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Refugees' Presence in Malaysia: Unravelling its Pull Factors

Kehadiran Pelarian di Malaysia: Membongkar Faktor Penarik

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ABSTRACT

The research explores the demographics of refugees in Malaysia, highlighting their numbers, origins, and distribution across different states. The study identifies four key pull factors influencing refugees' choice of Malaysia as a destination: geographical, social networks, visa exemption policies, and the freedom of religion. Geographical proximity plays a significant role, as refugees choose nearby countries when fleeing conflicts. Social networks within refugee communities provide crucial information and support, reducing costs and risks associated with migration. Malaysia's visa exemption policy has made it accessible to refugees, allowing them to enter the country without visas. Additionally, the freedom to practice Islam in Malaysia attracts numerous Islamic refugees. To wrap it up, we argue, that addressing the needs and challenges of refugees in Malaysia requires a comprehensive and context-specific approach that takes these factors into account.

Keywords: pull factors; refugees; refugees in Malaysia; UNHCR.

ABSTRAK

Penyelidikan ini meneroka demografi pelarian di Malaysia, menonjolkan bilangan, asal usul dan pengedaran mereka di seluruh negeri yang berbeza. Kajian ini mengenal pasti empat faktor tarikan utama yang mempengaruhi pilihan pelarian ke Malaysia sebagai destinasi: kedekatan geografi, rangkaian sosial, dasar pengecualian visa, dan kebebasan beragama. Kedekatan geografi memainkan peranan penting kerana pelarian cenderung memilih negara berdekatan apabila melarikan diri dari konflik. Rangkaian sosial dalam komuniti pelarian menyediakan maklumat dan sokongan penting, mengurangkan kos dan risiko yang berkaitan dengan penghijrahan. Dasar pengecualian visa Malaysia telah menjadikannya mudah diakses oleh pelarian, membolehkan mereka memasuki negara ini tanpa visa. Selain itu, kebebasan untuk mengamalkan Islam di Malaysia menarik sejumlah besar pelarian Islam. Konklusinya, kami berpendapat, menangani keperluan dan cabaran pelarian di Malaysia memerlukan pendekatan komprehensif dan khusus konteks yang mengambil kira faktor-faktor ini.

Kata kunci: faktor penarik; pelarian; pelarian di Malaysia; UNHCR.

INTRODUCTION

The number of global refugees over the past three years increases steadily, commencing from 2017 and extending through 2019. In 2017, the global refugee population stood at 25.4 million individuals, which subsequently increased to 25.9 million in 2018, constituting a 2% rise equivalent to 500,000 people (UNHCR 2017). Furthermore, in 2019, the global refugee count reached 26 million individuals, reflecting a marginal increase of 0.4% or 100,000 people compared to the preceding year (UNHCR 2018a; UNHCR 2019a). If the refugee population of 2019 were to be considered as a nation, it would rank 50th in terms of global population size (World Population Review 2019). Referring to the global refugee population as of December 2019, Syrian refugees constitute the largest group, numbering 6.6 million, followed by Venezuela with 3.7 million, Afghanistan with 2.7 million, South Sudan with 2.2 million, Myanmar with 1.1 million, and others (UNHCR 2019a). Turkey, on the other hand, has become the top destination country for refugees worldwide, hosting 3.6 million individuals for five consecutive years. The increase in the number of refugees, resulting from humanitarian crises across the globe, is of great concern, especially when human rights, both individual and collective, are denied due to government policies that do not recognize them as refugees or lack specific mechanisms to manage their presence (Mohd Nur Hidayat & Ibrahim 2017).

The issue of refugees is indeed a global concern that affects nearly all continents due to cross-border migration. In 2018, the number of refugees in the Asia-Pacific region reached 4.37 million (UNHCR 2018a). The refugee crisis in Southeast Asia, a subcontinent of Asia, has shown an increasing trend, particularly involving the Rohingya ethnic group due to persecution by the Myanmar regime (UNHCR 2019b). This situation indirectly impacts the demographics of refugees in the region, especially since only three countries in Southeast Asia are signatories to the United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees of 1951 (hereafter referred to as the Refugee Convention of 1951) and the Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees of 1967. These countries are the Philippines, Timor-Leste, and Cambodia. Most other countries in Southeast Asia have not ratified the Refugee Convention of 1951 (UNHCR 2020a).

Hitherto, the Malaysian government, on humanitarian grounds, has granted permission to Undocumented Foreigners (PATI) holding UNHCR cards to temporarily reside in the country before being resettled in a third country by UNHCR (Katrina 2018). Malaysia's open stance in this regard has created opportunities for a greater number of refugees to enter the country, driven by various other factors such as economic prospects, employment opportunities, stability, security, and protection (Intan Suria Hamzah, Sity Daud & Nor Azizan Idris 2016). Refugee entry could be either temporary or permanent, depending on the situation in their country of origin.

Every year, the number of individuals becoming refugees due to political turmoil or natural disasters continues to rise, to the extent that its direct impact is felt by the host countries. However, in Malaysia, despite the increasing annual influx of refugees across its borders, the government maintains its stance of refraining from formal management of their status. Meanwhile, the daily lives of refugees in Malaysia are persistently marred by obstacles that threaten their security in various aspects; which could be traced based on the statement made by Richard Towle, who at that time served as the UNHCR representative in Malaysia, during

his address at the International Conference on Rohingya (March 14-16, 2017) held at the Marriott Hotel in Putrajaya, Malaysia. He highlighted the difficulties faced by Rohingya refugees in Malaysia, stating that "...they have limited access to basic services, including the right to work, essential health, and education services. Many are at risk of exploitation, and detention..." (Towle 2017). The prevailing threat situation has exposed many to the risk of human exploitation and detention. Meanwhile, the Harian Metro (2017) recounted the tumultuous life experienced as a refugee by Najeela Karimi, a 22-year-old Afghan national, who fled to Malaysia and acknowledged living in a state of isolation without assistance from known individuals.

Kermeliotis (2019) reported on the challenges faced by Yemeni refugees living in the vicinity of Kuala Lumpur. Based on a 5:06-minute news coverage, it depicted the life of Mahmoud, a refugee who is compelled to work to sustain his livelihood, despite being exposed to legal actions by the authorities. The video also highlighted the difficulties faced by his children in accessing education in Malaysia. More recently, Daniel (2020) reported through the East Asia Forum on the complexity of the situation faced by refugees as a result of the implementation of the Movement Control Order (PKP) due to the spread of the Coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic in Malaysia. Most of them work in informal, daily or weekly wage jobs, making them heavily reliant on assistance from Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and contributions from the wider community.

Apparently, even though refugees have successfully fled their home country's conflict, the normative narratives of this group are not as straightforward as one might assume. Andika & Aizat (2020) assert that refugees constitute the most vulnerable group, easily exposed to insecurity and discriminatory treatment due to the absence of specific mechanisms to ensure their rights to access justice. Hence, our research endeavors to unravel the pull factors that attract refugees to choose Malaysia as a destination, whether for permanent or temporary settlement, despite the country's non-signatory status to the 1951 Refugee Convention and numerous challenges in life need to be confronted here.

AT A GLANCE THE CIRCUMSTANCE OF REFUGEES IN MALAYSIA

The push factors refugees to leave their home country due to conflicts have been a compelling driver. This argument is substantiated through the study conducted by Syahrul Alim Baharuddin and Azlizan Mat Enh (2018), which identified that the factors pushing Vietnamese refugees to Malaysia are primarily attributed to the political, economic, and social instability in Vietnam, compelling their citizens to flee their homeland in search of protection in Malaysia. However, Malaysia's open stance in welcoming the influx of refugees into the country does not guarantee their sustainability here, although refugees are entitled to protection either in transit or destination countries. According to Suzarika Sahak, Rohaida Nordin, and Ma Kalthum (2020), a transit country is the first hope for refugees. Nonetheless, refugees frequently experience a lack of assurance regarding their safety while residing in a transit as well as the fates and stories sometimes go unheard. Transit countries play a significant role in safeguarding these refugees, not exclusively because of their obligations under international law or their duties as members of the international community, but also out of a commitment to humanitarian policies.

Meanwhile, the study by Atika Shafinaz, Kartini Aboo Talib, and Nidzam Sulaiman (2019) untangled that the survival of Syrian refugees in Malaysia is often jeopardized, resulting in significant impacts on their personal, political, economic, community, and social safety. Despite successfully escaping the conflicts in their home country, they remain exposed to greater challenges, especially if the transit country has not ratified the 1951 Refugee Convention. Therefore, the researchers have proposed that the Malaysian government develop a specific action plan to address the issues surrounding refugees in the country. The involvement of NGOs is also essential, particularly in terms of complaint mechanisms and psychiatric assistance, in addition to providing food, healthcare, and education assistance.

In addition to their basic human rights, refugees also have the right to establish familial institutions, which, however, are impeded due to their status conflicting with prevailing laws. Research conducted by Intan Nadia, Haliza, and Hasnizam Hashim (2019) regarding the issue of marriage among Islamic refugees or with local citizens has arisen due to the absence of valid identity documents, thus obstructing the marriage process. The study recommended that the Malaysian government establish guidelines or regulations regarding marriage among Islamic refugees to prevent invalid marriages from occurring.

The discussion by Mohd Nur Hidayat and Ibrahim (2017) delved into various dimensions of refugee rights from an Islamic perspective. They examined the interplay between the implementation of rights and protection provided to Muslim Filipino refugees in Sabah, focusing on asylum protection, non-refoulement rights, non-discrimination rights, and the educational rights of refugee children in Malaysia. The study revealed that both Malaysian legislation and Islamic Sharia laws exhibited ambiguity and fell short of aligning with international legal benchmarks and Islamic Sharia standards.

