanpa bertali (situasi ini dijadikan lagu pembukaan setiap persembahan *Mek Mulong* hingga kini).

Mek Julong juga diceritakan sangat gemar menari. Pak Mohar kemudian membuat sebiji gendang anak daripada kulit lembu untuk mengiringi anaknya menari. Lama-kelamaan orang sekeliling pun menjadi minat dan turut sama memukul gendang dan meniup serunai. Permainan ini kemudian dinamakan *Mek Mulong* yang berasal daripada perkataan *Mek* (merujuk kepada anak perempuan) dan *Mu* (kamu) yang *Sulong*.

Menurut sumber lisan ini juga, pada masa sama dikisahkan ada seorang putera raja semasa pemerintahan kerajaan Kedah Tua. Putera ini melarikan diri bersama pengasuhnya kerana cuba dibunuh oleh raja. Putera itu hendak dibunuh kerana menurut tilikan nujum istana, ia membawa malapetaka kepada istana. Pengasuh tidak sampai hati membunuh putera raja, lalu membawanya lari ke Ligor, Siam. Di sana mereka berjumpa dengan Pak Mohar dan anaknya *Mek Julong*, yang sedang bermain gendang, menyanyi, dan menari. Putera raja itu kemudian berlakon untuk melengkapkan permainan mereka. Pertemuan keluarga Pak Mohar dengan putera raja Kedah serta pengasuhnya itu yang telah menjadikan *Mek Mulong* lengkap dengan tarian, muzik, nyanyian, dan bercerita tersebut. Dipercayai juga bahawa daripada anak raja dan inang pengasuh ini juga tarian *Mek Mulong* memiliki cerita-cerita tentang raja dan alam istana yang kemudiannya digabungkan dalam *Mek Mulong*.

Namun, semasa Siam menyerang Kedah, ahli kumpulan *Mek Mulong* seramai lapan orang telah balik semula ke Kedah dan masuk ke Kampung Perik,

³Temubual atau wawancara ini dilakukan bersama Ahmad bin Shahadan (ketua kumpulan *Mek Mulong*) pada 23 Julai 2008 dan 5 April 2010 di Jitra, Kedah, Malaysia.

Mukim Padang Terap, Kedah. Semasa di sana, mereka menghidupkan semula *Mek Mulong* serta berpindah-pindah dan akhirnya bertapak di Wang Tepus hingga ke hari ini. Malah penggiat *Mek Mulong* kini dipercayai mempunyai pertalian darah dengan generasi asal *Mek Mulong* tersebut.

Sekiranya didasarkan kepada sumber lisan tentang asal-usul *Mek Mulong* didapati bahawa persembahan *Mek Mulong* ini adalah berasal dan dihidupkan oleh orang Kedah sendiri yang melarikan diri ke Siam. Kemudiannya, mereka telah kembali semula ke Kedah dan merencanakan semula persembahan ini sehingga sekarang. Dengan demikian, andaian dan telaahan yang mengatakan bahawa persembahan ini berasal dari Thailand (Umi Abdullah ed., 2003), sepenuhnya boleh diperhalusi semula jika didasarkan kepada sumber lisan ini.

MEK MULONG: SEBUAH PERSEMBAHAN RAKYAT

Alan Dundes (1965) secara jelas telah mengatakan bahawa kebanyakan warisan folklor ini adalah hak milik masyarakat desa dan golongan petani yang menjadi sumber hiburan mereka ketika waktu lapang dan juga ketika menyambut upacara keramaian tertentu. Pandangan sebegini memberikan suatu gambaran awal bahawa persembahan rakyat ataupun teater tradisional Melayu ini secara tradisinya dimainkan di kawasan-kawasan kampung tradisional yang agak terpisah daripada kesibukan bandar. Malah persembahan seperti ini bukan sahaja sebagai wadah untuk menghilangkan lelah, tetapi juga mampu menjadi aset kebanggaan masyarakat pemiliknya. Keunikan dan keistimewaan dalam warisan persembahan yang dipusakai mereka itu akan menjadikan ia lebih dikenali umum, walaupun ia ditarikan atau dialunkan di kawasan pedalaman.

Kenyataan oleh Richard Bauman (1986:35) bahawa "*Every group has its own folklore and will continue to do so as long as people continue to come together in groups*" juga sebenarnya berkaitan rapat dengan persembahan *Mek Mulong* yang dimainkan oleh sekelompok masyarakat di Kampung Baru, Wang Tepus, Kedah tersebut. Kumpulan persembahan *Mek Mulong* ini masih kental mempertahankan warisan sehingga sekarang serta menjadikan nama mukim Wang Tepus sinonim dengan *Mek Mulong* itu sendiri. Perwarisan persembahan daripada beberapa generasi sebelumnya sehinggalah kepada penggiatnya kini sudah memadai untuk membuktikan bahawa persembahan rakyat ini masih bertahan.

Persembahan *Mek Mulong* ini pada dasarnya bukanlah sebuah persembahan elit atau mewah, sebagaimana persembahan hiburan yang lain. Ia lebih bersifat sederhana dari segi pakaian dan juga peralatannya. Sebagai sebuah *traditional staged* (Mohd Taib Osman, 1982:58), persembahan *Mek Mulong* berpentaskan sebuah bangsal yang dibina di kampung oleh ahli-ahli *Mek Mulong*. Mereka akan mengadakan persembahan ini setahun sekali, kebiasaannya pada antara bulan Julai dan Ogos. Persembahan *Mek Mulong* yang sebenar secara tradisinya

tidak boleh dilakukan sebarang waktu, kecuali jika kumpulan ini dijemput untuk mengadakan demonstrasi persembahan yang dianjurkan oleh pihak luar seperti Jabatan Kebudayaan, Muzium, dan sebagainya.

Dalam konteks tersebut, persembahan *Mek Mulong* hanya dimainkan secara ringkas dan tidak lengkap seperti dimainkan di kampung halaman mereka. Menurut informan Ahmad bin Shahadan, ketua kumpulan *Mek Mulong* (temubual pada 23 Julai 2008 dan 5 April 2010), keadaan itu berlaku disebabkan ruang pentas yang kecil, penglibatan ahli yang sedikit, dan dibataskan oleh waktu yang ditetapkan oleh pihak penganjur.

Oleh yang demikian, persembahan *Mek Mulong* yang asal dan yang benar-benar mematuhi konvensi tradisi hanyalah yang dimainkan di bangsal asal *Mek Mulong* tersebut di dalam kampung mereka. Richard Bauman (1986:46) pula menyifatkan “*All performance, like all communication, situated, enacted, and rendered meaningful within socially defined situational context*”. Dengan kata lain, makna sebenar persembahan *Mek Mulong* hanya akan difahami dan dihayati dengan baik jika ia dilakukan di tempatnya sendiri, dalam konteks masyarakat pemiliknya dan juga dalam situasi persembahan yang sebenar.



Gambar 1

Bangsal untuk Persembahan *Mek Mulong* di Wang Tepus, Jitra, Kedah, Malaysia

Sebagai sebuah persembahan rakyat ataupun sebuah teater tradisional Melayu, *Mek Mulong* mempunyai tatacara persembahan yang tersendiri.

Ia memiliki suatu konvensi persembahan yang telah diperturunkan dari beberapa generasi terdahulu dan pastinya ia perlu dipatuhi hingga ke hari ini. Malah konvensi seperti ini akan membentuk suatu puitika khusus dalam *Mek Mulong* apabila persembahan itu dilihat mengandungi aturan, ciri, dan peringkat-peringkat persembahan dari permulaan persembahan *Mek Mulong* sehinggalah ke akhirnya.

Pada dasarnya, *Mek Mulong* ini melibatkan ahli kumpulan antara 15 hingga 20 orang, iaitu terdiri daripada Pak Mulong (ketua dan juga memainkan watak raja), Peran (pelawak), Penari, dan juga Pemuzik (Mohamed Ghouse Nasarudin, 2000:81). Dari segi peralatan muzik, *Mek Mulong* menggunakan sebiji gendang anak, sebiji gendang semorong, dan dua gendang ibu yang mempunyai saiz berbeza. Serunai dan gong juga digunakan, kecuali sejenis alat muzik yang dipanggil “buluh kecerik” yang mengeluarkan bunyi nyaring sudah tidak digunakan lagi. *Mek Mulong* tidak mempunyai kostum khusus, oleh itu pemainnya hanya mengenakan pakaian yang biasa dan dirasakan sesuai sahaja. Namun, watak pelawak turut mengenakan topeng untuk menimbulkan kelucuan kepada khalayaknya.⁴

Dalam konteks persembahan secara tradisi, *Mek Mulong* dimulakan dengan upacara kenduri pada siang harinya. Upacara kenduri yang diadakan itu adalah untuk menjamu waris-waris penggiat *Mek Mulong*, jiran-jiran, dan juga rakan-rakan mereka. Menurut informan, upacara ini tidak mempunyai sebarang pantang larang yang mesti dipatuhi, ini bermakna sesiapa sahaja boleh menghadiri kenduri yang diadakan itu (temubual dengan Ahmad bin Shahadan, 5/4/2010). Kenduri ini biasanya menghidangkan masakan tradisional seperti *kari* (gulai) daging, ikan kering, ulam-ulaman, dan sebagainya. Malah, hampir setiap tahun kenduri yang diadakan itu secara besar-besaran dan dikunjungi ramai tetamu. Keadaan ini memberi gambaran awal tentang kemeriahan persembahan *Mek Mulong* yang dilangsungkan pada malamnya.

Persembahan *Mek Mulong* ini akan diadakan selama tiga malam, iaitu hari Sabtu malam, Ahad malam, dan kemuncaknya ialah Isnin malam. Setiap persembahan itu akan dimulakan dengan upacara *bertabik*. Upacara ini dilakukan dengan menyanyikan lagu *bertabik* yang bertajuk “Karang Bunga” yang diambil daripada sejarah asal-usul *Mek Mulong*, iaitu sempena kepandaian Mek Julong yang mengarang bunga tanpa tali. Selepas ketua menyanyikan lagu tersebut, semua ahli persembahan itu akan turut sama mengikut dan mengulang lagu yang sama diiringi oleh paluan gendang, gong, dan juga serunai.

Semasa *bertabik* ini, nama-nama keramat diseru supaya menjaga persembahan daripada sebarang gangguan (Mohamed Ghouse Nasarudin, 2000:86). Informan, yang juga ketua kumpulan ini, turut mengakui jika

⁴Penggunaan topeng untuk menimbulkan kelucuan ini turut diamalkan oleh penglipur lara Awang Batil di Perlis yang menggunakan beberapa jenis topeng untuk mewakili beberapa watak lucu sepanjang persembahannya. Keterangan lanjut, lihat Amran Kasimin (2006).

upacara *bertabik* tidak dilakukan atau dilakukan dengan cara yang salah, maka persembahan mereka nanti akan timbul pelbagai masalah seperti lupa senikata lagu dan juga kadangkala terlupa jalan cerita. Perkara sebegini akan mencatatkan persembahan *Mek Mulong* secara keseluruhannya (temubual dengan Ahmad bin Shahadan, 23/7/2008).

Walaupun persembahan *Mek Mulong* ini mengambil masa tiga malam, namun upacara *bertabik* ini tetap dilakukan setiap kali memulakan persembahan pada malam berikutnya. Acara ini seolah-olah menjadi asas ataupun peraturan penting setiap kali *Mek Mulong* ingin dipersembahkan. Pengamal ataupun penggiat *Mek Mulong* ini kelihatannya sangat mematuhi dan menjaga setiap tatacara persembahan dengan baik sebagaimana yang diwarisi mereka.



Gambar 2

Bertabik Sebelum Memulakan Persembahan

Selain *bertabik*, persembahan ini juga akan melibatkan upacara *bertabuh*. Acara ini tidak melibatkan sebarang lagu tetapi hanya paluan gendang, tiupan serunai, dan paluan gong sahaja. Lagu *bertabuh* secara instrumental dimainkan antara 10-15 minit tanpa sebarang nyanyian. Selesai sahaja *bertabuh* dan *bertabik* ini, kumpulan pemuzik mula memainkan lagu *Gerak Timpuh* iaitu penari-penari lelaki yang berpakaian wanita mula menari. Pada peringkat ini elemen muzik, nyanyian dan tarian mula mewarnai persembahan *Mek Mulong*. Tarian ini berlanjutan beberapa lama dengan diiringi beberapa lagu *gerak timpuh* yang khusus. Alunan lagu dan gerak tari ini menarik perhatian

penonton kerana “sesuatu persembahan sememangnya tidak lari daripada berperanan untuk memberi suatu pengalaman hiburan kepada penontonnya” (Barnouw & Kirkland, 1992:50).

Lakonan juga merupakan sebahagian dalam persembahan ini. Sejurus selepas tarian *gerak timpuh* selesai, Pak Mulong (ketua persembahan) akan bangun untuk memulakan ceritanya dalam sesi lakonan yang disebut sebagai *lakon*. Cerita yang biasa dipersembahkan ialah “Cerita Cahaya Bulan” dan “Dewa Muda”. Walaupun terdapat beberapa cerita lagi seperti “Lakon Afrit”, “Batak Putih”, dan “Malim Bongsu” (Umi Abdullah ed., 2003:8) namun menurut informan, cerita “Cahaya Bulan” dan “Dewa Muda” lebih kerap dimainkan sejak generasi dahulu lagi (temubual dengan Ahmad bin Shahadan, 23/7/2008). Pada peringkat ini, kumpulan penari tadi kembali bangun menari bersama Pak Mulong untuk beberapa ketika, kemudian barulah Pak Mulong akan mula bercerita sambil berlakon bersama watak-watak puteri dan juga *peran* (pelawak).