On the other hand, the research conducted by Andika and Aizat Khairi (2020) analyzed disparities in legal assistance that disproportionately favor Malaysian citizens over refugees, despite the latter being the more vulnerable group. Referring to the failure of social institutions, particularly legal aid providers, to provide adequate access to legal assistance for refugees, it underscores the existence of inequality within the modern social justice system in Malaysia.

Therefore, to ensure the protection of refugee rights without compromising the sovereignty and security of the receiving state, it is necessary to establish a more efficient management mechanism. The study conducted by Ahmad, Abdul Rahman, and Mohamed (2017) in their article titled "The Role of Non-Signatory State to the 1951 Refugee Convention: The Malaysia Experience" examined the status of refugees in Malaysia as a country that has not signed the 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees. Through this article, the authors proposed mechanisms that Malaysia could adapt to protect refugees without affecting its sovereignty. Among the authors' recommendations is to foster cooperation among Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries in addressing humanitarian crises, including suggesting that the Malaysian government enact specific laws and institutional frameworks to address refugee issues in Malaysia.

Based on the above discussion, we assert that the safety of refugees is often jeopardized, involving various components within human security. Furthermore, the failure of laws to protect the rights of refugees from discrimination exacerbates the already difficult situation faced by refugees. Nevertheless, the influx of this vulnerable group into Malaysia from abroad continues to increase. Therefore, this study aims to investigate the factors that

attract refugees to seek asylum in Malaysia, despite residing in this country making their lives difficult.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study focuses on refugees in Malaysia as a case study to identify the motivating factors that drive them to seek asylum in Malaysia. Through a qualitative approach that refers to research that provides descriptions, interpretations, or meanings in a given communicative process, we analyze individuals or groups related to their experiences and life histories.

Our study successfully conducted interviews with a total of ten participants, comprising a former minister, a national security council official, seven refugees, and a school director providing education to refugee children. The interviewed refugees represented diverse backgrounds, including Rohingya, Chin, Syria, and Somalia (see details at Table 1).

Interviews are defined as two-way conversations through face-to-face or remote interactions between the interviewer and informants, with the purpose of gathering research information. study employed a semi-structured interview approach; more flexible type of conversation, allowing the researcher to delve deeper into the studied information. This method also enables the researcher to investigate and expand on interviewee responses; any questions or uncertainties that arise during the interview can be clarified directly by the informant.

Through the semi-structured interviews, the researcher had a list of topic-specific questions to serve as interview guides, providing informants with flexibility in their responses. The researcher also had the opportunity to pose additional questions that were not included in the question guide. Questions were pre-framed before the interview process, based on the research issues and objectives. However, the findings from officer at the national security council were obtained solely through email correspondence due to time constraints.

TABLE 1. The details of the informants

Informant	Organization/Individual	Date	Place
Informant 1	Former Minister/ former OIC Special Ambassador to Myanmar	26 February 2020	Bukit Damansara, Kuala Lumpur
Informant 2	National Security Council, Malaysia	27 March 2020	Online
Informant 3	Rohingya refugee	16 January 2020	Selangor
Informant 4	Rohingya refugee	16 January 2020	Kampung Sekamat, Sungai Kajang, Selangor
Informant 5	Rohingya refugee	16 January 2020	Kampung Sekamat, Sungai Kajang, Selangor
Informant 6	Chin refugee	11 February 2020	Learning Centre Cheras, Selangor
Informant 7	Syrian refugee	22 January 2020	Penang



Informant 8	Syrian refugee	22 January 22, 2020	Penang
Informant 9	Executive Director of MSRI	11 February 2020	Kuala Lumpur
Informant 10	Somali refugee school principal	11 February 2020	Somali Refugee Community Center, Gombak, Selangor

SECONDARY DATA

Document analysis used in this study was conducted through a literature review to gather essential data from selected written or printed materials, including books, journal articles, working papers, conference papers, reports from international organizations, newspaper clippings, and websites. Frequently utilized data repositories included Mendeley and Library Genesis, facilitating access to a wide range of journals. Furthermore, online journals and articles referenced in this study were obtained through websites such as SAGE Publications, Scribd, MyJurnal, and Jstor.

DATA ANALYSIS

The data analysis stage was conducted to obtain more precise and detailed answers to the research questions. This study opted to use a thematic approach to process the data because there is no one-size-fits-all method for analyzing qualitative data. The choice of method depends on the research objectives and context. Thematic analysis is a suitable method in this study as it allows for the analysis and classification of findings according to themes relevant to the study data. Before data is categorized into specific themes, it undergoes a classification process, including coding, categorization, and ultimately, it is divided into themes for interpretation. In qualitative research, codes typically refer to short words or phrases that are significant and represent the essence of a response obtained through interviews. As instance, the essence of the response from the interviewee “*getting to know Malaysia through a friend*”, would be the central element- this would be coded and categorized before being placed under the broader theme of “Social Network.” Another example, the interviewee stated “*I enjoy living in Malaysia because it's a peaceful country, and I can freely practice Islam*” can be understand and coded under the “Freedom of Religion.” The thematic categorization helps in understanding that social networks and peer influence play a role in the decision-making process of seeking asylum in Malaysia.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

DEMOGRAPHICS OF REFUGEES IN MALAYSIA

UNHCR functions as an international body that assists Malaysia in gathering information regarding refugees and asylum seekers, encompassing processes such as registration, documentation, status determination, and resettlement to third countries (Norazira Ali 2014). The total number of registrations and arrivals of refugees in Malaysia from 2009 to September 2019 is depicted in Figure 1 below:

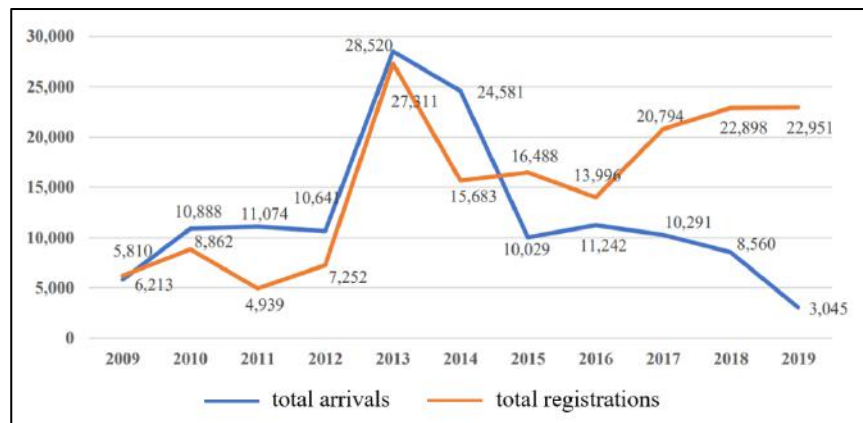


FIGURE 1. Refugee Registrations and Arrivals (2009 – September 2019)

Source: Compiled from (UNHCR 2020b)

Referring to Figure 2.1, there was an increase in the number of arrivals and registrations during the period from 2009 to 2013. However, it was observed that the number of refugee arrivals started to decline from 2014 to 2019. The highest influx of refugees to Malaysia was recorded in 2013, with a total of 28,520. Meanwhile, the highest number of refugee registrations with UNHCR Malaysia also occurred in 2013, totalling 27,311 (UNHCR 2020b). A detailed breakdown of the refugee population by ethnic group and country is provided in Table 2 below:

Country of Origin	Ethnicity	Asylum Seekers	Refugees	Total Individuals	Male		Female	
					Adult	Children (Below 18 years old)	Adult	Children (Below 18 years old)
Myanmar	Rohingya	15,298	86,286	101,584	61,608	13,513	14,305	12,158
	Chin	9,646	13,015	22,661	9,617	3,527	6,070	3,447
	Others	9,882	20,338	30,220	15,765	3,539	7,927	3,201
Subtotal (Myanmar)		34,826	119,639	154,465	86,990	20,526	28,143	18,806
Pakistan		3,530	3,166	6,696	2,652	1,198	1,789	1,057
Yemen		3,511	210	3,721	2,263	409	673	376
Somalia		1,668	1,642	3,310	860	546	1,315	589
Syria		2,894	414	3,308	1,774	438	703	393
Afghanistan		1,186	1,479	2,665	825	650	710	480
Sri Lanka		995	828	1,823	1,001	170	478	174
Iraq		850	422	1,272	539	208	333	192
Palestine		574	219	793	445	114	132	102
Iran		208	242	450	234	39	147	30
Sudan		151	160	311	180	41	52	38
Other countries		461	246	707	324	92	211	80
Subtotal (Excluding Myanmar)		16,028	9,028	25,056	11,097	3,905	6,543	3,511
Grand Total		50,854	128,667	179,521	98,087	24,431	34,686	22,317

TABLE 2. The Population Segmentation of Refugees in Malaysia Until March 2020

Source: (UNHCR 2020b)

As of March 31, 2020, Malaysia had a total of 179,521 refugees, which accounts for 0.5 percent of Malaysia's total population (32 million) majority of them originated from Myanmar, comprising 154,465 individuals (101,580 Rohingya, 22,661 Chins, 30,220 other ethnicities from Myanmar), while the remaining 25,056 came from other countries. Among this population, 98,087 were males, 34,686 were females, and 46,748 were children under the age of 18. UNHCR Malaysia successfully resettled a total of 317 refugees to third countries, with the United States being the highest recipient at 232 individuals, followed by Australia with 62

individuals, New Zealand with 18 individuals, Sweden with 4 individuals, and Canada with one individual. Meanwhile, the distribution of the refugee population by state in Peninsular Malaysia is depicted in Table 3 below:

State	Total
Selangor	66,030
Kuala Lumpur	27,370
Pulau Pinang	18,660
Johor	14,332
Kedah	12,570
Terengganu	5,780
Pahang	5,630
Kelantan	4,520
Perak	3,780
Negeri Sembilan	2,670
Melaka	1,990
Putrajaya	450
Perlis	280

TABLE 3. Refugee Settlement Locations in Peninsular Malaysia Until December 2019
 Source: (UNHCR 2020b)

Following to Table 3, Selangor is the state with the highest number of refugees in Malaysia, totaling 66,030 individuals, followed by Kuala Lumpur with 27,370 individuals, and subsequently, Penang with 18,660 individuals. The rest are distributed across Johor (14,332 individuals), Kedah (12,570 individuals), Terengganu (5,780 individuals), Pahang (5,630 individuals), Kelantan (4,520 individuals), Perak (3,780 individuals), Negeri Sembilan (2,670 individuals), Melaka (1,990 individuals), Putrajaya (450 individuals), and Perlis (250 individuals) (UNHCR 2020b). Selangor, Kuala Lumpur, and Penang have become the preferred destinations for most refugees due to the abundant employment opportunities compared to other states (Norazira Ali 2014).

The Pull Factors: Malaysia as a Destination Country for Refugees in Southeast Asia

In Southeast Asia, Malaysia continues to be one of the largest host countries for refugees, despite not being a member of the 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees (Salawati Mat Basir 2015). Therefore, this section analyzes the pull factors influencing refugees' choice of Malaysia as a destination to seek protection. Based on findings from interviews and supported by secondary sources, there are four pull factors that drive refugee influx into Malaysia, as follows:

i. Geographical

Typically, when refugees find themselves in conflict due to crises in their country, compelling them to migrate, they tend to choose a neighboring or nearby country for refuge (Aizat Khairi 2018; Moore & Shellmen 2006; Yoo & Koo 2014; European Asylum Support Office 2016). For most refugees, they perceive the safest option to be the one closest to their home country (Perham 2018). According to statistics released by UNHCR in 2018, a total of 70.98 million refugees, asylum seekers, internally displaced persons (IDPs), worldwide were recorded in

2018. Out of this number, four out of five refugees worldwide opted for shelter in neighboring or neighboring countries (UNHCR 2018a).

For instance, Lebanon has become a destination for 475,100 Palestinian refugees, including Jordan, which also provides refuge to 2,242,600 Palestinian refugees in their country (UNHCR 2018a). The proximity of both bordering countries has led Palestinian refugees to choose these nations as places of protection. Meanwhile, more than 5 million Syrian refugees are currently located in neighboring countries such as Lebanon, Turkey, and Jordan. The World Bank's report (2011) also supports this argument, revealing that about 75% of refugees choose protection in neighboring countries, whether by land or sea, adjacent to their home country. A study conducted on Indonesian Chinese and Philippine Moro refugees found that strategic geographical factors, short travel distances, and proximity to their home regions influenced these ethnic groups to seek refuge in Sabah (Aizat Khairi 2016).

On the other hand, the study by Yoo and Koo (2014), found that asylum seekers tend to favor the nearest country with easily penetrable borders for protection. Informant's 1 statement also acknowledges that Malaysia's porous borders, stemming from weak border enforcement, make it an attractive destination for refugees to enter the country illegally (Interview: Informant 1 2020). A Rohingya refugees in Malaysia, Informant 4- a 38-year-old- live in Kajang, shares the same insight:

"...our people are now in twenty-eight countries. We chose Malaysia because it's close, and we don't have much capital; if we had more capital, we could go to Saudi Arabia. Here, it's nearby, right after Thailand, it's Malaysia, and I have limited capital..."
(Interview: Informant 4 2020)

Referring to the essence of these interviews, financial constraints play a significant role in influencing refugees to choose the nearest country due to lower costs. In Informant 4's case, if he had sufficient funds, he would have fled to Saudi Arabia; however, due to financial limitations, he opted for the closest country, Malaysia. In another interview, Informant 5, who was 17 years old when he first entered the country, revealed that initially, he was not promised entry into Malaysia by an agent. He and 90 of his friends fled on a small boat, and while in the middle of the sea, they encountered a Thai fisherman who informed them that the boat had reached the Thailand-Malaysia border (Interview: Informant 5 2020). Based on the interview findings and supported by secondary sources, the study concludes that geographical is a significant pull factor for refugees choosing Malaysia due to its closest location to their home country and cost-effectiveness.

ii. Social Network

Social networks are one of the factors influencing refugees in determining their destination country; the factor refers to the network of relationships within their ethnic group- friends or relatives who are already in that country (European Asylum Support Office 2016). The networks of connections or chain migration are crucial because they provide preliminary information (Zarina Othman et al. 2016), such as job prospects and labor opportunities, information about housing facilities, and their experiences in that country (Wijitapure 2017; Crawley 2010; Neumayer 2005). Social network relationships help reduce costs, movement risks, and ensure the safety of refugees based on the initial information obtained. The argument regarding social networks is also supported by research conducted by several scholars such as

(Aizat Khairi 2012; Azizah Kassim 2009; Mohd Nur Hidayat & Ibnor Azli Ibrahim 2017) on Moro refugees from Southern Philippines. The group fled to Sabah due to familial ties and kinship with the local population, most of whom also had connections with the Moro community. Social networks have existed for a long time, to the extent that their way of life, customs, and religion are similar, which encouraged them to seek refuge in Sabah when conflict arose. Informant 7, a 24-year-old Syrian refugee also acknowledged that he came to Malaysia because was invited by his cousin, who is also a Syrian national:

“...I fled to Malaysia out of fear of being conscripted into forced military service in Syria. Coincidentally, at that time, my cousin was working at a Halab restaurant in Penang. He invited me to seek refuge in Malaysia and work here...” (Interview: Informant 7 2020)

Informant 7 recounted that the Syrian government had imposed mandatory military conscription on every young man aged 18 and above. Therefore, upon reaching the age of 18, he made the decision to flee, and simultaneously, his cousin, who was working in Penang, invited to seek refuge in Malaysia. Social network connections not only exist among Syrian refugees but also serve as an influential factor attracting some Rohingya refugees to come to Malaysia, as illustrated below:

“...my friend works as a grass cutter in Malaysia. He invited me to come to Malaysia. He told me that Malaysia is easy to find work and you can earn a lot more money compared to our hometown, so I came to this country...” (Interview: Informant 4 2020)

Based on the interview, Informant 4 mentioned that he received a lot of information from his friend who had been in Malaysia for a long time- helped him find accommodation and work after arriving in Malaysia. An interview with Informant 6, a Chin refugee, also stated that he came to Malaysia in 2014 to join his parents and siblings who had been in the country since 2012 (Interview: Informant 6 2020). In addition, to social networks within their own communities, refugees also obtain information from broader social networks, such as social media and the Internet, which have been on the rise. Information is more easily and quickly accessible through the use of smartphones (Cummings et al. 2015). In summary, social networks are crucial for refugees in determining whether they are safe to seek refuge in a country based on the information provided by their friends or relatives. Social networks within refugee ethnic groups can lead to the formation of larger communities (Intan Suria Hamzah, Sity Daud & Nor Azizan Idris 2016) and eventually contribute to the establishment of several NGOs representing these ethnic groups (Norazira Ali 2014). However, for the receiving country, the social network connections can have a compounded effect on the number of refugees entering the country due to the occurrence of chain migration (Arango 2000).

iii. Visa Exemption Policy

Refugees enter Malaysia through various means, including land, sea, and air routes. Typically, refugees from distant countries such as Africa and the Middle East use air routes, while refugees from neighboring countries in the South Asian region, such as the Philippines, Myanmar, and Vietnam, use land routes by crossing the Malaysia-Thailand land border or the sea routes between Malaysia-Thailand and Indonesia-Philippines (Mohd Na'eim et al. 2017; Intan Suria Hamzah, Sity Daud, Nor Azizan Idris 2016). Research findings indicate that

Malaysia's transformation from a transit country for refugees to a destination for them has been influenced by the government's policy of exempting visa requirements upon entry. Furthermore, the introduction of Visa on Arrival (VOA) in September 2006, as part of the Visit Malaysia Year 2007 campaign aimed at boosting tourism, played a significant role in facilitating this shift. Immigration Circular Malaysia No. 32 of 2006, dated August 25, 2006, specified the provisions of this regulation, allowing tourists to conveniently apply for a visa upon arrival in Malaysia for a fee of only RM100.00, in compliance with the Immigration Act 1951.

Based on an interview conducted with 26 year old, Informant 10, a Somali refugee in the Somali Refugee Community, most Somali refugees in the country choose Malaysia because it is easy to enter without requiring a visa. Even though their visas have expired, they are allowed to remain in the country as they await refugee cards from UNHCR (Interview: Informant 10 2020). The interview findings are further reinforced by the research conducted by Atika Shafinaz, Kartini Aboo, and Nizam Sulaiman (2019) and Suzarika Sahak, Rohaida Nordin, and Ma Kalthum (2020), which state that Malaysia's government policy of exempting visa requirements upon entry has led to an increase in the number of refugee arrivals. The openness of Malaysia's government policy, which exempts visa requirements for most Islamic countries, has become an attraction for refugees, especially those from the Middle East (Katrina 2018).