Gambar 3

Pak Mulong Sedang Menari Bersama Penari-penari *Mek Mulong*

Persembahan *Mek Mulong* ini akan tamat apabila Pak Mulong selesai melakonkan cerita yang disampaikan itu. Cerita yang panjang akan disambung-sambung hingga tiga malam. Sebagai penutup, penari-penari akan bangun menari semula sebagaimana awal persembahan tadi dan Pak Mulong sekali lagi akan menyanyikan lagu “Kecik Milik Mengarang Bunga” dengan iringan

pukulan gendang, gong, dan tiupan serunai sebagai penutup persembahan tersebut.

RITUAL BERUBAT DALAM MEK MULONG

Persembahan *Mek Mulong* yang asal dan asli sebenarnya tidak terhenti setakat persembahan itu sahaja.⁵ *Mek Mulong* juga melibatkan ritual perubatan yang disebut sebagai *berubat* dalam komponen persembahannya yang sebenar. Perubatan tradisional yang sememangnya bertapak dalam kelompok masyarakat tradisional di desa-desa kebiasaannya menampilkan pelbagai cara dan kaedah yang unik, tidak pernah tertulis, tetapi sekadar dirakam prosesnya dalam ingatan bomoh (Mohd Taib Osman, 1982:2). Justeru, amalan sebegini memang wujud dalam *Mek Mulong*. Berdasarkan pengamatan kajian daripada persembahan ini, ritual akan dimulakan selepas jam 12 tengah malam, iaitu selepas selesai persembahan peringkat pertama yang melibatkan nyanyian, tarian, muzik, dan juga lakon tadi. Ketika ritual ini hendak dimulakan, para pelakon dan penari sebelumnya akan menukar semula pakaian mereka kepada pakaian biasa, yakni tidak lagi bertanjak dan berbaju Melayu yang lengkap.

Menurut informan, ritual atau dipanggil *berubat* dalam persembahan *Mek Mulong* ini merupakan bahagian persembahan yang penting kepada pemain *Mek Mulong* dan pada yang sama merupakan suatu tarikan kepada penonton *Mek Mulong* ini (temubual dengan Ahmad bin Shahadan, 5/4/2010). Hal ini disebabkan ritual melibatkan pemujaan dan juga *menurun*⁶ yang bakal mempamerkan beberapa aksi aneh dan menarik perhatian penonton yang melihatnya. Namun demikian, ritual ini bukanlah sesuatu yang dipamerkan untuk keseronokan semata-mata tetapi juga lebih berfungsi untuk menunjukkan rasa hormat kepada roh nenek moyang pewaris *Mek Mulong*. Malah takrifan ritual itu menunjukkan bahawa ia sesuatu perkara yang penting untuk diambil perhatian dalam konteks persembahan rakyat begini. Menurut Mohd Taib Osman:

Ritual and ceremony are set of prescribe behaviour which is both symbolic and expressive and which has a specific objective [...]. Rituals are symbolic behaviour because the action represents something else than what is done. The slaughtering of an animal, for instance, represents a sacrifice offered to a deity whose favour the votary or worshipper is soliciting. Even the objects used in the ritual have symbolic meaning (Mohd Taib Osman, 1989:49).

⁵Tulisan dan kajian sebelum ini hanya tertumpu dengan ringkas pada aspek persembahan, nyanyian, tarian, dan lakonan sahaja. Keadaan ini disebabkan pemerhatian yang dilakukan hanyalah di atas pentas yang formal di majlis-majlis tertentu yang tidak dijalankan upacara ritual tersebut. Lihat tulisan Zainal Alam Kadir (2002).

⁶Amran Kasimin (2006) mentakrifkan "menurun" ini sebagai proses memasukkan roh nenek moyang ke dalam tubuh seseorang dalam upacara perubatan tertentu yang menyebabkan ia tidak sedarkan diri dan dipercayai boleh berinteraksi dengan makhluk ghaib yang tidak boleh dilihat dengan mata kasar.

Kedudukan ritual sangat penting dalam *Mek Mulong* kerana ia adalah suatu cara simbolik untuk mempamerkan rasa hormat kepada nenek moyang mereka. Ia bukanlah sekadar muzik atau aksi semata-mata kerana aksi itu adalah simbolik kepada sesuatu yang lebih besar maknanya kepada persembahan tersebut, iaitu sebagai "medium untuk komunikasi dengan dewa-dewa atau roh nenek moyang tertentu" (Mohd Taib Osman, 1982:30). Situasi ini adalah selari dengan pandangan informan bahawa ritual ini menjadi medan penghubung antara mereka dengan nenek moyang (yang dipanggil dewa-dewa tertentu) yang dianggap sebagai pelindung kepada masyarakat tersebut daripada ditimpa bencana. Dipercayai, dewa-dewa inilah yang akan turun dan merawat pesakit-pesakit di kampung tersebut semasa *Mek Mulong* diadakan (temubual dengan Ahmad bin Shahadan, 5/4/2010).

Kekukuhan pandangan ini sebenarnya dapat dilihat semasa proses memulakan ritual pada peringkat awal lagi. Pemain *Mek Mulong* akan mengasap kemenyan alatan muzik mereka sebelum mula bermain pada peringkat ini. Proses ini dianggap sebagai memberi perlindungan daripada sebarang "gangguan" ketika ritual dijalankan. Persembahan ritual seperti turut ditakuti akan diganggu oleh makhluk halus lain, selain daripada roh nenek moyang mereka.⁷ Oleh yang demikian, tatacara ritual sangat dijaga oleh para pemain persembahan ini sehingga sekarang.

Selesai sahaja alatan muzik diasap kemenyan, penari-penari tadi akan masuk ke tengah pentas *Mek Mulong* dan kepala mereka akan ditudung dengan kain batik. Pada masa sama, sebertuk cincin perak diikat dengan benang mentah di atas sehelai kain yang digantung bumbung pentas. Seikat bunga kelapa dan bunga pinang juga diikat berhampirannya. Kesemua ini adalah bertujuan untuk memanggil nenek moyang turun ke tengah gelanggang. Selain itu, buyung-buyung yang berisi air juga akan disediakan dengan tujuan agar air di dalamnya boleh digunakan untuk mandi demi kesihatan dan kesegaran tubuh.

Sebagai menunjukkan rasa hormat kepada dewa-dewa yang akan turun nanti, amalan berjamu juga dapat dilihat pada peringkat ini apabila mereka menghidangkan sirih pinang, ketupat, buah melaka, putu mani, pulut kacau (wajik), kuih apam, cucur lubang, dan bertih. Amalan berjamu seperti penggunaan pulut, beras kunyit, dan bertih adalah perkara utama yang digunakan untuk menunjukkan hormat kepada keramat atau dewa tertentu (Skeat, 1984:74-76). Pandangan Walter William Skeat (1984) ini selaras dengan pegangan penggiat *Mek Mulong* bahawa tujuan berjamu hanyalah sebagai simbol hormat dan tidak sesekali sebagai satu penyembahan.

⁷Menurut informan, En. Saad Taib (penggiat *Mek Mulong*), pernah suatu masa dahulu persembahan *Mek Mulong* ini "diganggu" dengan cara segelintir pemain-pemain terlihat seekor lipan bara masuk ke bangsal persembahan. Ketika itu juga beberapa pemain telah lupa lirik-lirik lagu untuk memanggil dewa-dewa turun dan juga serunai tidak berbunyi (temubual dengan Saad Taib, 10/4/2010).



Gambar 4
Cincin Perak dan Bunga Pinang dan Kelapa untuk Memanggil Dewa
Turun ke Pentas *Mek Mulong*

Setelah semua peralatan untuk berjamu disediakan, ritual dimulakan dengan pukulan gendang dan paluan gong oleh pemain *Mek Mulong*. Paluan muzik ini adalah berbeza iramanya berbanding paluan gendang semasa *bertabik*, *bertabuh*, dan juga berbeza daripada muzik tarian *gerak timpuh*. Alunan muzik ini akan disulami dengan bacaan mantera oleh pemain-pemain *Mek Mulong* dengan lantang. Mantera yang dilagukan ialah:

Amboi hae la yang tuan
Semangat kami
Amboi hae la yang kami
Semangat badan

*Amboi hae bangun pucuk
Bangun pelepah
Sila turun guru muda
Sila turun guru muda
Sila turun peran tua
Sila turun peran muda*

Mantera ini akan dilagukan secara berulang-ulang oleh pemain *Mek Mulong*, dan secara bergilir-gilir sehinggalah dewa-dewa yang dipanggil sebagai *nenek* turun ke dalam bangsal persembahan dan masuk ke dalam diri pemain. Menurut informan, kumpulan dewa yang turun ini dikenali sebagai *Dewa Muda, Dewa Kaca, Dewa Ketujuh, Dewa Kesuma, Dewa Kesakti, Peran Tua, Peran Muda, Peran Kiau, Peran Embun, Tok Busu Rabbit, Tok Petong, dan Tok Imek*. Mantera yang dilagukan adalah untuk merayu supaya dewa-dewa ini turun dan boleh memulakan upacara berubat. Apabila dewa-dewa ini turun, pemain yang diresapi akan menjadi tidak sedar dan bangun untuk menari-nari di tengah bangsal. Seorang demi seorang akan bangun apabila dewa-dewa yang seramai dua belas orang itu mulai turun. Mereka akan menari sehingga puas dan setelah selesai semuanya, barulah upacara berubat akan diadakan. Pesakit-pesakit yang sedia menanti di luar bangsal akan mulai masuk dan berjumpa dengan "dewa-dewa" yang turun dan masuk ke jasad pemain ini. Pesakit akan mula dirawat dengan jampi serapah dan sebagainya. Upacara *Mek Mulong* akan selesai sehingga awal pagi apabila dewa-dewa ini akan keluar semula daripada badan pemain dan pemain-pemain ini akan sedar kembali.



Gambar 5
Mantera Sedang Dibacakan dalam Proses Ritual *Mek Mulong*



Gambar 6

Pemain *Mek Mulong* yang Sudah "Dimasuki" oleh Dewa-dewa ini Sedang Menari dalam Keadaan Tidak Sedar

Berdasarkan corak dan proses ritual agak sukar untuk menentukan, sama ada ia adalah asli daripada pengaruh anamisme Melayu ataupun pengaruh Hindu-Buddha, memandangkan terdapat beberapa elemen dalam ritual ini seolah-olah gabungan atau cantuman daripada beberapa pengaruh yang disebutkan tadi.⁸ *Mek Mulong* seolah-olah memancarkan unsur anamisme, unsur Hindu-Buddha, dan juga unsur Islam itu sendiri. Perkara ini selaras dengan beberapa pandangan sarjana yang mengakui wujudnya percampuran elemen dalam ritual masyarakat Melayu hari ini. Hanapi Dollah menyatakan seperti berikut:

Ia bukan sahaja mempunyai unsur lokal yang asli (anamisme) tetapi juga unsur Hindu, Islam, dan sebagainya. Kepercayaan kepada hantu, semangat, dan penunggu ialah kepercayaan asal orang Melayu, iaitu semenjak munculnya anamisme sebagai kepercayaan mereka. Apabila datang pengaruh Hindu, konsep dewa pula diambil sebagai salah satu kuasa ghaib itu. Setelah datang Islam, mereka menggabungkan kepercayaan Islam dengan kepercayaan yang telah sedia ada (Hanapi Dollah, 2007:96-123).

Walaupun pandangan ini didasarkan kepada suatu kajian ritual yang umum, namun ia memberi pancaran jelas terhadap ritual dalam *Mek Mulong*

⁸Percampuran unsur anamisme dan Islam juga terdapat dalam mantera apabila dimulakan dengan *bismillah* dan diikuti oleh seruan kepada nama jin atau hantu (Harun Daud, 2007:419-424).

itu sendiri. Contoh yang paling jelas ialah informan secara terang-terang menceritakan bahawa mereka sangat mempercayai semangat nenek moyang mereka yang akan mengawasi dan juga akan datang setiap kali persembahan *Mek Mulong* diadakan. Mereka juga mempercayai tentang gangguan-gangguan makhluk halus yang jahat ketika persembahan *Mek Mulong*, lantas mereka akan membacakan jampi serapah dan mengasap kemenyan untuk menghindarkan gangguan ini (temubual dengan Ahmad bin Shahadan, 5/4/2010; dan Saad Taib, 10/4/2010). Ini adalah sebahagian daripada amalan anamisme. Namun, unsur pengaruh Hindu sedikit terjelma apabila nenek moyang yang diseru oleh mereka itu menggunakan nama dewa seperti *Dewa Kaca*, *Dewa Kesuma*, *Dewa Kesakti*, dan sebagainya.

Unsur cantuman pengaruh tersebut sememangnya agak jelas dalam *Mek Mulong* ini. Walaupun keadaan ini berlaku, namun bagi penggiat *Mek Mulong*, mereka tidak mempersoalkan sama sekali situasi pengaruh atau asal-usul upacara tersebut. Bagi mereka telah biasa dengan corak amalan sedemikian dan hanya menerima apa sahaja yang dibawa sejak tradisi tanpa mempersoalkannya lagi. Keadaan ini sama seperti yang dijelaskan oleh Mohd Taib Osman seperti berikut:

It is in the complex of beliefs and practices presided over by the pawing that the indigenous, Hindu, and Islamic elements usually interact and integrate into functional wholes. Most of the previous studies on Malay beliefs have failed to see the different component elements from this "integrative" point of view [...]. It is true that some beliefs elements may function without integrating with other elements, but in such cases these beliefs form new frames of reference for concept and practices already familiar to the people (Mohd Taib Osman, 1989:3).

Hakikat ini secara tidak langsung menunjukkan bahawa ritual *berubat* dalam *Mek Mulong* bukanlah suatu perkara yang boleh dipandang enteng oleh pengkaji. Ritual yang kompleks sifatnya – dengan segala proses yang rumit, sarat dengan peraturan, dan pendindingnya – sudah memberi gambaran bahawa proses ritual dalam persembahan rakyat ini adalah suatu elemen penting yang menjadi tunggak kepada persembahan secara keseluruhannya.

PERKAITAN RITUAL DENGAN PERSEMBAHAN

Berpaksikan pandangan informan didapati bahawa ritual ini merupakan suatu elemen yang sangat penting dalam persembahan *Mek Mulong*. Penggiat *Mek Mulong* secara jelas menegaskan bahawa amalan ritual ini tidak boleh dilakukan secara berasingan daripada persembahan tarian, muzik, bertabuh, bertabik, dan lakon di peringkat pertama persembahan. Ritual ini mesti diadakan berturutan dengan persembahan awal, sekiranya diadakan dalam upacara sebenar di dalam bangsal khusus yang dibina di kampung mereka. Adalah menjadi suatu kesalahan jika kedua-dua peringkat persembahan ini ditiadakan salah satunya dan dikhuatiri akan menyebabkan timbulnya masalah dan bencana kepada penggiat yang cuai dan mengambil mudah tatacara

persembahan ini (temubual dengan Ahmad bin Shahadan, 5/4/2010; dan Saad Taib, 10/4/2010).

Pengkaji Barat juga pernah membicarakan hakikat kesatuan antara persembahan dengan amalan ritual seperti ini. Roy A. Rappaport, contohnya, mengakui bahawa "*If there is no performance, there is no ritual; performance itself is an aspect of that which is performed. The medium is part of the message; more precisely, it is a metamessage about what ever is encoded in the ritual*" (Rappaport, 1992:250).

Tujuan diadakan *Mek Mulong* sebagai simbol rasa hormat kepada nenek moyang mereka juga telah memberi isyarat awal bahawa persembahan ini mengandungi tujuan yang besar, dan seterusnya menjadikan ia sebagai sesuatu yang sangat penting dalam persembahan.⁹ Malah, upacara ritual sendiri adalah manifestasi yang jelas mengenai bagaimana upacara "berjamu" dan "menurun" itu melambangkan hadirnya roh nenek moyang mereka. Penggiat pastinya sentiasa memastikan bahawa setiap peraturan persembahan akan dipatuhi sepenuhnya dalam memastikan persembahan *Mek Mulong* ini tercapai tujuan asal mereka.

Informan *Mek Mulong* pula turut menjelaskan bahawa elemen pertama dan kedua persembahan *Mek Mulong* pada hakikatnya bukanlah sesuatu yang berasingan, tetapi ia adalah satu kesatuan. Ahmad bin Shahadan (informan) menerangkan bahawa nenek moyang mereka yang digelar *Guru Tua* dan *Guru Muda* dipercayai akan turun lebih awal semasa peringkat pertama persembahan lagi. Dewa-dewa ini akan memastikan persiapan *Mek Mulong* betul dan mengikut cara yang dilakukan sejak turun-temurun. Dewa-dewa ini juga dipercayai akan meneliti gerak tari dan juga pukulan gendang yang dimainkan. Sekiranya berlaku kesilapan, dewa-dewa ini akan memaklumkan kepada ketua *Mek Mulong* semasa peringkat ritual itu untuk diperbetulkan dalam persembahan yang lain (temubual dengan Ahmad bin Shahadan, 5/4/2010).

KESIMPULAN

Kesimpulannya, persembahan *Mek Mulong* secara tradisinya memang merangkumi kedua-dua elemen, iaitu persembahan dan juga ritual perubatan. Persembahan rakyat ini mengandungi keunikan tersendiri apabila ia bukanlah sekadar sumber hiburan kepada masyarakat setempat yang dialunkan dengan lagu, tarian, muzik, dan juga bercerita; tetapi suatu proses simbolik kepada rasa hormat kepada roh nenek moyang mereka yang dianggap dan dipercayai mampu menjaga kampung dan seluruh ahli keluarga penggiat *Mek Mulong* daripada bahaya ataupun bencana. Rentetan daripada situasi tersebut, secara

⁹Alan Dundes (1996:83) mengakui bahawa tidak ada *folklore* yang tidak membawa sebarang *worldview* masyarakat di dalam sesuatu persembahan ataupun cerita. Malah Simon J. Bronner ed. (2008:53) menganggap bahawa *folklore* juga sebagai cerminan budaya. Dalam konteks ini persembahan *Mek Mulong* secara tidak langsung menunjukkan pandangan penggiatnya yang begitu hormat kepada roh nenek moyang mereka.

tradisinya, *Mek Mulong* tidak boleh dilakukan berasingan antara persembahan dan ritual tersebut. Kedua-duanya saling melengkapi antara satu sama lain. Malah ritual perubatan itu secara tidak langsung telah memberikan tarikan kepada penonton tempatan untuk menyaksikan sehingga ke penamatnya.

Dengan demikian dapatlah ditegaskan bahawa *Mek Mulong* sememangnya berdiri sebagai sebuah persembahan dan juga merupakan suatu upacara ritual perubatan yang istimewa, penuh dengan unsur magis, dan dianggap sakral yang masih bertahan hingga ke hari ini.

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Temubual atau Wawancara:

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Saad Taib (penggiat *Mek Mulong*), pada 10 April 2010, di Jitra, Kedah, Malaysia.

VANESSA MISSO
NINA MAADAD

The English Language and Cultural Appropriateness

ABSTRACT

English language acquisition needs to be taught from a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural perspective, with the right teaching materials, when pursuing cultural sensitivity and equality. After a brief historical overview and an explanation of the various definitions associated with English language acquisition, English is described in its multiple varieties. It is increasingly contended that non-native English speakers outnumber native speakers in a rapidly globalising world. Case studies are used to justify the need for culturally appropriate teaching materials and the challenges that exist. Change has been slow in addressing the inadequacies in current teaching materials and this paper concludes by suggesting some bottom-up approaches will transform the teaching pedagogy and teachers' attitudes. The professional development of teachers, together with the support of enlightened linguistic researchers can perhaps lead to an educational philosophy that cuts across colour, creed and race to bring about success to language learners. Thus, creating a better understanding of the English language in the context of cultural appropriateness.

Key words: *English language, non-native English speakers, bottom-up approaches, and better understanding of the English language.*

INTRODUCTION

Culture is constructed and reconstructed by humans over time (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006:28).

English language acquisition has been extensively researched by B. Kachru (1982), A. Pennycook (1994), and D. Crystal (2004), who emphasised the role of colonialisation. For example, Singapore, Hong Kong, India, and the Caribbean have had a long history of British influence. B. Kachru states that this English-speaking heritage has helped open the doors to technology, science, trade, and diplomacy for once colonised countries (Kachru, 1982:3). According to S. Karmani and R. Phillipson, there is another perspective to using English besides the "linguistic imperialism" of the colonial powers. S. Karmani and R. Phillipson contends that the demand for English is growing because it is perceived increasingly as an opportunity provider:

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This is well documented by the Mysore Central Institute for Indian Languages on research on slum dwellers where impoverished people were saving up their tiny earnings in order to get their kids into English medium schooling (Karmani & Phillipson, 2005:244-245).

Another perspective regarding the spread of English globally emphasises its functionality. Proponents of this view perceive English as a global commodity connected to economic development and expansion. However, D. Spichtinger (2000) criticizes S. Karmani and R. Phillipson's functionality argument because in its promotion of English other languages and cultures are devalued. A. Pennycook argues that the spread of the English language was: firstly, natural, "*its subsequent expansion is seen as a result of inevitable global forces*"; secondly, neutral since "*in some sense [it has] become detached from its original cultural contexts*"; and thirdly, beneficial since "*people gain access to the language, it creates cooperation and equity*" (Pennycook, 1994:9).

B. Kachru (1983) developed a theory wherein English spread through the workings of an Inner Circle, Outer Circle, and Expanding Circle. The Inner Circle consisted of North America, the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand; while the Outer Circle was made up of post-colonial nations such as Singapore, Hong Kong, and the Philippines. Furthermore, there was an Expanding Circle of linguistically diverse and culturally pluralistic societies such as China and Thailand. The way that English has cut across regional, linguistic and geographical boundaries, and developed a local "character" is worthy of research. Consequently, the English language has economic, political, cultural, and social implications for the countries which adopt it.

This paper focuses on the cultural aspects of teaching materials used in English language acquisition, its cultural inappropriateness, the need for a more global perspective, some challenges of redesigning of teaching materials, and suggestions in making change possible. The cultural domain is significant because, unlike politics or economics, it has more bearing on the classroom teacher of English to international students.

DEFINING THE TERMS

The teaching and diffusion of the English language has created a variety of definitional classifications. English as a Second Language (ESL) refers to the teaching of English to non-English speakers in countries where it is the official language; English as a Foreign Language (EFL) concerns teaching of English to non-English speakers in countries where it is not the official language; and English as an International Language (EIL) indicates the global nature of the language in contrast to the native-speaker model. In this paper, teaching the English language to international students whose first language is not English, is referred to as English Language Teaching (ELT) and English Language Learning (ELL).

B. Kachru (2005) coined the terms "World Englishes" and "Asian Englishes" to indicate the varieties and acceptably unifying nature of English as it moved

across regional, geographic, and linguistic boundaries. English is nowadays a very functional language and its users determine its spread, importance, benefits, and evolution (Kachru, 1983). While these terms have been elaborated on by D. Crystal (1994), to name but a few, whatever the terminology used and argued for or against, English has crept into a variety of aspects of our lives, both internationally and intranationally.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

In *The Stories of English* (2004), D. Crystal traces the rise of Standard English from its origins to its global supremacy. The history of the English language shows a richness of diversity over 1,500 years. D. Crystal (2004) states that Standard English, capitalised to symbolise its special status, was born out of a “*kaleidoscope of dialects and styles*” (p.5). Standard English became powerful due to the influence wielded by the merchants of the rising middle class in London in the 16th century. Works were commissioned to collate grammars and dictionaries aimed at the middle classes who wanted a form of English that reflected the version they used.

There are many varieties of English that are not spoken of, recognised nor appreciated. Their marginalisation is due to the belief that only Standard English was the one true form. This thinking prevailed throughout the 20th century. Understandably, having a language in which there are common rules and principles to allow for national or international usage is valuable. English has become the lingua franca of the world through which business, politics, and scientific and social developments are made. However, other varieties of non-standard English should be recognised, which have become the norm for many people. Many of these non-standard varieties have made themselves “*popular and impressionistic*” (Crystal, 2004:7). Increasingly, it is felt that the Standard English used in the United Kingdom or the United States is not the only culturally acceptable forms. Learning the English language can be achieved in a regional context, incorporating many ethnicities, and cultural identities.

The question is whether one can do without the other? D. Crystal (1994) writes that as speakers, as well as social entities, we “*need both stylistic domains to live a full linguistic life*” (p.11). Both formal, Standard English and non-formal varieties pepper our everyday speech:

The more we understand these nuances the better, so that we can use them appropriately upon occasion, and also respond appropriately when others use them. Being in control also means that we can switch from one style to another, in order to convey a particular effect (Crystal, 1994:11).

The 21st century has witnessed a movement away from the prescriptive dictates of learning and teaching of the English language in which grammarians flourished and people were taught to understand the mechanics of proper usage and where all other varieties were considered inferior (Crystal, 2004).

This, according to D. Crystal, is the transitional period, a time where non-standard varieties and usages of English will gain support and respectability. D. Crystal (2004) describes this period as a “pragmatic” period where there is an underlying understanding that variation and change are normal features of linguistic life, and should be recognised and respected. We concur with this call to change the educational practice, to create a more open, and equal linguistic environment.

English as we know, it evolved during the medieval and early modern periods. English, as spoken by the English, has become the widely accepted standard for writing and speaking, particularly where all other varieties sitting in the Outer and Expanding Circle do not conform to the norms. However, D. Crystal (2004) has shown that the key to the English language has been its ability to evolve and change. D. Crystal highlights also that this phenomenal change echoes an old relationship found in England’s history where it moved from a *triglossic* to a *diglossic* nation where a distinction was made between “high” and “low” English. Standard English grew from the stems of Germanic and French linguistic variations, and it has co-existed with local varieties of English creating new *diglossic* forms which express an intricate multi-ethnic and cultural relationship. In 1982, B. Kachru stated as follows:

[t]here will soon be more non-native than native speakers of English. At present, there are 266 million native speakers and 115 million non-native speakers; 33.1% of English speakers are non-native users. This figure, which includes only those who are enrolled in schools, therefore does not provide the total picture (Kachru, 1982: 36).