Informant 9, the Executive Director of MSRI, an NGO that oversees refugee affairs in Malaysia, also acknowledges the reason for this. She stated that the visa exemption has rendered the country's borders easily accessible to refugees, as they can freely utilize tourist visas until the visas expire, resulting in their presence going undetected (Interview: Informant 9 2020). This argument gains further support from Informant 1 (2020), who confirmed that Malaysia's government's "generosity" in granting visa exemptions to most countries has had a detrimental impact, making it an attractive destination for more refugees to enter the country. Therefore, the study discovered that the implementation of the visa exemption policy for tourists has provided an advantage to refugees, making it easier for them to enter Malaysia as they do not need to possess a visa, which serves as an entry control requirement for the country.

iv. Freedom of Religion

Malaysia's status as one of the Islamic countries in the Southeast Asian region has attracted a significant influx of Islamic refugees. The freedom to practice their beliefs, which they couldn't attain in their home countries, has driven them to seek refuge elsewhere. Malaysia has become a destination for protection for nearly 90 percent of Islamic refugees, primarily Rohingya refugees (UNHCR 2020b; Mohd Nur Hidayat & Iknor Azli Ibrahim 2017). Aizat Khairi's research (2016) further substantiates this argument, revealing that the entry of Rohingya refugees into Malaysia is driven by the nation's status as an Islamic country. Additionally, statements made by Informant 1 (2020) during an interview and by Informant 2 (2020), an officer from the National Security Council, also affirm that most refugees choose Malaysia due to its Islamic status.

Exploring the history of Islamic refugee influx into Malaysia, numerous studies have been conducted by previous scholars. These include studies on the arrival of Bosnian refugees by Wan Shawaluddin (2000); Ahmad Faisal (2008); and Azlizan Mat Enh (2007). Research by Atika Shafinaz (2016) found that during Tun Mahathir Mohammad's era, Malaysia became a

destination for Islamic refugees, as the foreign policy at the time emphasized the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) as the second focus after ASEAN. Malaysia's policy at the time also paid attention to the plight of persecuted Pakistani refugees who were prevented from practicing their religion and faced punishment if they disobeyed. This situation led many Pakistani refugees to seek refuge in Malaysia because Malaysia was an Islamic country (Katrina 2018). The freedom to practice the teachings of Islam (Wake & Cheung 2016), coupled with Malaysia's open-minded society (Mohd Nasaruddin Parzi & Muhammad Mustakim Ramli 2015) in welcoming them, has become an attraction for Muslim refugees to come to Malaysia, as stated in the interview with Informant 8, a Syrian refugee currently living in Penang:

“...I came to Malaysia in 2011 to work as an executive chef on a contract basis at Tarbush Restaurant in Bukit Bintang, holding an Employment Pass. However, after the crisis in Syria, I brought my parents and younger sister to Malaysia to seek protection. I enjoy living in Malaysia because it's a peaceful country, and I can freely practice Islam. Since being here, my father can go to the mosque to pray at any time without fear...” (Interview: Informant 8 2020)

Based on Informant 8's statement above, he and his family are very grateful for being able to seek refuge in this country and practice the teachings of Islam freely without fear. Meanwhile, Informant 3, a Rohingya refugee interviewed, also acknowledges that he feels safe living in Malaysia because he has never been prevented from practicing the teachings of Islam. According to Informant 3:

“I fled through Golok and then entered Malaysia. I was afraid to stay in Thailand because they don't like Muslims. I was afraid they would treat me like they do in my own country because they are Buddhists. Malaysia is a Muslim country, and the people are good; I like living here” (Interview: Informant 3 2020)

Informant 3 also mentioned that they now have a mosque for the Rohingya community, which was built in Taman Mesra, Kajang, Selangor. They were concerned about staying in Thailand because most of the population there is Buddhist, which reminded them of their past experiences in their home country, as documented in the research findings by Intan Suria Hamzah, Sity Daud, and Nor Azizan Idris (2016). The issue of religious discrimination is not only experienced by Syrian, Rohingya, and Palestinian refugees but also by other refugees, as revealed in an interview with Informant 10 - she originally sought protection in Yemen but had to become a refugee once again when the situation in Yemen became chaotic. At that time, she decided to flee to Malaysia because, in addition to the visa exemption factor, Malaysia is also a safe Islamic country.

In a nutshell, Malaysia has become a destination for Muslim refugees to seek additional protection, given that the majority of its population is Muslim. Muslim refugees maintain the conviction the protection are better guaranteed in Islamic countries as a result of their common faith and religious affiliation. This belief is grounded in the notion that in a country where Islam is the predominant religion, there is an inherent sense of familiarity and understanding of their religious practices and cultural norms. As a result, they anticipate a greater level of acceptance and support from both the government and the local community; this shared religious identity

creates a sense of solidarity, which in turn fosters an environment perceived as more conducive to their well-being and protection.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this research has shed light on the demographics of refugees in Malaysia and the pull factors that drive them to choose Malaysia as a destination for seeking protection. The data presented in this study reveals a significant refugee population in Malaysia, accounting for 0.5 per cent of the country's total population. The majority of these refugees originate from Myanmar, particularly the Rohingya community, and are distributed across various states in Peninsular Malaysia, with Selangor, Kuala Lumpur, and Penang being the preferred destinations due to employment opportunities.

The pull factors identified in this research encompass geographical, social networks, visa exemption policies, and the freedom of religion. Geographical factors play a crucial role, as refugees tend to seek refuge in nearby countries for safety and cost-effectiveness. Social networks within refugee communities and the information they provide about job prospects and housing facilities facilitate the decision to choose Malaysia. The visa exemption policy has made Malaysia easily accessible to refugees, especially from Islamic countries. Finally, the freedom to practice their religion in Malaysia, coupled with its status as an Islamic country, attracts a significant influx of Islamic refugees.

Understanding these pull factors is essential for policymakers, humanitarian organizations, and host countries to develop informed strategies for managing and supporting the refugee population in Malaysia. It is evident that Malaysia's unique position as a destination country for refugees in Southeast Asia is influenced by a combination of geographic, social, policy, and religious factors. In sum, we argue, that addressing the needs and challenges of refugees in Malaysia requires a comprehensive and context-specific approach that takes these abovementioned factors into account.

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Cultural Colouration and Implication of Translating Onomastic construction of Nigerian Proper Names

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ABSTRACT

Translating Nigerian proper names from Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa languages into English is a daunting task to literary translators. This is due to linguistic and cultural complexities of the meaning of such names. The present study uses the three main ethnic groups in Nigeria: Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa as a case study. The objectives of the study are to: assess whether the naming practices are similar across Nigeria's ethnicities, highlight factors that affect the interpretation of the names identified, and analyze what such names imply in the cultural beliefs of the people that use them both within Nigeria and beyond. The study adopts the operational framework of translation procedures developed by Vinay and Darbelnet (1995) as its methodology. The data of the study consists of assorted Nigerian proper names from the three ethnic groups in the country. The data are analyzed from the perspective of historical and cultural approach. The paper reveals how Nigerians value their world of culture and language by illustrating their onomastic essence and cultural liberty of the people. The paper concludes that translation of Nigerian proper names should be carried out with adequate knowledge of Nigerian languages and culture.

Keywords: Translation, Onomastics, Identity, Nigerian Name, Culture.

Introduction

Translating an element as historically and culturally significant as Nigerian proper names can be a herculean task to translators; more challenging is translating them into a different language. This raises the question: How can a name that has been carefully crafted to suit a particular setting, occasion and time be relevant in another language and another culture altogether? This forms one of the greatest challenges of translating Nigerian proper names in texts and contexts. The



translation of Nigerian proper names is significant in that it helps to shape, globalize the social thinking and culture of the people. The composition of literary texts requires some verbal aerobatics and this equally makes it difficult for the translator to translate proper names into another language. This does not mean that such translation is impossible. This paper focuses the translation and inter-connectedness of Nigerian proper names in relation to culture, memory and identity.

WHAT IS A PROPER NAME?

Naming is a universal practice of most cultures and an important family tradition. In the Bible days till now, name and naming ceremony assume a crucial position to the arrival of a child in the family. Among the Yoruba in Nigeria, name can imply a means of inviting God or Supreme Being to be part of household that believes in God or a particular deity; this is why a lot of rituals go into naming activity. One of the things that make Nigerians believe that other races are not quite sensitive to the African mode of knowing and knowledge` transmission is the way others misrepresent names of both human beings and elements in Africa Ariole (2011:530). Yoruba names can be discussed and analysed connotatively and denotatively. According to Babalola and Alaba (2003: ii), Yoruba names can be considered accordingly:

On the basis of Yoruba Grammar, the variety in the structure of Yoruba personal names can be identified and appreciated. Many a Yoruba personal name is a complete simple sentence. On the other hand many a Yoruba personal name is the abridgement of a sentence. Furthermore many a Yoruba personal name is a nominalization.

Proper names are mono-referential, but not mono-functional linguistic label of people. Proper names do not come into existence by chance but according to a causal connection (Nissila 1962: 39). According to Bertills (2003:17), "Name-giving principles are to some extent, universal phenomena in different language areas, but there are, for example, large cultural differences between the function and use of personal names in western language cultures and Eastern tradition. In Nigeria, particularly, among the Yoruba people, names form the cultural label of the people long before the advent of Christianity and Islam. Today, Christianity and Islamic religions have greatly influenced the naming pattern of the people in Nigeria. Thus traditional names that make references to family deities, cultural practices and exploits have been corrupted with beliefs in foreign religions. For example in Yoruba land, it is a common practice for a Christian from traditional worshippers' background whose name or father's name has to do with deities such as *Ogun, Sango, Oya, Ifa, Osanyin, Esu, Egungun, Oro*, etc. to change his name based on his religious belief. For example, a boy named Ogunwale (the god of iron has arrived home) could drop the prefix "ogun" for "Jesu" (Jesus) to bear *Jesuwale* (Jesus has arrived home). Sangobiyi (god of lightning and thunder brought this to the world) could discard the prefix that has to do with the god and reconstruct his name to become: Oluwabiyi (The Lord has brought this one to the world). In most societies, naming is mostly characterized by communal rituals which are usually considered as sacred. In view of its significance, Nigerian names are usually carefully selected for the name-bearer. A name signifies an individual being and possesses a unique reference; (mono-referential). Bertills (2003:19) distinguishes between proper names and common names:

“ According to our general knowledge of onomastic and proper names in each language, we have no trouble distinguishing conventional names from common nouns or other proper names even when they are not within a context. The question of the borders and differences between common noun and proper noun/name can be traced far back and is of crucial significance in onomastic research (...) Proper names differ from common nouns orthographically and referentially but also morpho-syntactically and semantically. However, to put it simply, the criterion for distinguishing between proper names and common nouns is that proper names identify individual characters, places and institutions whereas common nouns generically refer to objects or states of affairs or individual representatives thereof, for example chair(s), elephant(s),car(s)” (Bertills, 2003:19).

While common nouns can appear as proper nouns and vice-versa, the only function of proper name is identification whose meaning is largely dependent on pragmatic, linguistic and cultural domains. Proper names have traditionally been referred to as being some kinds of labels attached to individuals in order to single them out from other individuals, without describing or characterizing them in any way Vi'kuna (1990:7). Bloomquist (1993:15), Anderson (1994:15) work on derivations and simple names. A name can be a combination of all the three.

The consideration of name formation also recognizes issues related to whether the criterion for the coining of the names is primary as opposed to secondary name-formation, Leibring (2006:311-312). The evaluation of name formation as compared to name-selection is directly connected to the criteria for proper names in general, but in literary contexts it is even more dependent on the relationship between the name and the reference as the referent steers the criteria of name-giving (ibid). Name formation relies more on the semantic aspects of the name. Proper names are “linguistic signs”. Linguistic sign is anything that can stand for something else (Berger 1999:1). Consequently, proper names are verbal signs that “stand for”, a referent. They can also be considered as semiotic signs, that are related to their referents by resembling them (icon), by being casually connected to them (index) or by being tied to them by convention (symbol) (ibid:1). The traditional viewpoint of proper name has defined names as including denotative meaning but not connotative meaning:

Proper names are not connotative; but they denote the individuals who are called by them, but they do not indicate or imply any attributes as belonging to those individuals. When we name a child by the name “Paul” or a dog by the name “Caesar, these names are simply marks used to enable those individuals to be made subjects of discourse (Aschenberg, 1991:9)

The affirmation of Aschenberg (1991) is that proper names are distinguishing labels of an individual. However, Kiviniemi (1982:151), states that semantic content of the name, in all probability, has been significant from the point of view of name-giving. Thus, the reason for the choice of a transparently semantic name is reflected in the name-giver’s opinions, expectations and hopes for the referent rather than the referent itself. (ibid: 150). In Yoruba traditional name giving, name is not for the purpose of identification or labeling alone. It has cultural implication. Family beliefs, family position, status, profession, specific events, festival, religion, certain occurrences at birth and season come to play in naming process. On a pragmatic level, one requires basic information to understand the meaning of a proper name. The context supplies information about a name; it will never affect the denotative relationship between some proper names and their

referents. The study of semantics of proper names and meaning is largely a question of terminology and definitions. The semantic of proper name is also uniquely dependent on the difference between *Langue* and *Parole* and has implications for its study:

A further implication for the study of names in literature is that in reading literary works, the knowledge of the world and the knowledge of language intertwine with each other. But perhaps the most delicate issue concerning the meaning versus the contents of proper names lies in their characteristics of drawing so many aspects together: the author, the reader and their respective language culture, backgrounds simultaneously as they actualize language, culture and the literary context in which the knowledge of the world, literature and knowledge of language are mixed up. Bertrills (2003:31).

Recent works on literary onomastics have been quite stimulating. Bertrills (2003) treats the subject of African names from the perspective of children literature. Fernandez (2006:56) recognizes three things translators generally do with names: substitution, transcription, and outright omission. Within the framework of translation studies, Ulf and Hal (2008) presented a method to transliterate names in the framework of end-to-end statistical machine translation. The system is trained to learn when to transliterate. The study also involves a discussion of the challenges in name translation evaluation. Nord (2003), drawing on a corpus of eight translations of Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* into five languages (German, French, Spanish, Brazilian, Portuguese, and Italian), the paper discussed the forms and functions of proper names in children's books and some aspects of this translation. The study claimed that an important function of proper names in fiction is to indicate in which culture the plot is set. Additionally, a few other studies on onomastic can be mentioned, for instance the work of Victor Ariole (2011) and Bariki (2009). These studies provide very useful information on onomastic research and particularly anthroponomy which is the study of cultural imperative of personal names. These studies provide very useful contribution to names, the construction of characters within the context studied. The study is significant with regards to providing useful insights on Nigerian proper name formation and meaning in texts and contexts.

Bariki (2009) studies the socio-cultural and ethno-pragmatic significance of African names as used by the Yoruba and Izon of Nigeria and the Akan of Ghana. From the perspective of linguistic anthropology, he revealed the non-arbitrary nature of these names and demonstrated the need to translate them, particularly in fictional texts, so that their significance may be preserved. Initial works by linguists and anthropologists were mainly pre-occupied with the classificatory function of naming and the relationship between names and social structure Bariki (2009:1). Linguists have amply demonstrated that the variety of the structure of personal names in Africa can be appreciated through the grammar of the language in question (ibid: 1).

CULTURAL SPECIFICITY OF NIGERIAN PROPER NAMES

In Nigeria, names possess historical, social, cultural and religious bearing that go beyond ordinary identification. Nigerian proper names are strongly connected to the word in terms of language and culture. The cultural value of Nigerian name refers to the value attached to a given name, its semantic, semiotic load, and circumstances surrounding a child's birth, all these suggest the linguistic label to be given to the child. Most names are clearly culture-specific, stronger reference



to culture is evident in names such as: Ayesoro, Emoruwa, Ikuemenisan among others. Readers who are not familiar with these cultural names will obviously not understand the cultural import of these names.

The problem of culture brings about the challenge of translating proper names in other tongues because every language portrays the world in diverse way and has its own grammar structure, grammar rules and syntax variance. Since every name is unique, and culture-bound in most cases, the problem of culture brings about the challenge of translating proper names. Some theorists like Hague (2012:101) affirm that name must be translated because of the following reasons:

- a) Because a particular word in one language often contains meanings that involve several words in another language.
- b) Because grammatical particles are not available in every language.
- c) Because idioms of one language and culture may be utterly perplexing to speakers from another language and culture.

Benveniste (1971:223-224) affirms that language is the nature of man and “provides the very definition of man” Adams, (1986:729). The problem of language and cultural difference strains the simple transfer of proper names in language, because “no two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached Sapir (1956:69). Conversely, equivalence consists of many countenances; for instance, it is an essential condition for translation, an obstruction to advancement in translation studies Hague (2012: 101). Traditional Yoruba naming culture gives names to a new born on the sixth day. Ifa deity, directs the choice of name to be given through predestination process after divination. Today Yoruba name their child the eighth day of birth. The ceremony is usually performed by high ranking members of the family such as, father, mother, grandparents, and next of kin. The spiritual requirements that will help the child to accomplish his destiny on earth are carried out with rituals. Most of these naming ceremonies are of two stages: the secret ceremony where all taboos, rituals are observed before the public ceremony, which is usually characterized by feasting and entertainment of invited friends and extended family members. Yoruba names are classified as follows: Destiny names (known as Oruko Amutorunwa- names brought from heaven). E.g. Aina, Ige, Ojo, Taiwo, ilori, etc. Yoruba believe that certain children are born with preordained names relating to the events of their birth and that parents have no control over such a child’s destiny name. These names are: Idowu- given to a child after a set of twins, Alaba- after Idowu, Idogbe – a name given to a child born after Alaba. Ige- a child born in breech position, Dada - with dreadlocks, Aina Orosun; a baby girl born with umbilical cord wrapped around his neck, Ojo: a baby boy born with umbilical cord wrapped round his neck; Olugbodi – born with more than ten (10) fingers/toes, Abiona – born while on a journey or by the roadside; Babatunde – born into a family where a father or male ancestor recently passed away, Yetunde – name given to daughter born into a family where a mother, ancestor has recently passed away.

Acquired Names: (OrukoAbiso): Ibiyemi (suitably born), Olusoga (made to be the head by God), Adegbuyi (worthwhile crown), etc. For a name such as Ekundayo- a name given in relation to bitter events that precede the joyous arrival of the child into the family (sorrow turned to joy).

Appellative names or nick names: (oruko inagije). Arikuyeri (death dodger), Ekun Oke (lion on the top).