In 2000, the British Council’s report, “The Future of English?”, stated that there were about a billion learners (Graddol, 1997). The reasons for the widespread and rapid take up of English as a second or foreign language are more complex than merely looking at its historical relationship between coloniser and colonised. The functions of English are much greater today for many countries, particularly in the context of a globalised economy which is shaping socio-cultural, political, economic, and scientific outcomes. It has taken on a more pragmatic or “utilitarian” approach (Kachru, 1982:38) in which the learner does not aspire to cultural integration or attaining a second culture.

The rapid rise in the number of English learners and speakers and the variety of Englishes, that have developed worldwide are due to this rapid take up, has raised many questions. Linguists, educational policy-makers, and English language teachers alike question the standard or model for English. As Ward (cited in Kachru, 1982) envisaged in 1929, “*No one can adequately define it, because such a thing does not exist*”. Arising from complex historical processes that helped the English language spread and take on diversified forms, it has been difficult to ascertain what various speakers of English consider to be normal (Kachru, 1982:34). The debate continues as the ELT (English Language Teaching) world attempts to locate where it stands on this issue.

THE STATE OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE CURRICULUM AND MATERIALS DESIGN

The English language is generally discussed as a language that is in Asia, but not of Asia (Kachru, 2005:9).

In the way, languages have spread, either one replacing the other or retaining some aspects of its original, the spread of a language like Sanskrit, Latin, Greek or even French had a religious or commercial purpose. What made English significantly unique is that, *“there has not been before a single language which spread for such purposes over most of the world”* and when *“the need for global communication came to exceed the limits set by language barriers, the spread of English accelerated, transforming exiting patterns of international communication”* (Kachru, 1983:ix). Furthermore, B. Kachru (1983) states that two trends are emerging. *Firstly*, English is regarded less as a European language; and *secondly*, its development is less determined by the usage of its use by the native speakers of the Inner Circle. Hence, D. Graddol suggests that these three circles of English overlap and the shift is now towards the ESL (English as a Second Language) speakers because *“those who speak English alongside other languages will outnumber first-language speakers and, increasingly, will decide the global future of the language”* (Graddol, 1997:10).

Looking at English in the present context, it has one standard recognisable form that is linguistically biased and narrow. According to J. Tollefson, there are many tools to this standard language ideology, namely dictionaries, grammar books, and teaching manuals and textbooks which try to *“sustain the illusion of a uniform standard language or a target language”* (Tollefson, 1999:1-2). J. Tollefson calls this *“the myth of the uniformity of languages”* (Tollefson, 1999:2) as it entails the idea that any variants are deviants. Meanwhile, B. Kachru (1983) views the speakers of English in the Outer and Expanding Circles as its controllers, and their challenge is to create a standard form of English for themselves by promoting indigenized varieties of English. This new standard variety, according to B. Kachru (1983), is based on the region the speakers come from or the sector of the population using English.

The argument for more local, contextually-sensitive teaching materials, and pedagogy has risen as a means to challenge the Anglo/ American-centric (Inner Circle) content and to create a more holistic approach to ELT (English Language Teaching). Accordingly, M. Modiano (2001) proposes approaching this change in curriculum and pedagogy by using multiple teaching practices. The teaching and learning of the English language is viewed as a language that belongs to an extensive range of peoples and culture, thus leading to the creation of cultural equality.

Prodromou cautioned against using internationally-published materials for international students from non-English speaking backgrounds, claiming that *“globally designed textbooks have continued to be stubbornly Anglocentric: appealing*

to a world market as they do, they cannot by definition draw upon local varieties of English" (cited in Zacharias, 2005:24). These textbooks impose an old-world belief that learners of English are motivated by cultural integration and in teaching these prescriptive linguistic pedagogies, we force them, according to M. Modiano, to become "*auxiliary members of the culture which is represented by the prescriptive educational standard, something not in harmony with their self-image*" (Modiano, 2001:340).

A person is driven by many reasons to learn English and M. Modiano (2001:340) highlights cross-cultural communication and access to the global village as poignant examples. Irrefutably, acquiring English prepares the learner to participate in a host of activities in this global village, for instance information technology, science, finance, medicine or healthcare, diplomacy, etc. For these reasons, the call for a continued prescriptive culture-specific Standard English is not plausible in the twenty-first century globalised economy.

Wallace examines the culturally biased testing system known as the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) which assesses "*the language ability of candidates who need to study or work where English is the language of communication*" (cited in IELTS Handbook, 2007:2). In his research, Wallace discovers that there is a prejudice in the way the paper is set up for non-English speakers where there is a:

[...] lack of sensitivity to the broad range of contexts inhabited by EFL students worldwide, and a surprising lack of awareness of the actual language skills that the examination should be assessing in the case of overseas undergraduate students (cited in IELTS Handbook, 2007:371).

Indeed, many of the test components lie outside the students' experiences and world view which disadvantages them when there is no access to additional materials to assist them. Wallace further suggests how in many British EFL textbooks there is "*almost an obsession with Western interests, such as diet/fitness, careers in the entertainment world, and Western pop music/media*" (cited in IELTS Handbook, 2007:372).

Therefore, a "one size fits all" Westernised textbook and pedagogy is an ill-fitting choice at best. Learners need to make deep connections and not merely to the culture found in the textbook or that of the teacher but to their culture and each other. The cultural relevance of teaching materials cannot be ignored. M.H. Long (1997) refers to Tickoo's illustration of this lack of cultural sensitivity in which some textbooks refer to bars and pubs which are familiar to English culture but substantially irrelevant or culturally inappropriate to some parts of Southeast Asia. Furthermore, much of the ELT curriculum has been prescriptive in that it has a heavy emphasis on linguistic rules. As A. Gilmore states, "*[i]t has long been recognised that the language presented to students in textbooks is a poor representation of the real thing*" (Gilmore, 2007:98) and "*that it is time for a fundamental change in the way we design our syllabuses*" (Gilmore, 2007:99).

D. Crystal (2004) is positive that there will be a movement away from the prescriptive to the pragmatic, in that variations in the language exist and that change is a normal feature of linguistic life. The pragmatic approach will recognise and respect the users of these variations, resulting in a change in educational practice that is necessary to promote an egalitarian linguistic environment. One cannot deny that globalisation has made the need for a common tongue a precondition for success (Modiano, 2001:344). For now, English is the stepping stone upon which globalisation has surged since the end of the Cold War. However, with China having more than one billion people, we could share this linguistic platform with the Chinese language in the near future.

Globalisation or internationalism has implied that English has to be intelligible (Crystal, 1994) and in promoting English, there is greater access to the English-speaking world, thus making it imperative that people understand each other. A delicate balance ensues between having a variety of English that is intelligible to all speakers and maintaining the integrity of local languages and regional varieties. D. Crystal calls this a World Standard English where there would be “*an agreed standard in grammar, vocabulary, spelling, pronunciation and conventions of use*” and one that “*promotes the notion of a diverse set of Regional Standard Englishes*” (Crystal, 1994:25).

CASE STUDIES FOR CULTURAL APPROPRIATENESS

Fuad Abdul Hamied (1994) and G.M. Jacobs ed. (1997:74) stated that the Indonesian government developed and implemented the “1994 EFL curriculum” with basic principles and guidelines for teaching and learning English as a Foreign Language (EFL) in secondary schools. Two national surveys were conducted; the first by Huda in 1990 suggested that there were changes in students’, teachers’ and parents’ perceptions concerning the role and aims of English instruction in schools. About 55.6% of the students surveyed stated that they learned English to continue their studies while 22.3% did so to get good jobs, while 83.7% of parents stating that learning English would help their children attain better jobs. Finally, 87.3% of parents stated that learning English would help their children communicate better with people from other countries (as cited in Jacobs ed., 1997).

The second survey by Fuad Abdul Hamied in 1994 indicated that:

Themes, instead of linguistic components, are to be used in developing teaching materials. Contexts covering the target culture and the students’ culture are the very place for linguistic components such as structure, lexical items, and pronunciation to become more meaningful to the student [...]. An integration of the four skills is expected to take place in the teaching-learning process, although the emphasis is still to be placed on reading (Abdul Hamied, 1994:75).

Consequently, these case studies indicate that learning English is economically and socially significant to people outside Kachru’s Inner Circle.

It gives their children access to the global village. Despite this recognition of the global importance of English to business and communication, Fuad Abdul Hamied (1994) demands that teaching English should occur within a student's culture as well as alongside the target culture. The call for a more holistic approach to teaching the English language emphasises the global community of students' desire to learn the language in the world in which they live in and not some abstract construct or make believe Anglo/American-centric world of textbooks and teaching material. G.M. Jacobs ed. (1997:iv) stresses the importance of teachers being equipped for the challenges of "language classrooms of tomorrow". It is essential to be aware of the local contexts in which they conduct their lessons and yet recognise the global context in which the learning of the language occurs.

Kamal (cited in Jacobs ed., 1997) notes the Malaysian government's awareness of the political role of English in world affairs as it becomes the medium for communication. As Malaysia strives to progress economically, its government needs to equip people with the lingua franca of the business and political world. Kamal echoes Crystal's view of the inevitable dawn of the Internet and the necessity of gaining access to information which is a large percentage in English. Kamal states:

[...] it is becoming crystal clear that a knowledge of English is an advantage. The translation process from English into *Bahasa* Malaysia will in all probability not be able to keep pace with the rate with which information is made available. It would seem a less arduous task if individuals had a sound grounding in the English language so as to take advantage of state-of-the-art information as soon as it is made available rather than wait for translated material (cited in Jacobs ed., 1997:80).

An increasing number of people are living, working, and interacting "*between spaces, across multiple languages or varieties of the same language*" (Kramsch, 1998:70). Through globalisation and the vast cross-border movements of people, English has established itself in the cultures in which it is used. While it is time to celebrate especially in ESL learning, this human diversity and uniqueness, J.P. Lantolf and S. Thorne (2006) nonetheless show us that ESL learning classrooms and their materials have placed Western academic cultures above local cultural practices. Collingnon's study, cited in J.P. Lantolf and S. Thorne (2006), on Hmong women studying English in the United States advocates the need for cultural sensitivity and appropriateness in the classroom. Strategies that connect with one's early cultural patterns need to be utilized as bases for learning and perhaps even expanded, rather than discarded in favour of current popular practice (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006:45).

Kearney, cited also in J.P. Lantolf and S. Thorne (2006:114), argued that distinguishing oneself from others in society is an Anglo-Saxon concept, whereas in the Wintu culture of Northern California, for example, people see the self and others as a continuum without distinct words for "I" and "we". Similarly, Scollon (cited in Lantolf & Thorne, 2006) demonstrated how the

Cantonese language does not make a clear delineation unlike the Anglo-Saxon concept of *freedom* as liberating one's self from others as, but as the freedom "to flock together" (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006:72 and 114).

These examples of the notion of self and society indicate how much of the ESL materials contain Anglo-Saxon concepts favouring the individuals, individual activity, and self image. The classroom is a social environment in which individuals' thinking is influenced *vis-à-vis* the materials, classroom pedagogy, teacher's behaviour and attitude, and the behaviour and attitude of fellow learners. It is therefore of utmost importance that global values and citizenship, not merely Western academia be taught to promote understanding and respect for all cultures and for learners to not lose their local culture.

Vygotskyian theory posits that society provides the conditions in which individual thinking emerges and language has a central role in cognitive development and functioning. As such, language can be directed outwardly and inwardly to regulate and control our mental processes like memory, attention and rational thinking. As J.P. Lantolf and S. Thorne (2006:28) state succinctly, "*culture is constructed and reconstructed by humans over time*". According to Vygotsky, society influences individuals' thinking through cultural constructs such as language. Thus, J.P. Lantolf and S. Thorne proposed that learning a second language involves more than observing the host culture's linguistic behaviour. What must also be considered is the "*appropriation of cultural models, including conceptual metaphors*" that would mediate the learners' psychological and communicative activity (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006:118).

Language is, therefore, not culture-free but "*plays a major role in the perpetuation of culture particularly in its printed form*" (Kramsch, 1998:8). Consequently, ESL teachers have to be aware that teaching materials incorporate Western culture and values with themes which may seem alien to students from a more socio-culturally conservative environment. There have been occasions where Asian students from societies that are just opening up politically have embraced the concept of democracy and new ideas which many Westernised societies take for granted.

D. Jolly and R. Bolitho (1998) examined the process of materials writing and discovered a diversity of teachers and students' responses to textbooks as part of their research:

It's a very nice book and very lively, but in the section on "processes" for example all the exercises are about unusual things for our country. We are a hot country and also have many Muslims. The exercises are about snow, EFL books and making wine. I can tell you I can't do making wine and smoking pot in my county! [An experienced school teacher from the Ivory Coast].