Hypocoristic names (Oruko Oriki): Agbeke (embraced to cherish), Arike (cherished when seen), Ajoke (embraced by all). Praise names: This is a recital name that underscores achievement, greatness of ancestors of various Yoruba families.

Redemptive names: (OrukoAbiku): Ikukoyi (death has rejected this one), Kokumo (dies no more), Malomo (don't die again), Durojaiye (live and enjoy life), Igbekoyi (earth disowns this one), Ikudaisi (death spares this one).

It is believed that names are so powerful that they have an impact on life, behaviour, integrity and success of a child.

TRANSLATION ANALYSIS OF SOME NIGERIAN PROPER NAMES

Yoruba Proper Names

In this section we shall analyse some Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa names in relation to the practical achievement of the name-bearers in the society. These names are:

(a). Obasanjo Olusegun Okikiola:

Obasanjo – One that has come to rule and reign for ever

Olusegun – Godwin

Okikiola – Famous for wealth

Yoruba believe that the name a person bears is so powerful that they bear on the life, behaviour, achievement, integrity and success of a child. This is true of the above name. Former Nigerian President, Olusegun Okikiola Obasanjo born on 5 March 1937 from the Yoruba ethnic group bears this name. He was a former Nigerian Army General, who ruled Nigeria between 13th February, 1976 to 1st October, 1979. He served as the elected civilian President of Nigeria between 29th May, 1999 to 29th May, 2007. Obasanjo equally reigned as the Chairperson of the African Union between 2004 and 2006. Though Obasanjo is not fully in power in Nigeria today, but remains a *king maker* who continues wield influence in the political landscape of the country. Yoruba believe the power behind this name follows the bearer to achieve his destiny on earth.

Another type of such name is:

(b). Oye Bandele.

Oye, in Ekiti dialect is translated as chieftaincy or title.

Bandele means that which follows me home (to the family).

Oye Bandele, whose name suggests crown, success and achievement, was born in Ekiti State. He is a man of many crowns. Currently, he is serving as the Vice Chancellor of Anchor University, Lagos. He served as Vice Chancellor of Ekiti State University, having served as Vice Chancellor of The Univeristy of Education, TUNEDIK and University of Science and Technology, Ifaki-Ekiti, Nigeria between 2008 and 2011. Against all odds Professor Oye Bandele fulfils his destiny as dictated by his name.

In an attempt to address the semantics of Nigerian proper names and their cultural significance, the translator as reader and interpreter should evince a high degree of reflection.

Cultural loaded names demand good cognitive understanding that can fully describe the spiritual space of a person with reference to the name he bears. Although individual differences exist from one society to another, the culture to which one belongs is paramount in the development and manifestation of powers and progress attached to a given name.

(c). Names attached to deities: Omifunke is interpreted as a child given by water spirit to cater for

The name has high spiritual connotation. Omifunke: *The Water spirit has given this child to me to take care of* means that the child was born through consultation with the Water goddess. Such names are not easy to translate unless there is clear understanding of the cultural implication of such names by the translator. It presupposes that the parent had some initial challenges in conception; the challenge that led to seeking help from Water goddess. It equally connotes that the child was conceived in the spirit world before being given birth to by his mother. The implication is that the destiny and life of this child will be ruled by Water Spirit called “Mammy Water”, the Water goddess. Semantically, this name has deixis, as it is always labelled on female folks. This name is connotative in sense in that: First, since water flows from one point to another, and it is known across the globe, it means that the child will be known and respected across the continents of the world. It equally means that since a man cannot do without water that he will not drink it, it means that the child will be loved in any community she chooses to live in life. To corroborate this view, Fernandez (2006: 56) asserts that proper names often act as dense signifiers that give clue about the destiny of a character.

In order to guarantee effective translation of such name into another language, the translator has to ensure that both the source text name conveys the meaning of same message in the target language and culture. This could be achieved when the translation carries elements that express the meaning of the original name and sounds natural to the native speakers of the target language.

Igbo Proper Names

Among the Igbo in Eastern part of Nigeria the name “Okafor” opens up a world of memories and experiences as well as happiness in Igbo socio-cultural society. “Okafor” represents a name given to a child that is born on “Afor day”, that is a market day. This name becomes a unique icon for the bearer and can be linked to double notion of names and memories. The same goes for names such as: “Nweke”, a child born on “Eke day” and “Nworie”, a child born on “Orie day”. Duncan 2004 cited in Botolv (2012:98) posits that names which commemorate important events or personalities from a country’s history can be significant expressions of national identity with powerful symbolic importance. Although onomastics is considered as a linguistic discipline, it is also linked to other research domain such as cognitive linguistics. Among the three main ethnic groups in Nigeria, most people would agree that it is fundamental for people to be familiar with memories of events surrounding their names. In other words, the name a person bears, and the stories of events surrounding such name diachronically and synchronically creates the collective spirit of the name. The name is a key to memories and experiences Huden (1994:33). Such names “are important features of national and territorial identity” Saporov (2003:179). A good proper name should have the capacity to communicate not only the ideological knowledge, but also cognitive, emotional and historical knowledge. Within the theoretical onomastics, one of the great

issues regarding the content and function of a name is whether it has a “meaning” or “sense” beyond its reference Meike, Noemi et al (2012:99). A good proper name should have more extended meaning than the object which it ordinarily refers. Searle (1969:172) claims that:

But the unique and immense pragmatic convenience of proper names in our language lies precisely in the fact that they enable us to refer publicly to objects without being forced to raise issues and come to an agreement as to which descriptive characteristics exactly constitute the identity of the object. They function not as descriptions, but as pegs on which to hang descriptions.

From the above analysis, “Afor” represents socio-economic heritage of the Igbos, coined and handed over to the people from one generation to another. It is unique icon of memory in that it gives us more information about the socio-cultural and economic heritage of people tied to their past. Afor is though identified with past memories of the Ibo; we can say that this proper name shows the close relationship between a man and his environment, through the lenses of times. If a person has some meta-linguistic and historic awareness, he may listen to Igbo proper names as voices from past memories which function as a textual representation, often in an obsolete language of the historic landscape Weide et al (2012:102). “Afor” thus represents collective onomastic memory and heritage of the Igbo’s past.

Hausa Proper Names

Among the Hausa speaking race in Nigeria, proper name forms not only linguistic expression referring to a person in the real or imagined world, it is also a symbol that brings about a variety of feelings. For example, the name such as “Tanko”, “Bawa” and “Dongodaji” translated respectively as “the “Redeemer”, “the bush has rejected me” and “the mighty forest” are symbolically memorable names. They connect the bearers to historic events. For instance, “Bawa” translated as the bush has rejected me connects the bearer to his specific locality, that is, “the bush”. This name creates the impression and feeling of belonging to a natural environment. The bush provides the icon of attachment to the natural environment. In Nigeria, it refers to the sepulcher, the grave where dead people are created interred. This name is synonymous with Abiku. It implies that the child died several times at birth or at unripe age has now decided to stay alive for long as the sepulcher has rejected him. The idea of bush in African setting has extended meaning beyond a surface meaning it represents, thus, underscoring the cultural capacity, onomastic typology and memory of the name. “Dongodaji” is a metaphor of the “heir”, a sustainer of the family line. This is the point at which one can affirm that there is something in a name in Nigeria and Africa at large.

It is of note that foreign religions in Nigeria have sharpened the naming structure and colouration of the people. People, for example would not want naming their children or continue to bear names that have coloration of deities and memories of traditional festivals. Thus such names as Sangobiyi (god of thunder gave birth to this one), Aborode (born during the period of Oro festival); Oro is a deity females dare not see or watch; if they dare the warning, they die instantly, Ogunsina (god of iron has paved way), etc. Those that were given such names change

them to Oluwabiya (God has brought this to life), Aboluwade (coming with God), Oluwasina (God has made a way) etc respectively. This religious extremism has gone a long way in eroding the cultural beliefs and memories of the people. Some have even gone to the extent of completely discarding their ancestral traces through names by adopting colonial names. This attitude has gone a long way to denigrate their origin and sell them into cultural inferiority. African names are not given without reasons whether historical or eventful. Calling someone by his proper traditional name can shape his destiny, reconstruct his future and possibly bring him fortunes. Translators of Nigerian names need proper circumstantial, historical and occupational understanding of such names they translate into another language and culture for adequate reproduction of messages the names carry.

CONCLUSION

In this study, we have shown how diverse natures of Nigerian names can challenge the translator's competence. It is found out that, proper name in Nigeria context is characterized by heavy load of semantic components. The role of the translator is critical; the translator must go beyond linguistic differences between languages to decode sense of name; he should be able to understand and convey the cultural similarities and differences between the source and target languages.

From the study, we equally show that culture and language are inseparable and they go parallel in the sense that one cannot exist in isolation of others. Naming practices and processes do not differ significantly in the three ethnic groups studied but rather give us an insight into socio-cultural basis and inter-connectedness of names to culture, identity and memory among the people. A deeper understanding of the culture of the original name is essential if the names are to be appropriately rendered into the target language and culture. The translator of Nigerian proper names should be involved in managing the translation of these names by effecting necessary changes that will not violate the principles of faithfulness. This paper has equally shown remarkably that beyond the portrayal of the social values, norms and material culture of the people, Nigerian proper names reveal convincingly how the people apprehend their universe against the background of their daily experience. This study provides insights into the cultures, values and language of Nigerian traditional society. It is believed that this study presents sufficient grounds to stimulate further research by scholars interested in onomastic study in a wider interest

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ULASAN FILEM JOKER (2019) : ANALISIS PERSONALITI DAN PERSEKITARAN YANG MEMPENGARUHI WATAK ARTHUR FLECK

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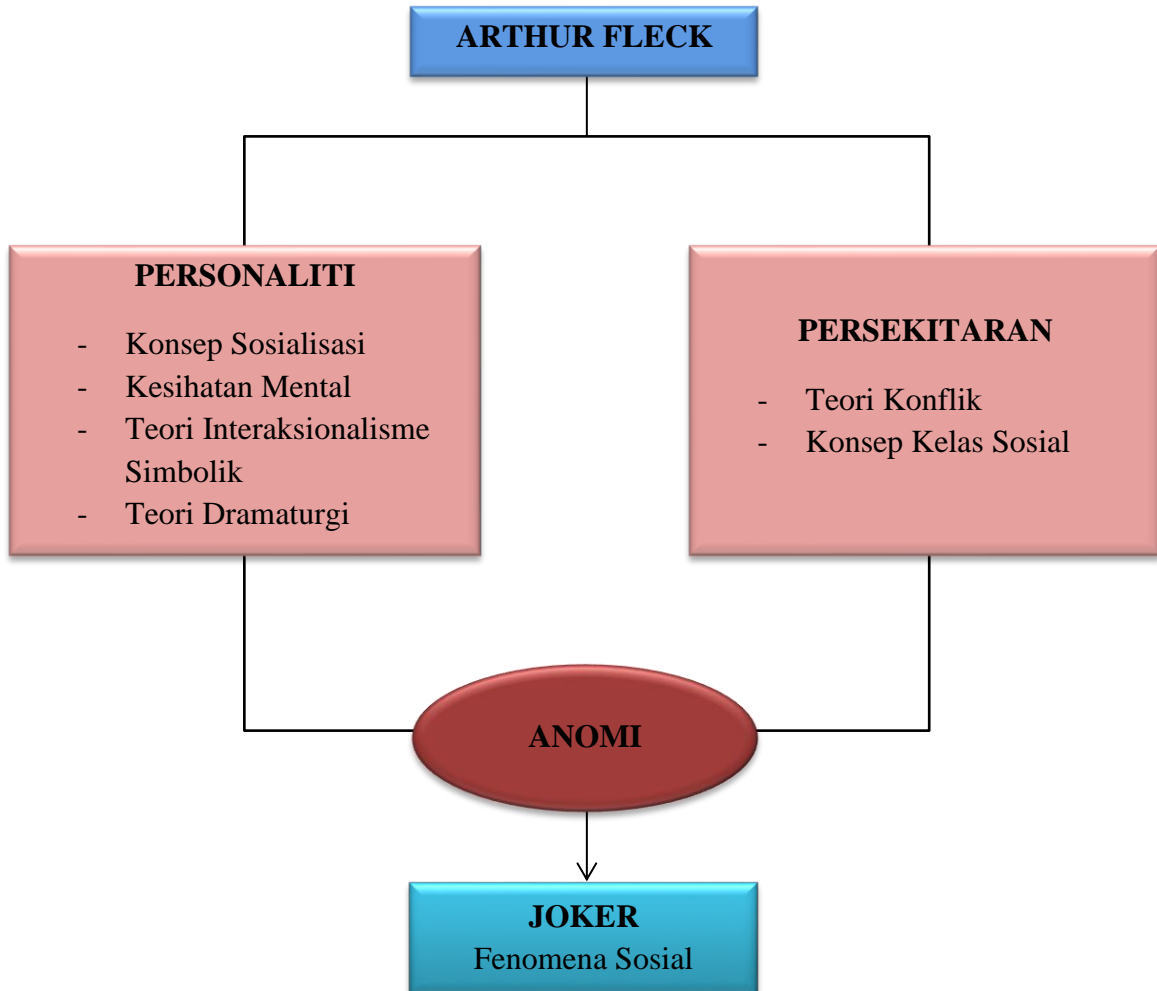
PENGENALAN

Filem ini berkisarkan tentang Joker atau nama sebenarnya Arthur Fleck. Arthur pada mulanya merupakan seorang lelaki yang baik dan janggal dalam masyarakat. Beliau menghidap penyakit ketawa (*pathological laughter*) menyebabkan orang sekeliling menganggapnya pelik. Arthur tinggal di bandar Gotham yang kotor dan penuh dengan jenayah. Dia sering dibuli dan berasa tertekan lalu melakukan pembunuhan. Kegagalan Arthur mencipta nama dalam bidang komedi dan merasakan seolah dirinya tidak wujud dalam kalangan masyarakat menyebabkan Arthur mula hilang kewarasan sedikit demi sedikit dan mula mencetuskan kekecohan dan pemberontakan di bandar Gotham. Dia diangkat sebagai penjenayah ikonik yang dikenali sebagai Joker. Hasil penelitian daripada filem ini, penyelidik membentangkan ulasan berdasarkan teori dan konsep yang berasaskan ilmu sosiologi dan antropologi. Sebelum itu, penyelidik akan menjelaskan satu kerangka konseptual berdasarkan imaginasi sosial.

Hasil lakaran kerangka konseptual dibawah, penyelidik cuba untuk menjelaskan bagaimana Arthur yang asalnya seorang lelaki biasa bertukar menjadi Joker hasil pengaruh daripada dua faktor iaitu personaliti dan persekitaran. Dibawah angkuabah personaliti, penyelidik cuba untuk mengembangkan teori dan konsep berkenaan konsep sosialisasi, kesihatan mental, teori simbolik interaksionalisme dan juga teori dramaturgi. Sementara angkuabah kedua dibawah persekitaran pula menerangkan teori konflik dan konsep kelas sosial. Akhir sekali, penyelidik akan menjelaskan bagaimana kedua-dua pembolehubah ini menghasilkan anomi dalam perlakuan Joker.

Sebelum penyelidik mengulas dengan lebih lanjut berkenaan filem ini, terlebih dahulu penyelidik membincangkan aliran pemikiran yang dimiliki oleh Arthur Fleck. Beliau merupakan seorang individu yang mempunyai pemikiran konstruktivisme sosial (*social constructivism*). Pemikiran ini merupakan satu sumber ilmu yang dimiliki oleh individu dengan cara memberi penilaian makna sendiri. Penyelidik menumpukan kepada konstruktivisme sosial di mana menurut Chrintine Aguis (2013), konstruktivisme sosial mendedahkan bagaimana kehidupan manusia bukannya hasil daripada sesuatu yang semulajadi, sebaliknya, kehidupan manusia hanyalah satu tipu daya melalui tingkahlaku dan tindakan manusia itu sendiri. Konstruktivisme sosial dalam aliran pemikiran Arthur adalah dipengaruhi oleh personaliti dan persekitaran seperti yang dijelaskan dalam kerangka konseptual penyelidik. Oleh itu, hasil interaksi sosial yang berlaku telah menyebabkan Arthur mencipta identiti baru dirinya sebagai Joker.

KERANGKA KONSEPTUAL



Rajah 1 : Kerangka Analisis Filem Joker

ULASAN PERSONALITI

Konsep Sosialisasi

Angkubah pertama iaitu personaliti, menghuraikan sosialisasi sebagai langkah pertama dalam pembentukan individu. Sosialisasi adalah proses di mana seseorang individu mempelajari peranan, status, nilai, kepercayaan, norma dan tingkah laku sosial yang perlu ada pada seseorang dalam institusi sosial iaitu masyarakat (Bernard, 2007). Keluarga, media massa dan institusi pendidikan adalah antara agen sosialisasi yang banyak mempengaruhi perkembangan kanak-kanak. Di peringkat permulaan sosialisasi berlaku, kanak-kanak belajar daripada orang dewasa atau ahli keluarga bagi membina konsep diri, personaliti, kemahiran dan penaklukan (Suria, 2003). Kehidupan Arthur yang membesar dalam keadaan trauma dan kurang kasih sayang ibu bapa menjadikan Arthur kelihatan murung dan pelik di mata rakan sekerja dan orang sekelilingnya. Arthur juga didedahkan kepada persekitaran sosial yang buruk akibat tinggal di kawasan yang mempunyai jenayah yang berleluasa, pengangguran yang tinggi dan majoriti penduduk yang miskin. Hal ini menunjukkan proses sosialisasi di dalam dan luar keluarga Arthur gagal memberikan Arthur kehidupan yang sejahtera.

Media massa juga merupakan agen sosialisasi yang penting dalam kehidupan Arthur. Arthur dan ibunya menggemari rancangan Murray Franklin di televisyen dan sering menontonnya bersama. Rancangan tersebut menggambarkan Murray sebagai seorang yang ceria dan lucu. Oleh itu, Murray dijadikan idola dan sumber dorongan kepada Arthur untuk menjadi popular sehingga Arthur mula belajar dan meniru aksi Murray ketika mengacara. Kadang-kala, Arthur berimajinasi menjadi seorang pengacara yang dapat menarik perhatian ramai penonton. Selain sebagai sumber hiburan, pengaruh media massa juga membentuk karakter dan perilaku Arthur sebagai seorang penghibur. Hal ini menunjukkan media massa telah menjadi institusi sosial bagi Arthur untuk mempelajari dan memahami norma dan nilai sosial dalam anggota masyarakat.