Previous materials were not based on life in Brazil which is why I don't think they worked very well ... [Brazilian teacher of English in school] (Jolly & Bolitho, 1998:91).

These quotations imply a problem with contextual appropriateness in materials where content went beyond the cultural experience of the students

in the Ivory Coast and proved to be ineffective. A Brazilian setting would have had more advantages for the students over foreign contexts and perhaps provided more motivation.

There is a growing need to acknowledge these challenges and view ESL learning as a means for international communication in business, politics, education, and cultural exchange, allowing for sharing and development amongst all peoples who converge and interact. The *pluracentricity* of learners and of the world need to be taken into account. No one owns the English language anymore; it has become the language of the world. As Strevents says as follows:

“standard” here does *not* imply “imposed”, nor yet “of the majority”. One of the interesting aspects of Standard English is that in every English-using community those who habitually use *only* standard English are in a minority (cited in Kachru, 1982:34).

In J. Grzega’s evaluation of ELT which he deems the world’s lingua franca, he feels that:

[...] teachers should evaluate “errors” according to their “degree of endangering comprehensibility” (not according to their “deviations from native norms”) and English should first be taught to enable learners to communicate successfully (not “native like”) and “internationally” (not “to natives”) as soon as possible (Grzega, 2005:44).

According to M. Kohler, “[l]earning is a continuous process” and English language teachers should not only teach the here and now but also that the world is changing rapidly and values, ideas and experiences need to be valid when students learn and apply them in the real world (Kohler, 2003:9).

In J. Sharkey and K. Johnson’s study, various teacher researchers, teacher trainers, graduate students, and research analysts share their experiences on the ground about ELT and ELL as a second or foreign language. One such example is Lisa Scarola, a teacher of ESL to adults in Connecticut, whose experience reflects the growing voice of the ELT world. Scarola found that in teaching students from diverse backgrounds and educational experiences, “*the text was not aligned with the needs of the students*”, there was “*no alternative for handling variation in dialogue, vocabulary, or question posing*” (Sharkey & Johnson ed., 1985:9-10). Instead, Scarola drew on getting her students involved in course planning and giving them opportunities to practice life skills that they could identify with and found useful to replicate in the real world while the text acted as a springboard for their dialogues.

J. Sharkey and K. Johnson provided a personal insight regarding an incident involving a Russian 15-year-old student in an American high school who was given a task he considered childish (during a Christmas pageant, he was part of a performance for the poem, “Twas the Night Before Christmas” and his lines were “Dash away, dash away, dash away all” while holding up a coloured 16-by-20-inch page from a colouring book). However, unable to explicitly say

this to his teacher he decided to be outlandish in his colouring assignment only to be thrown out of the performance for non-compliance (Sharkey & Johnson ed., 1985:56).

This event resulted in several issues coming to the fore. *Firstly*, the student's position in the classroom – who is he? who is he allowed to be? – comes into play. *Secondly*, the ESL teacher perceived the teenager to be a “poor student” with a negative attitude. *Thirdly*, the insensitivity of the teacher meant his lack of understanding of his student, a teenager, who obviously would not have wanted to stand in front of fellow high school students holding a colouring page, calling out the lines or know his background (he was apparently a rather mature boy who contributed to his family's financial status and dreamt of being a pilot). Sadly, the ESL teacher was more interested in completing the multitude of Christmas activities and the ESL department's curriculum. It was erroneous to assert that because this particular student had an English competency level equivalent to that of a 10-year-old, his interests and mental development in other areas also lagged behind.

Unfortunately, J. Sharkey and K. Johnson had seen and heard similar incidences in North American public schools in which some ESL teachers were not trained nor required to have any background in language acquisition theory (Sharkey & Johnson ed., 1985:60). The imperative element missing in the above scenario was that tasks and any given content had to match the student's stage of conceptual development and experience. According to M. Kohler (2003), teachers have to think of what texts, language use, language structures and strategies to incorporate which raises the question of content – that is, its selection, sequencing and continuity.

CHALLENGES OF CREATING CULTURALLY APPROPRIATE TEACHING MATERIAL

English belongs to the world and every nation which uses it does so with different tone, colour, and quality (Smith as cited in Brook, 1973).

The ELT (English Language Teaching) and ELL (English Language Learning) fields face several challenges in terms of creating culturally appropriate texts and teaching materials. These range from the contest over terminology, the smorgasbord of teaching methodologies and views, publishers, schools and institutions, governments who have vested interests in their citizens learning English and last but not least, teachers and students who have different perspectives on these issues. J.C. Richards (1997) acknowledges that a large percentage of the world's second language teachers are non-native speakers of English. Thus, native speaker knowledge of the content specific themes may prove daunting for the teacher and irrelevant to the learners.

J.C. Richards goes on to state that this acknowledgement of the inappropriateness and second language non-native teachers' unfamiliarity

with the context should not be confused with subject matter knowledge, namely phonetics and phonology, English syntax, second language acquisition, curriculum and syllabus design, discourse analysis, sociolinguistics, analysis of TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) methods and testing and evaluation (Richards, 1997:199). This clarification is an imperative reminder that second language non-native English language teachers have the knowledge set and skills to teach the language and are not incompetent compared to native English language teachers. It is becoming clear that ELT should shift from the traditional prescriptive philosophy that has dominated the ELT community for decades. There is a need for grammarians, teachers and linguists who have disowned non-standard varieties to come to terms with the multi-cultural and multi-ethnic variables that influence the lingua franca of the business world in the twenty-first century.

Secondly, there is the question of ownership of the language: for example, whose criteria is fluency to be based on? This can be expanded to include the issue of terminology such as Standard English, non-standard English (native and non-native) which imply a deficiency in those who come from the periphery in relation to those from the centre (Kachru, 1982 and 1983). According to B. Kachru (1982), the ownership of English is reflected by how it is used in the real world and the contributions by all who use it and every context in which it is used makes English an international language. Smith states also that English belongs to the world and every nation which uses it does so with different tone, colour and quality (cited in Brook, 1973:2). The challenge is assimilating various researchers' viewpoints including those of linguists and teachers.

Another significant problem is that teaching English is not apolitical or neutral. Most English language programmes are concerned with students' linguistic proficiency, i.e. teaching of grammar, phonology, vocabulary, and morphology. According to Brutt-Griffler and Samimy, teaching English based primarily on linguistic forms creates a problem if removed from other concerns such as how the language is used in social interactions and why some linguistic choices are made to attain communicative goals (cited in Auerbach & Burgess, 1985). Having a norm-based approach using a native-speaker as the criterion for gauging non-native speaker competency and performance may make it easier for curricula and assessment. Yet, they may have detrimental effects on students' cultural diversity. Language and culture intermingle and this involves both the target and the learner. Finding a balance in textbooks may prove complicated considering that it would be difficult to create a text for a specific group of learners from a specific region or area.

Another challenge that arises, according to Timmis (cited in Tomlinson, 2005:6), is governments, publishers, examining boards, teachers, and students who insist on the teaching of standard native-speaker varieties in order to protect themselves from loss of correctness and prestige while governments refuse to sanction the use of local varieties of English. Publishers maintain that

textbook production and its accompanying materials is a profitable industry and many are reluctant to risk enormous costs in developing global textbooks or those that are innovative (Tomlinson, 2005). At the same time, as each class is distinctive in terms of its students' needs, producing internationally marketed textbooks seems unlikely to be effective in meeting these needs (Gilmore, 2007:103).

An important outcome of N. Zacharias' study concerning ELT teachers in Indonesia was that people described locally-produced materials as inaccurate and incomplete. It was a belief stemming from the "majority of respondents which continued to see English as belonging to English-speaking countries" (Zacharias, 2005:32). The challenge is to have teachers and students value the communicative aspects of English (as opposed to the prescriptive and didactic formulae of the past) and understand the value of varieties, acknowledging that English is a global or international language owned by none, used by many.

Teacher Lisa Scarola (see Auerbach & Burgess, 1985) found that her students took comfort in having textbooks, tapes, and workbooks despite their limitations because they provided a reference point and made order out of the vast sea of English. E. Auerbach and D. Burgess' response to Scarola's experience is that these textbooks and standards set by the ELT departments should act as:

[...] guides for organising their instruction. They engage their students in thematic activities, weaving in the development of much-needed language skills. They use assessments to inform their instruction so that assessment becomes an ongoing, formative process, not simply an end-of-the-unit test (Auerbach & Burgess, 1985:14).

M. Modiano (2001) acknowledges that English language teachers who are committed to learner diversity in the classroom find themselves faced with challenges. It is hard to divorce a language from its culture and being culturally-specific; it is equally hard to learn a language without being influenced ideologically, politically culturally, etc., by the language. An important question that arises is: "What do we want to achieve with classroom materials?" A. Gilmore's response is that the aim is to produce students who are able to "communicate effectively in the target language of a particular speech community, that is to say, learners who are COMMUNICATIVELY COMPETENT" (Gilmore, 2007:98).

MAKING CHANGE POSSIBLE

Your vision will grow, but you will never be able to achieve your goals as you envision them (Horton as cited in Auerbach & Burgess, 1985:17).

Creating a slew of culturally appropriate teaching materials is now teachers' responsibility. As noted by A. Gilmore (2007:112), despite the research and specific recommendations "change has been slow to take place". Furthermore:

If we are going to promote an appreciation for diversity and equity in the organisation and content of our programs it must be simultaneously reflected in the make-up of our programs, both among students and faculty. Prospective teachers will be better prepared to help students appreciate cultural diversity, if they have learned through experience to appreciate it as a reality and not an academic exercise – a reality they experience through interactions with a diverse faculty and student body (Hixson as cited in Zeichner, 1992:5).

We agree with K. Zeichner that the issue of preparing teachers for diversity in the classroom in teacher education still remains. Though K. Zeichner was concerned with white monolingual teachers in America who have culturally and/or linguistically different backgrounds to their students, these concerns are far reaching. From personal experience, very little emphasis was placed on the ethnic and/or cultural diversity of the classroom during our English language training in 2004, with greater emphasis on managing diversity in language proficiencies instead. Therefore, to make change possible, K. Zeichner recommends a course on multicultural education or ethnic studies during teacher training (Zeichner, 1992:13).

Once teachers have attained specific knowledge about their students' culture, language, and circumstances, they need to know how to utilize them pedagogically. Armed with this knowledge, teachers can then organize the curriculum and instruction to stimulate learning, encourage dialogue, and teach about diversity and understanding, some of the important global values for the 21st century. Subsequently, from language schools to tertiary institutions, English language teachers are seeing their classrooms become more multicultural. Singaporean classrooms are witnessing a trend where more students from China, Cambodia, Vietnam, Laos, and Indonesia are appearing. Despite all these students being Asian, they differ in terms of ethnicity, culture, linguistics, politics, and economic systems. Therefore, according to Ladson-Billingson, teaching has to be culturally appropriate and relevant (cited in Zeichner, 1992).

According to Tabachnick, it is important to maintain learner identity and the ELT curriculum should reflect a variety of traditions and relate to students' experiences through which they can develop their knowledge and abilities and not get lost in the dominant culture of the textbook (cited in Zeichner, 1992:8-9). Through reflective awareness, teachers need to be conscious of this cultural and linguistic biasness concerning the mother tongue of their students. Most importantly, teachers should look at each specific teaching situation and access the rich and complex multilingual and multicultural backgrounds and thus, be culturally appropriate and relevant. English language teachers who travel to teach, teach outside the home country or in the home country, must familiarise themselves with their students' cultural background. Dialogue and the internet are two ways through which we can bring about meaningful change. Accordingly, E. Auerbach and D. Burgess value dialogues with students and make a case for Freire's problem-posing strategy where the teacher is not

prescriptive but “engages students in their own education by inviting them to enter into the process of thinking critically about their reality” (Auerbach & Burgess, 1985:8). As both teachers and students exist in complex social environments, problem-posing via dialogue can help students navigate the culture of the language.

In J. Sharkey and K. Johnson’s perspectives, teacher trainers, graduate students, teacher researchers, and research analysts reported on their experiences in an ELL classroom (Sharkey & Johnson ed., 1985). Ling, who taught adult ESL in 1992 in Canada, reported on how in practising problem-posing, she had her classroom “turned into a caring and sharing space for those immigrants trying to claim the right to speak” (Sharkey & Johnson ed., 1985:64). Dialogue in the form of problem-posing led also students to:

[...] discuss their dynamic, multiple identities as language learners, to reflect on why they were investing time and energy in learning English, and to discover how they could assert their right to speak even if they had not attained communicative competence as defined by the dominant culture (Sharkey & Johnson ed., 1985:64-65).

As shown in J. Sharkey and K. Johnson, though theory has suggested that living in a target language community will provide opportunities to learn a language naturally, it is not always supported by research. Therefore, if change does not come from the top-down through the English language associations, materials and publishers, then teachers have to formulate this change from the bottom-up by valuing and using the cultural diversity and perspectives which they face daily. Furthermore, they should include all students who require the language to function in this age of rapid globalisation, cross-border movements and social change (Sharkey & Johnson ed., 1985).

Kirkpatrick, cited in J. Grzega (2005), calls for a shift in English language teachers’ mindsets. More should be invested, Kirkpatrick believes, in empowering local, non-native teachers: “Instead of spending large sums of money on importing native-speaking teachers and externally developed materials, funding should be set aside for the professional development of local teachers” (Grzega, 2005:54). As shown in N. Zacharias’ research into Indonesian textbooks, if locally-produced materials were seriously invested in, then students would have greater confidence in their local teachers and learning aids as well (Zacharias, 2005).

Change is also possible through researchers who are making an impact in the ELT arena. Jenkins and Seidlhofer have attempted a definition of a “Lingua Franca Core” of English based on the corpora of non-native Englishes. Jenkins focused on pronunciation and Seidlhofer on lexicogrammar (cited in Grzega, 2005:47). This is in tune with the philosophy of teaching English as a communicative language rather than a set of normative rules since a large percentage of communication is between non-native speakers of English than non-native and native speakers. The key issue here is putting intelligibility before correctness. As Jenkins and Seidlhofer have shown, cited in J. Grzega,

certain phonological elements such as the 3rd person markers and grammatical elements such as present perfect and simple past, “*bear very little relationship to their actual usefulness, as successful communication is obviously possible without them*” (Grzega, 2005:54). Consequently, certain curricula priorities would have to change.

CONCLUSION

The global spread of ELT (English Language Teaching) and ELL (English Language Learning) is far more complex than simply being an imperialistic process which implies a forced acceptance by formerly colonised people. Today, English is viewed increasingly as the means for people to advance in the global village. Increasingly, more non-native than native speakers use it. The diversity of learners across different geographical boundaries has seen its evolution into multiple varieties of English. As such, promoting interlocutor intelligibility and cultural sensitivity have higher precedence than attaining native-like competency. Nevertheless, the multiple perspectives of ELT and ELL have made it a highly debatable subject with undeniably far-reaching effects and implications.

Debates have resulted in a greater understanding of the need for language education research so that more effective teaching pedagogies and strategies are produced. It is imperative to create a more holistic and pragmatic approach to ELT and ELL, because growing numbers of people use it daily as a common language to communicate. As A. Gilmore (2007) has shown, change from the top-down has been slow in addressing the inadequacies of current textbooks and teaching materials. There are many challenges facing the enlightened teacher or institution but a paradigm shift is possible. Teachers can herald change through a bottom-up approach in how English is taught and conducted in their classrooms, producing linguistic and cultural equality. Another possibility is for researchers like Jenkins and Seidlhofer to produce a lingua franca corpus focusing on English as a communicative language (cited in Grzega, 2005).

The professional development of teachers, together with the support of enlightened linguistic researchers can perhaps lead to an educational philosophy that cuts across colour, creed and race to bring about success to language learners. It also signals the possibilities for future research in classroom-based empirical studies on communicative-centre approaches, collaboration between material writers and teachers, and improvements in language teacher training to ensure that teachers are presented with current developments in knowledge of language and learning.

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Konsep 1Malaysia dan Cabaran Pelaksanaannya ke Arah Pementapan Perpaduan sebuah Negara-Bangsa

ABSTRAK

Konsep "1Malaysia" merupakan suatu konsep yang lahir dari cetusan pemikiran Perdana Menteri Malaysia yang keenam, iaitu Datuk Seri Mohd Najib Tun Razak. Motonya yang bertajuk "rakyat didahulukan, pencapaian diutamakan" merupakan usaha sebagai sebuah negara-bangsa untuk menyatukan hubungan antara kaum di Malaysia agar sebarang persengketaan kaum boleh dielakkan dan boleh hidup dalam keadaan aman damai serta rakyat bersama-sama kerajaan boleh berganding bahu untuk memajukan negara. Oleh itu, penulisan ini bertujuan untuk membincangkan nilai-nilai murni serta mengenalpasti cabaran-cabaran dalam pelaksanaannya dalam usaha untuk memperkasakan perdamaian di Malaysia. Antaranya cara untuk menyemai dan menerapkan nilai-nilai murni yang ada dalam konsep ini terhadap seluruh rakyat Malaysia serta strategi yang perlu ada dalam usaha untuk meningkatkan pemahaman dan pengetahuan rakyat Malaysia terhadap konsep "1Malaysia". Ianya juga diharap dapat membantu mencapai matlamat kerajaan untuk melihat rakyat yang bersatu padu akan tercapai, sekaligus membantu membangunkan negara dalam mencapai Wawasan 2020 sebagai sebuah negara maju di dunia.

Kata-kata kunci: Konsep 1Malaysia, pembinaan negara-bangsa, nilai-nilai murni, cabaran pelaksanaannya, serta Wawasan 2020.

PENGENALAN

Negara Malaysia telah bebas daripada penjajah dan mendapat kemerdekaan sepenuhnya pada 31 Ogos 1957 (Islar, 2007). Kalimah kemerdekaan Malaysia dilaungkan oleh Perdana Menteri Malaysia yang pertama, iaitu Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra al-Haj, di Stadium Negara. Beliau juga digelar sebagai "Bapa Kemerdekaan" kerana atas usahanya dan beberapa tokoh kemerdekaan negara yang lain dalam usaha untuk mendapatkan kebebasan daripada penjajah melalui cara perundingan dan diplomasi. Hasil daripada kemerdekaan yang diperoleh, ia telah menjadi titik tolak bermulanya asas pembinaan sebuah negara-bangsa bagi Malaysia atau nama dahulunya "Malaya" dan bertukar nama kepada "Malaysia" apabila bergabung dengan Sabah dan Sarawak pada

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tahun 1963, sedikit demi sedikit berkembang sebagai sebuah negara-bangsa yang mempunyai masyarakat berbilang kaum.

Negara Malaysia telah menyambut ulang tahun kemerdekaannya yang ke-53 tahun dan ini melambangkan bahawa Malaysia sudah pastinya mempunyai perkembangan daripada pelbagai aspek, termasuk pembangunan negara serta pembangunan masyarakatnya. Melalui pemantapan dan gabungan dua aspek utama, iaitu negara dan masyarakat dalam keadaan harmoni, ia sememangnya mempengaruhi akan kemajuan dan arus pemodenan sesebuah negara (Wan Othman Wan Halim, 1992). Namun, teras utama dalam mencapai status negara-bangsa yang berjaya, perpaduan, dan integrasi kaum merupakan aspek yang amat penting. Semenjak peristiwa hitam pergaduhan etnik 13 Mei 1969, kerajaan telah mengambil pelbagai inisiatif dan pendekatan untuk memperkukuhkan perpaduan antara kaum agar ia tidak mengganggu usaha pembangunan.

LATAR BELAKANG KONSEP 1MALAYSIA

Konsep 1Malaysia merupakan suatu konsep yang baru dilancarkan di Malaysia pada tahun 2009 yang lalu. Ia merupakan lanjutan daripada usaha kerajaan seperti pelaksanaan Dasar Ekonomi Baru, Rukun Negara, Dasar Pembangunan Nasional, Dasar Sosial Negara, dan seumpamanya agar sebarang konflik perkauman dapat dielakkan serta pencapaian dapat dipertingkatkan. Asas-asas yang ada dalam konsep 1Malaysia ini adalah untuk mencapai teras perpaduan antara kaum di Malaysia supaya cita-cita negara untuk mencapai Wawasan 2020 sebagai negara yang berstatus maju tercapai dengan jayanya. Di samping itu, ia diharap mampu untuk menyemarakkan lagi semangat perpaduan dan persaudaraan untuk meneruskan agenda pembinaan sebuah negara-bangsa yang berjaya.

Selain itu, konsep ini juga menekankan sikap penerimaan antara kaum di Malaysia agar semua pihak saling hormat-menghormati antara satu sama lain dalam aspek budaya, bahasa, dan agama. Ini selaras dengan ucapan Perdana Menteri Malaysia yang ke-6 berkenaan dengan konsep 1Malaysia, iaitu:

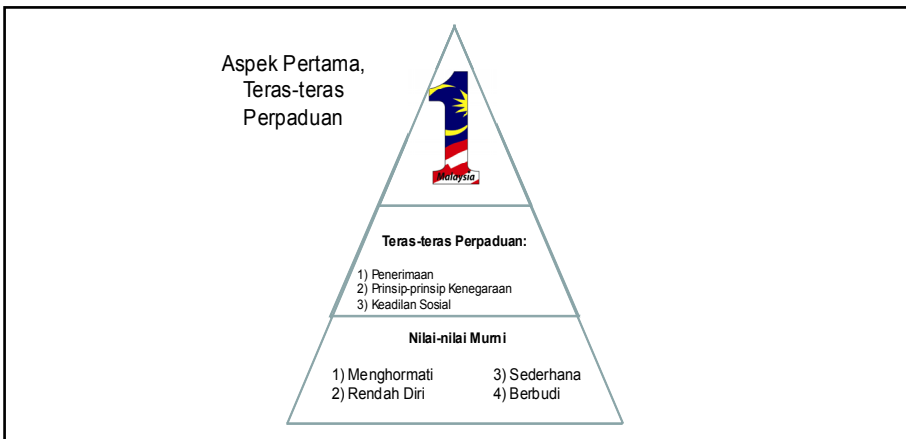
1Malaysia adalah satu gagasan bagi memupuk perpaduan di kalangan rakyat Malaysia yang berbilang kaum, berteraskan beberapa nilai-nilai penting yang seharusnya menjadi amalan setiap rakyat Malaysia.

Dato' Sri Mohd Najib Bin Tun Hj Abd Razak,
Perdana Menteri Malaysia (PPM, 2009).

Konsep 1Malaysia boleh dikatakan menjadi suatu model untuk memperkasa perpaduan dan kesinambungan kepada pendekatan-pendekatan sebelum ini yang pernah dilaksanakan oleh pihak kerajaan (PPM, 2009). Hasil perpaduan yang dicapai akan dapat menjamin kestabilan, seterusnya mampu membawa negara ke arah kemajuan dan pencapaian yang lebih tinggi bagi rakyat dan negara. Jadi, konsep ini boleh disamaertikan sebagai satu strategi atau formula untuk mencapai aspirasi negara, iaitu Wawasan 2020 (Jurij Hj. Jalaludin, 1991).

Oleh sebab itu, untuk mencapai status yang kukuh ini hanya dapat dicapai melalui rakyat yang bersatu padu. Perpaduan yang ditonjolkan dalam konsep 1Malaysia bukan menggambarkan akan berlakunya asimilasi antara kaum seperti negara lain yang lazimnya identiti mereka dihapuskan dan digantikan dengan identiti nasional yang harus digunakan oleh semua pihak. Namun sebaliknya, konsep yang diketengahkan ini menghargai dan menghormati identiti setiap etnik yang ada di Malaysia serta menganggap ia merupakan suatu elemen yang patut dibanggakan oleh semua lapisan masyarakat, di samping mengakui prinsip-prinsip yang ada dalam perlembagaan persekutuan.

Mengenai konsep 1Malaysia ini terdapat dua aspek utama yang perlu dilaksanakan agar konsep ini mencapai matlamatnya dengan baik. *Pertama*, penerapan teras-teras perpaduan; dan *kedua*, mengenai penerapan nilai-nilai aspirasi. Penerapan teras-teras perpaduan perlulah dijadikan budaya dan praktis bagi semua golongan rakyat di Malaysia kerana ia merupakan komponen utama yang mampu menjadikan rakyat berbilang kaum di Malaysia dapat hidup bersatu padu. Di samping itu, teras ini haruslah diimplementasikan oleh nilai-nilai murni seperti saling hormat-menghormati antara satu sama lain, sabar, bersopan-santun, dan sebagainya yang sepatutnya menjadi amalan dan praktis rakyat di Malaysia. Aspek kedua, melalui penerapan nilai-nilai aspirasi pula, adalah perlunya ada masyarakat yang progresif dan dinamik yang akan memacu negara dalam usaha mencapai status negara maju. Nilai ini penting bagi mewujudkan semangat persaingan di peringkat global serta dapat meningkatkan mutu kerja seterusnya berjaya mengukuhkan dan meningkatkan pertumbuhan ekonomi negara.¹



Rajah A
Model Teras-teras Perduan dalam Konsep 1Malaysia

¹Sebuah pemahaman yang jelas tentang usaha dan inisiatif yang dilakukan untuk perpaduan sebelum ini dan agar konsep 1Malaysia yang diketengahkan ini mampu membawa keunikan tersendiri, lihat Rita Sim (2010).

Elemen-elemen yang terdapat dalam teras perpaduan adalah seperti sikap menerima. Konsep 1Malaysia ini menekankan toleransi dan penerimaan keunikan setiap kaum yang ada, serta memahami dan juga menghormati antara satu sama lain agar dapat hidup bersama dengan baik dalam sebuah negara. Di samping itu, elemen memahami prinsip kenegaraan yang berasaskan perlembagaan persekutuan, dan Rukun Negara juga penting dalam menerapkan perpaduan di kalangan kaum di Malaysia, dan juga elemen keadilan sosial yang mana mementingkan perasaan kekitaan agar semua kaum terbela dan mereka tidak berasa dipinggirkan. Keadilan ini haruslah memberi fokus kepada taraf kemajuan dan ekonomi sesebuah kaum yang berbeza-beza. Hal ini akan membantu kerajaan memperuntukkan dasar-dasar yang akan membantu kepada mereka yang layak memerlukannya.

Teras-teras perpaduan haruslah dilandaskan oleh nilai-nilai murni sebagai mekanisme penggerak agar proses perpaduan antara kaum berjalan dalam suasana harmoni. Ia merangkumi empat aspek, iaitu hormat-menghormati, rendah hati, sederhana, dan berbudi bahasa. Hormat-menghormati antara setiap kaum yang berlainan budaya, agama, bahasa, dan adat resam agar dapat mengelakan berlakunya perselisihan faham yang mampu mengundang tindakan negatif seperti mengeluarkan kata-kata kesat dan mempersoalkan peruntukkan undang-undang berkaitan sensitiviti perkauman. Rendah hati atau *tawadhuk* mengajar kita erti keinsafan dan kesedaran dalam diri di mana kita merupakan rakyat yang tinggal bersama-sama sebuah negara berdaulat. Di samping itu, kesedaran setiap kaum mempunyai kelemahan dan kelebihan perlu dipupuk agar kelebihan yang dimiliki mampu dimanfaatkan demi kepentingan bangsa, negara, dan agama. Kesederhanaan pula merupakan gaya hidup yang tidak terlalu ekstrem yang mana apabila menghadapi situasi yang negatif, tidak mudah terpengaruh dan cuba sedaya upaya mencari jalan penyelesaian melalui rundingan atau mengadakan dialog. Berbudi bahasa merupakan tingkah-laku yang bersopan-santun, tata tertib dalam menjalankan hubungan dan interaksi sesama kaum bagi menjana kemesraan dan pemuafakatan yang lebih kukuh.²

Mengenai implementasi aspek kedua dalam konsep 1Malaysia ini, sebanyak lapan nilai aspirasi perlu diterapkan oleh rakyat Malaysia, iaitu seperti berikut:

Pertama, mengenai budaya berprestasi tinggi, iaitu tugas yang diamanahkan kena dilaksanakan pada tahap terbaik. Sikap "acuh tak acuh" perlu diketepikan kerana ia bukan lambang sebuah masyarakat berdaya maju.

Kedua, budaya ketetapan di mana seseorang individu atau komuniti haruslah mendidik sikap menepati masa dalam melaksanakan tugas dan mengutamakan

²Kenyataan daripada Datuk Ibrahim Ali. Beliau adalah Ahli Parlimen bagi Pasir Mas, Kelantan; dan Presiden PERKASA (Pertubuhan Pribumi Malaysia). Beliau pernah membentangkan kertas kerja pada Seminar Kebangsaan 1Malaysia, yang diselenggarakan oleh Pusat Pengajian Sains Kemasyarakatan USM (Universiti Sains Malaysia) di Putrajaya pada 11 Ogos 2009. Lihat Ibrahim Ali (2009); dan akhbar *Utusan Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur: 13 Ogos 2009).

kecekapan serta ketepatan. Hal ini merupakan budaya bagi sesebuah masyarakat maju.

Ketiga, budaya ilmu, iaitu kesediaan untuk menimba ilmu pengetahuan walaupun berdepan dengan pelbagai cabaran, kerana melalui perkembangan ilmu ia mampu membantu negara mencapai kemajuan dan pemodenan.

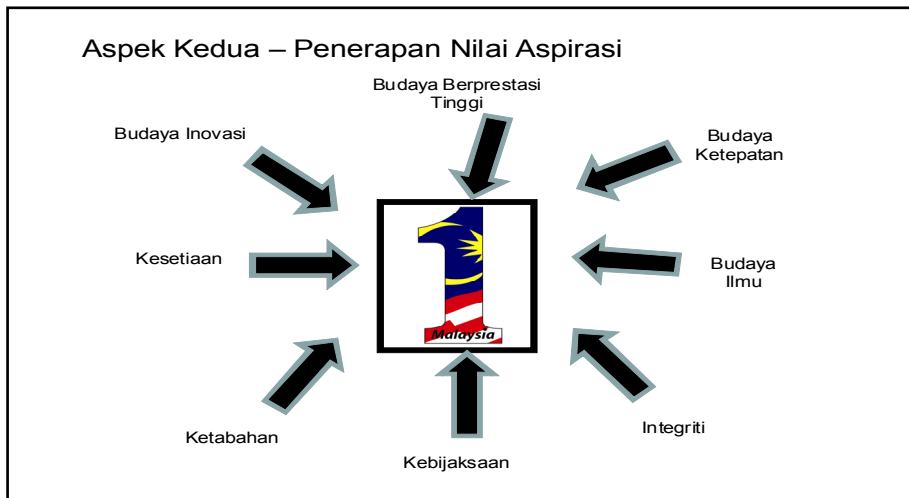
Keempat, integriti yang tinggi seperti bersih, cekap, dan amanah juga perlu ada dalam setiap diri masyarakat agar dalam melaksanakan tugas dan amanah sentiasa disegani dan dihormati.

Kelima, ketabahan, iaitu sikap bersedia menerima cabaran dan sabar dalam menempuh dugaan serta tidak mudah mengaku kalah, sebaliknya mempunyai semangat dan keyakinan diri yang tinggi dalam apa jua bidang yang diceburi.

Keenam, kesetiaan yang melibatkan kesanggupan untuk berkorban dan berbakti kepada negara demi membuktikan maruah dan kedaulatan negara dipertahankan dan dijaga.

Ketujuh, kebijaksanaan, iaitu cara menghadapi situasi dan masalah tertentu dengan penuh hemat dan teliti agar penyelesaian dan pendekatan diambil tidak menyinggung perasaan mana-mana pihak.

Kedelapan, budaya berinovasi yang melambangkan rakyat Malaysia itu berani menceburi bidang baru dan juga harus dikenali sebagai pemimpin dalam pelbagai bidang yang diceburi. Perubahan perlu dilakukan untuk menjadi lebih baik lagi demi kebaikan dalam menangani masalah serta bersedia untuk menjadi perintis.



Rajah B
Model Penerapan Nilai-nilai Aspirasi dalam Konsep 1Malaysia

CABARAN

Mengenai konsep 1Malaysia ini sudah jelas akan intipati dan matlamat penubuhannya, namun jika konsep ini tidak diberi perhatian dan tidak ada niat untuk mengetahui, semestinya konsep ini sia-sia belaka. Oleh yang demikian, masalah yang perlu dikaji dan diberi perhatian di sini ialah dengan melihat bagaimana untuk menghadapi dan mengatasi cabaran-cabaran yang timbul dalam usaha untuk memperkasakan pelaksanaan konsep 1Malaysia (Fauzi, 1987). Konsep ini adalah untuk semua rakyat Malaysia tanpa mengira kaum, agama, dan budaya, serta tidak mengenal umur, jantina, taraf kehidupan, dan sebagainya. Jadi cabarannya bagaimana untuk menyebarkan konsep 1Malaysia kepada seluruh rakyat Malaysia agar konsep ini dikenali. Hal ini penting kerana terdapat segelintir anggota masyarakat yang tidak tahu langsung mengenai konsep yang dilancarkan ini dan jika tidak tahu, masakan konsep ini hendak difahami dan dipraktikkan?

Pihak kerajaan dilihat berusaha untuk menyampaikan informasi dan maklumat berkaitan dengan konsep 1Malaysia, seperti menubuhkan laman sesawang 1Malaysia yang mengandungi intipati dan informasi berkaitan, laman blog Perdana Menteri, pertandingan mencipta lagu 1Malaysia, pertandingan melukis poster bagi pelajar IPTA (Institusi Pengajian Tinggi Awam), dan seumpama. Kerajaan juga telah membelanjakan jutaan wang Ringgit Malaysia dalam penyediaan hadiah kepada pemenang, iklan di televisyen dan surat khabar serta di papan iklan, kempen, dan juga seminar. Namun, ianya belum tentu mencapai matlamat untuk menarik perhatian masyarakat keseluruhannya. Usaha kerajaan ini juga tidak jelas dalam mencari golongan sasaran utama dalam mempromosikan konsep ini agar sasaran utama akan mempengaruhi kelompok-kelompok masyarakat yang lain. Di samping itu, tindakan kerajaan dalam menggunakan arus media elektronik dan media massa dilihat tidak efektif dan efisien kerana walaupun maklumat dan informasi berjaya disebarkan, meskipun tidak semua yang menonton, melihat, dan membacanya, namun ia hanya akan mendatangkan kesan positif jangka pendek sahaja dan ini akan menyukarkan pengetahuan serta pemahaman mengenai konsep 1Malaysia dicapai.

Implementasi kerajaan dalam melancarkan dan melaksanakan konsep 1Malaysia sememangnya merupakan suatu inisiatif yang baik, namun boleh dikatakan strategi dan pelan tindakan mereka tidak begitu memuaskan. Mengenai usaha untuk mendidik dan menyemai perasaan kekitaan melalui konsep 1Malaysia bukannya mudah. Ia memerlukan perancangan yang rapi dan memakan masa yang lama. Hal ini kerana bukan mudah untuk mendidik masyarakat menuju ke arah perpaduan dan mempunyai nilai-nilai murni. Ini disebabkan golongan masyarakat adalah manusia yang mempunyai akal fikiran yang berlainan, dan juga mempunyai hati dan perasaan. Mereka bukanlah sebuah robot yang boleh diprogramkan untuk menurut sesuatu kehendak dan tujuan.

Jadi, perancangan jangka pendek dan dibuat secara tergesa-gesa akan membawa kepada hasil yang tidak akan mencapai matlamatnya, sebaliknya ia akan membawa kepada signifikan yang negatif kepada kerajaan, khususnya yang menjadi batu asas kepada penubuhan dan pelaksanaan konsep 1Malaysia ini. Imej kerajaan akan tercalar jika konsep ini tidak memberi sebarang perubahan kepada masyarakat dan negara; dan kerajaan akan menerima kritikan daripada rakyatnya sendiri serta daripada negara dan masyarakat luar akibat sambutan yang kurang memuaskan dan idea yang tidak begitu baik serta banyak wang RM (Ringgit Malaysia) yang diguna-pakai bagi menjayakannya.

Terdapat segelintir golongan masyarakat yang mempunyai persepsi negatif terhadap konsep 1Malaysia. Bahkan konsep ini dianggap sebagai suatu propaganda daripada pihak kerajaan dalam usaha untuk menarik pengaruh rakyat supaya mendapat hasil yang positif dalam pilihanraya akan datang. Mereka yang bersikap negatif ini lazimnya terdiri daripada golongan yang menjadi pembangkang kepada kerajaan dan dengan pandangan stereotaip terhadap kerajaan, mereka sudah pasti akan menolak pendekatan kerajaan ini tanpa mengetahui intipati dan maklumat yang ada dalam konsep 1Malaysia.

Dalam pada itu, sebahagian masyarakat Malaysia juga dilihat kurang begitu mengendahkan dan memberi perhatian kepada pelancaran dan pelaksanaan konsep 1Malaysia ini. Mereka berpendapat bahawa konsep ini tidak mempunyai perkaitan dalam kehidupan masyarakat. Kehidupan mereka yang sibuk, kurang memberi perhatian kepada perkara yang dalam pandangan mereka dianggap remeh ini. Jadi, persepsi yang negatif daripada segelintir golongan dan sikap kurang ambil peduli daripada sebagian masyarakat – bila tidak diambilkira dan ditadbir dengan baik dan cekap – akan mempengaruhi rakyat Malaysia supaya tidak memberi perhatian dan pelaksanaan terhadap konsep 1Malaysia ini.

KONSEP NEGARA-BANGSA

Perdana Menteri Malaysia ke-6, iaitu Datuk Seri Mohd Najid Tun Razak, telah memperkenalkan konsep 1Malaysia sebaik sahaja beliau mengangkat sumpah jawatan tertinggi negara di Malaysia itu pada bulan April 2009. Bagi beliau, masyarakat di Malaysia perlu diperkasakan perpaduannya agar ia tidak menghalang arus pembangunan negara dan mencapai status negara bangsa yang berdaulat dan berjaya. Sungguhpun demikian, konsep negara-bangsa ini mempunyai kaitan juga dengan konsep 1Malaysia (Nik Hassan Shuhaimi Nik Abd Rahman, Mohd Samsudin & Kamaruzaman Yusoff eds., 1998); dan pemahaman terhadap konsep negara dan bangsa itu sendiri harus berterusan dikaji agar ianya selari dan wajar dalam konteks pelaksanaan konsep 1Malaysia pada situasi kini.

Ramai ahli akademik dari Barat, Islam, dan juga Malaysia memberi takrifan dan kefahaman yang pelbagai mengenai konsep negara dan bangsa. Misalnya

pemikir politik Islam, Ibnu Khaldun, menyifatkan negara merupakan suatu tubuh yang keadaannya sama seperti tubuh manusia, mempunyai sifat-sifat dan tabiatnya sendiri, mempunyai jasmani dan rohani, serta batas umur. Ahli falsafah klasik Perancis, iaitu J.J. Rosseau, berpendapat pula bahawa negara merupakan kerjasama daripada rakyat untuk melindungi dan mempertahankan harta benda setiap anggota-anggotanya yang hidup bebas dan merdeka. Pemikir Komunis yang terkenal, yakni Karl Marx, pula mengkritik penubuhan negara kerana negara adalah alat daripada kelas yang menang untuk menindas yang kalah.³ Namun, ramai pensyarah politik di mana-mana universiti di Malaysia menegaskan bahawa negara adalah sekumpulan manusia yang menduduki sesebuah wilayah yang tetap di bawah penyelenggaraan sebuah kerajaan dan tidak tertakluk kepada kuasa luar; dan negara perlu mempunyai rakyat dan kerajaan bagi menepati maksudnya (Abdul Rahman Embong, 2001; dan Mohammad Redzuan Othman, 2006).

Justeru, negara merupakan kehidupan dalam sesebuah wilayah bersempadan, diperintah oleh satu badan politik dengan mempunyai perlembagaan dan mempunyai undang-undang tersendiri. Negara memerlukan ciri-ciri berikut: wujud matlamat dan cara mencapainya, mempunyai sistem politik yang tersendiri, sempadan, kewarganegaraan, wilayah atau daerah, keselamatan, perlembagaan, kegiatan harian yang normal, dan kebolehan untuk berpersatuan (Abdul Rahman Embong, 2001).

Pemahaman bangsa, menurut Abdul Rahman Embong (2001) lagi, adalah nasion atau komuniti politik yang terbentuk dalam sejarah yang mempunyai ciri-ciri kesinambungan dan juga perubahan. Satu komuniti orang ramai (komuniti politik) yang terbentuk dalam sejarah, dipertautkan melalui perkongsian wilayah bersama, ekonomi bersama, serta mempunyai unsur-unsur subjektif bersama yang merangkumi bahasa, budaya, sastera, dan nama yang dikongsi bersama. Bangsa dalam konteks negara Malaysia merupakan sebuah bangsa yang terbentuk oleh faktor sejarah, politik, ekonomi, dan interaksi sosial; dan akhirnya disatukan dengan ungkapan "bangsa Malaysia" (Shamsul Amri Baharuddin, 1990; Abdul Rahman Embong, 2001; Mohammad Redzuan Othman, 2006; dan Zajda *et al.* eds., 2009). Hal ini disebabkan "bangsa Malaysia" merupakan rakyat di dalam negara Malaysia yang sama serta berkongsi wilayah, ekonomi, budaya, dan nasib masa depan bersama dengan rupa bangsa yang satu wajah.

Perkara ini diperkukuhkan lagi dengan dua pengucapan umum bekas Perdana Menteri Malaysia yang ke-4, iaitu Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, khasnya mengenai peranan negara dan bangsa dalam menyatupadukan kaum-kaum di Malaysia. Beliau membuat kenyataan seperti berikut:

³Perbincangan yang hangat mengenai konsep negara dan bangsa ini berterusan sehingga kini, termasuk pada ahli-ahli akademik di Malaysia, sepertimana didedahkan oleh Abdul Rahman Embong (2001).

[...] membentuk sebuah negara yang bersatu padu serta menyanjung masa hadapan yang dikongsi bersama, maka bangsa itu mestilah sejahtera, berintegrasi wilayah-wilayah dan kelompok-kelompoknya, serta menikmati kehidupan bersama yang sepenuhnya berasaskan persamaan hak dan keadilan. Membentuk sebuah bangsa Malaysia mestilah dengan rasa taat setia dan pengabdian yang tidak berbelah bagi terhadap bangsa tersebut (Mahathir Mohamad, 1991).

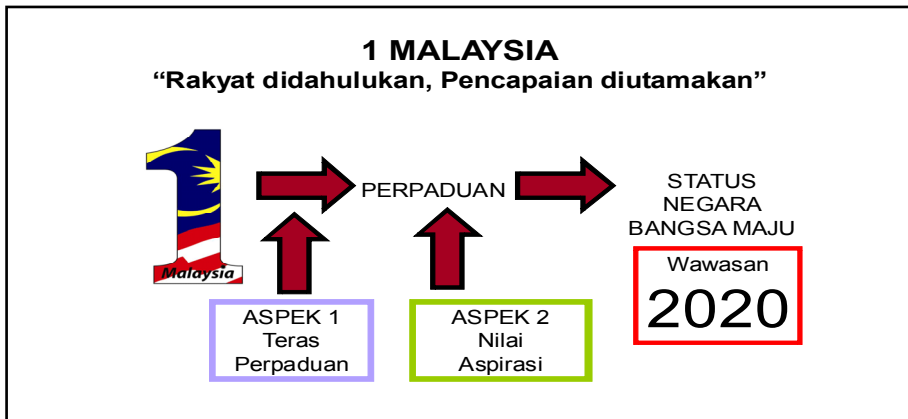
Dalam masa yang sama, ucapan Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad dalam perasmian "Wawasan 2020" adalah seperti berikut:

[...] cabaran pertama yang paling asas ke arah mencapai matlamat Wawasan 2020 adalah membentuk sebuah negara-bangsa (bangsa Malaysia) yang bersatu-padu serta menyanjung masa hadapan yang diperkongsi bersama [...] dan menumpukan taat setia dan pengabdian yang tidak berbelah bagi terhadap bangsa tersebut (*Utusan Malaysia*, 28/2/1991).

Mengenai konsep negara-bangsa pula, ianya lahir daripada gabungan kedua-dua konsep negara dan bangsa, iaitu pembentukan yang berasaskan kepada proses penyatuan bangsa dan diperkukuhkan lagi dengan persempadanan wilayah tertentu sebagai suatu identiti. Negara-bangsa juga lahir pada zaman moden di mana penduduknya daripada pelbagai etnik, agama, budaya, dan sebagainya (Ahmad Fawzi Basri, 1987; dan Mohammad Redzuan Othman, 2006).

Konsep negara-bangsa harus mempunyai gabungan daripada tiga komponen utama, iaitu individu, bangsa, dan negara. Individu merupakan asas kepada pembentukan bangsa dan negara kerana setiap interaksi yang dilakukan sesama mereka akan mempengaruhi individu yang lain dan akan membentuk suatu kumpulan yang mempunyai ciri-ciri persamaan dan kepentingan bersama yang akhirnya akan membentuk sebuah bangsa yang mempunyai motif pemerintahan sendiri dan mewujudkan negara. Bangsa adalah sesebuah kesatuan manusia yang tinggal dalam sesebuah negara. Ia merupakan sebuah kumpulan besar yang mana ahli-ahlinya mempunyai kepercayaan yang sama dan terikat dengan suatu identiti tertentu yang membentuk kumpulan manusia yang mempunyai persamaan daripada hubungan sejarah, kebudayaan, dan salasilah keturunan. Negara pula ialah suatu unit politik yang mempunyai kuasa, kedaulatan, tanggungjawab, dan tidak terikat kepada mana-mana pihak dalam menjalankan agenda pemerintahan; serta sesebuah negara juga haruslah mempunyai elemen-elemen seperti kedaulatan, rakyat, wilayah, dan kerajaan yang sah (Abdul Rahman Embong, 2001).

Mengenai ciri-ciri sesebuah negara-bangsa adalah seperti mempunyai masyarakat yang berbilang kaum, namun dapat hidup dengan bersatu padu, berkongsi pegangan ideologi politik, dan mempunyai keyakinan dan kepercayaan kepada sistem pemerintahan negara dan perlembagaan serta undang-undang negara. Faktor-faktor yang menjadi pemangkin kepada penubuhan sebuah negara-bangsa yang berjaya adalah seperti demokrasi, nasionalisme, patriotisme, dan integrasi.



Rajah C

Model Pelaksanaan Konsep 1Malaysia ke Arah Perpaduan untuk Mencapai Wawasan 2020

Oleh yang demikian, pelaksanaan konsep 1Malaysia yang dilancarkan oleh kerajaan dilihat tidak lari daripada usaha untuk mengukuhkan proses penyatupaduan dan perpaduan antara kaum di Malaysia. Secara tidak langsung, konsep 1Malaysia ini sedikit-sebanyak menyumbang kepada pemantapan sebuah negara-bangsa demi merealisasikan hasrat negara untuk mencapai Wawasan 2020 sebagai status negara maju di dunia. Hal ini kerana motif dan matlamat konsep 1Malaysia mempunyai perkaitan dan persamaan dengan konsep dan ciri-ciri untuk menjadi sebuah negara-bangsa yang berjaya. Oleh sebab itu, konsep 1Malaysia harus diperkasakan agar nilai dan aspek yang diketengahkannya dapat diketahui dan diberi perhatian oleh rakyat Malaysia. Justeru, perlunya suatu pendekatan bagi memastikan konsep 1Malaysia diketahui, difahami, diterima, dan seterusnya diimplementasikan oleh rakyat agar matlamat akhir boleh dicapai dengan jayanya.

RUMUSAN DAN KESIMPULAN

Malaysia sebagai sebuah negara-bangsa yang sedang membangun dengan pesat, semestinya mahu mencapai matlamat yang telah dibuat dengan jayanya tanpa dihalang oleh konflik antara kaum. Mengenai konsep 1Malaysia dan konsep negara-bangsa merupakan satu mekanisme yang dilihat mempunyai suatu matlamat untuk dikongsi bersama, iaitu berjaya mencapai hasrat negara untuk mencapai Wawasan 2020 sebagai status negara maju. Namun begitu, pelaksanaannya haruslah dikaji dan dirancang terlebih dahulu tanpa melaksanakan secara tergesa-gesa kerana ini akan mengakibatkan kekeliruan dan sebagainya.

Oleh yang demikian, konsep 1Malaysia memerlukan jangka masa yang panjang untuk melihat keberkesanan, namun perkembangannya boleh dibuat dengan membuat penilaian dan pemantauan dari masa ke semasa. Ini

merupakan suatu inisiatif dalam menghadapi cabaran pelaksanaan konsep 1Malaysia agar matlamat penubuhannya berjaya dicapai untuk memperkasakan perpaduan antara kaum dalam usaha mengecapi perdamaian positif, yakni boleh hidup dalam keadaan aman dan harmoni tanpa sebarang persepsi negatif dan pandangan streataip di Malaysia, dan seterusnya mampu bersama-sama membangunkan negara menuju ke arah Wawasan 2020.

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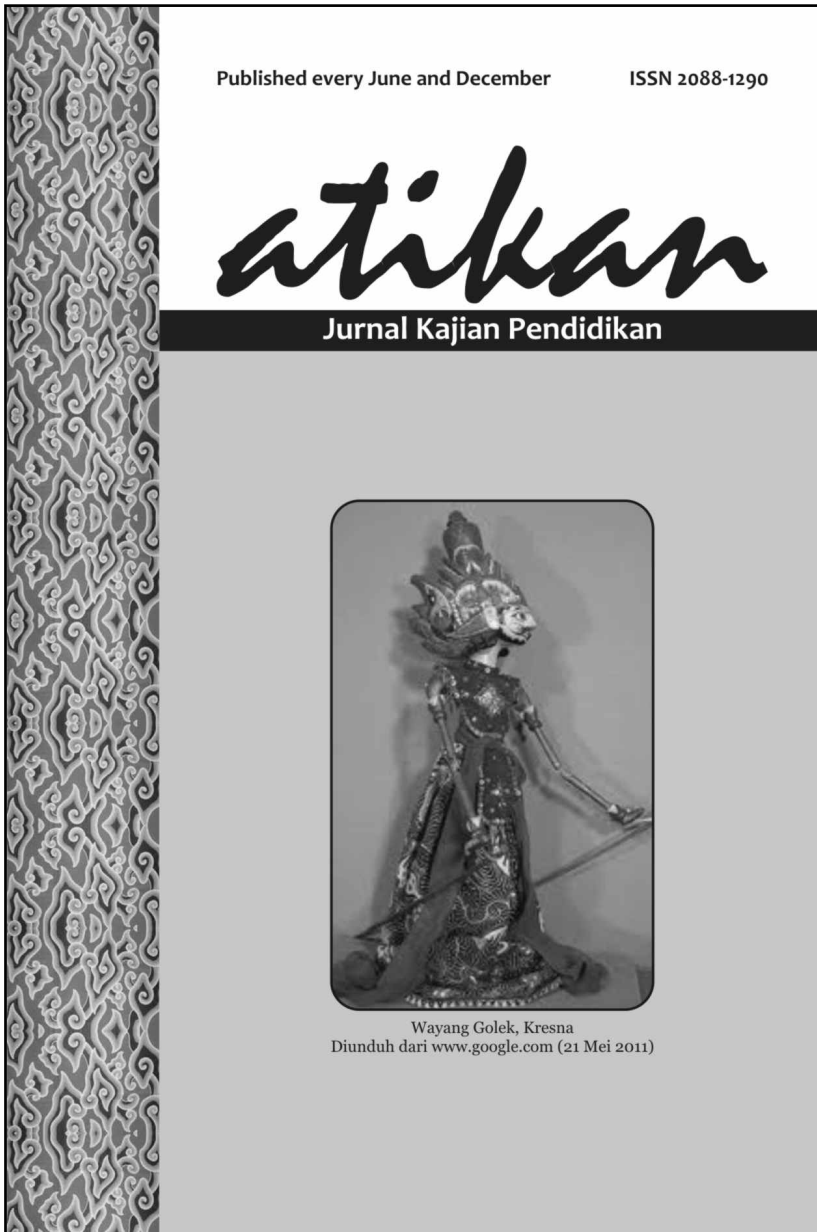
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