Seterusnya, ahli terapi Arthur juga adalah agen sosialisasi dan golongan yang paling hampir dalam kehidupan Arthur selepas ibunya. Arthur bukan sahaja mempunyai masalah mental tetapi menderita penyakit yang dikenali sebagai *pseudobulbar condition*. Penyakit ini juga dikenali sebagai *pseudobulbar affect* (PBA) atau emosi pseudobulbar merupakan gangguan neurologis yang menyebabkan ketidakmampuan seseorang untuk mengawal emosi. Gejala PBA memberi kesan kepada ketawa berlebihan, menangis, marah, atau reaksi emosional lain yang tidak sesuai dengan situasi atau perasaan yang sebenarnya dirasakan oleh individu (Miller et al. 2011). Hal ini memaksa Arthur bergantung kepada ubat-ubatan dan berjumpa dengan psikiatri secara kerap. Interaksi antara Arthur dan ahli terapinya membantu Arthur untuk berkongsi cerita dan meluahkan isi hatinya. Oleh itu, ia dapat mendorong perkembangan emosi dan sosial Arthur. Namun, apabila kerajaan di bandar Gotham mengurangkan dana Perkhidmatan Kesihatan Awam, Arthur telah kehilangan sumber sokongan sosial yang membantu Arthur untuk mendapatkan rawatan.

Kesihatan Mental

Menurut Talcott Parsons (1951), penyakit adalah suatu fenomena sosial dan bukan hanya keadaan fizikal. Kebanyakan ahli penyelidik bersetuju bahawa antara punca gangguan mental adalah daripada kemunduran masyarakat atau menandakan kepincangan dalam masyarakat (Liem et al 1978). Antara punca penyakit adalah daripada hubungan intrapersonal yang bermasalah dengan masyarakat semasa proses interaksi sosial. Sekiranya seseorang menerima

sokongan yang kurang daripada masyarakat, ia boleh mengubah seseorang itu daripada individu normal kepada individu patologi (Bhattacharjee et al 2011). Hal ini terbukti apabila keadaan Arthur semakin merosot. Arthur kehilangan pekerjaan, bimbingan kaunseling, akses kepada ubat dan hubungan dengan ibunya menjadikan dirinya terabai. Penyakit Arthur turut mencetuskan perasaan negatif yang merasakan dirinya tidak diperlukan dan dikehendaki oleh masyarakat. Oleh itu, Arthur cuba bunuh diri dengan cara mengurung dirinya dalam peti ais akibat tidak tahan akan tekanan persekitaran yang dihadapinya.

Selain itu, perspektif *functionalist* mengatakan kesihatan adalah salah satu pra syarat untuk kelancaran fungsi masyarakat (Liem et al 1978). Sekiranya seseorang jatuh sakit maka individu tersebut tidak dapat memenuhi objektif yang ditujukan kepadanya oleh masyarakat dan dianggap *deviance* kerana melanggar norma dan etika sosial (Bhattacharjee et al 2011). Meskipun Arthur mempunyai masalah mental, Arthur merupakan pekerja yang berdedikasi dan kelihatan seperti individu yang normal serta ceria ketika bekerja. Arthur juga memenuhi peranan dan tanggungjawabnya sebagai anak dengan baik. Namun, keadaan tersebut berubah apabila Arthur menunjukkan tingkah laku yang ganas dengan melibatkan ancaman nyawa. Punca keganasan merupakan suatu tindak balas sosial bagi mencapai kepuasan dan kesenangan dan bukan disebabkan kesihatan mental Arthur.

Teori Simbolik Interaksionalisme

Teori ini menjelaskan bahawa agensi menentukan struktur. Manusia memberi makna terhadap tingkahlaku mereka sendiri dan berkait rapat dengan definisi situasi, pandangan realiti dari sudut pandangan individu tersebut. Interaksi di dalam teori ini adalah proses interpretasi dua hala (*two-way interpretive process*). Proses ini juga memerlukan kita memahami tindakan seseorang adalah sebagai satu produk (Jones, 2003). Perlakuan manusia merupakan produk interpretasi manusia tentang dunia di sekeliling mereka. Oleh itu, perlakuan manusia bukan dipelajari atau ditentukan oleh sesuatu di luar manusia. Sebaliknya, sesuatu perlakuan manusia adalah dipilih sebagai perlakuan yang sesuai berdasarkan kepada apa yang telah diinterpretasikan oleh manusia tersebut. Teori daripada pemikiran Max Weber ini menerangkan bahawa tindakan sosial yang dilakukan oleh individu didorong oleh hasil pemaknaan sosial terhadap lingkungan sekitarnya. Manusia boleh mengubah makna dan simbol yang mereka gunakan dalam interaksi dan semasa bertingkah laku berdasarkan kepada penginterpretasian mereka tentang keadaan interaksi (Bernard, 2007).

Pendekatan teori ini boleh dilihat melalui dua situasi yang berbeza berdasarkan satu simbol yang sama. Badut secara umum membawa makna gelagat yang lucu, gembira dan ceria. Simbol badut ini dibawa oleh Arthur pada permulaan cerita ketika dia bekerja dan menuntutnya untuk sentiasa tersenyum dan gembira seperti moto hidupnya, *'put on a happy face'*. Masyarakat juga telah meletakkan satu interpretasi bahawa peranan sebagai seorang badut haruslah sentiasa senyum dan jelas membuktikan bahawa masyarakat berinteraksi dengan simbol-simbol yang diberi makna oleh pelaku tersebut untuk menjelaskan situasi (*define the situation*).

Namun, simbol dan makna badut telah berubah setelah berlakunya peristiwa pembunuhan yang mencetuskan gelombang pemberontakan. Bagi sebilangan besar masyarakat di bandar Gotham, simbol badut yang dibawa oleh Joker adalah hero ikonik yang berani. Sementara bagi kerajaan (struktur), simbol badut yang dibawa oleh Joker adalah penjenayah. Segolongan besar masyarakat kelas sosial bawahan ini berinterpretasi bahawa tindakan Arthur tersebut dianggap wajar dan dapat mengubah nasib mereka. Manusia boleh mengubah makna

dan simbol yang mereka gunakan dalam interaksi dan semasa bertingkah laku berdasarkan penginterpretasian mereka tentang keadaan interaksi. Ini membuktikan bahawa manusia boleh membuat perubahan atau pengubahsuaian kerana mereka ada keupayaan berinteraksi sesama sendiri dan pada masa sama, menilai kebaikan dan keburukan yang mereka perolehi atau alami dan kemudian membuat pilihan mana yang mereka suka. Maka dapat disimpulkan, pembentukan imej Joker yang diangkat sebagai hero dalam pemberontakan terhadap kerajaan (struktur) adalah terhasil daripada interpretasi masyarakat (*self-image*) terhadap beliau.

Teori Dramaturgi

Teori Dramaturgi merupakan lanjutan daripada simbolik interaksionalisme yang dipelopori oleh tokoh Erving Goffman dalam bukunya, *Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* di mana agensi menentukan struktur. Goffman melihat '*self*' bukan sebagai milik aktor atau pelaku, melainkan ianya ialah hasil interaksi antara aktor dan penonton. Maksudnya, '*self*' mengarahkan tingkah lakunya sesuai dengan harapan penonton yang diperolehi aktor semasa berinteraksi dengan penonton (Bernard, 2007)

Aplikasi teori ini dapat dilihat dalam filem Joker apabila Arthur sebagai watak utama menjalani kehidupan berdasarkan konsep '*front stage*' dan '*back stage*'. '*Front stage*' ialah tempat untuk menunjukkan persembahan iaitu menunjukkan apa yang orang lain ingin lihat, maka Arthur memainkan wataknya sebagai seorang badut dan penghibur (*stand-out comedian*) di hadapan masyarakat dengan baik. Malahan, beliau juga memainkan watak dengan baik sebagai seorang anak yang patuh kepada ibunya, pekerja yang rajin, dan juga sebagai pesakit yang memerlukan rawatan kaunseling. Menurut Goffman lagi, pada umumnya manusia berusaha menampilkan '*self*' yang ideal dalam '*front stage*' sehinggakan mereka terpaksa menyembunyikan sikap sebenar mereka ketika beraksi.

'*Back stage*' merupakan diri sebenar aktor di mana tinghkah laku tidak formal boleh muncul. Malah, aktor akan cuba sedaya upaya untuk menghalang penonton daripada melihat '*back stage*'. Arthur ketika bersendirian tanpa diawasi oleh mana-mana individu, bertindak di luar norma seperti bercakap seorang diri seolah-olah sedang ditemu ramah oleh Murray. Tambahan pula, selepas aksi tembak menembak di stesen kereta api, Arthur menari seolah-olah berada dalam dunianya sendiri. Aksi-aksi seperti ini tidak ditonjolkan oleh Arthur ketika berada di hadapan masyarakat. '*Back stage*' merupakan tempat di mana dia tidak perlu bertingkah laku sesuai dengan harapan orang lain.

ULASAN PERSEKITARAN

Teori Konflik

Seterusnya masyarakat juga memainkan pengaruh yang besar terhadap pergolakan filem ini yang mengubah watak personaliti Arthur sehingga menjadi Joker. Pendekatan teori Marxisme digunakan untuk menerangkan mengenai perspektif konflik dalam masyarakat Gotham. Marxisme, seperti yang diterangkan oleh Rashid (2011), apa jua sistem termasuk kehidupan masyarakat, konflik persaingan dan kontradiksi adalah suatu yang semula jadi. Dalam perspektif konflik, struktur sesuatu masyarakat itu terletak pada persaingan atau konflik antara kumpulan yang berkepentingan yang akan mengawal dan menguasai segala yang bernilai dalam masyarakat (Rashid, 2011). Oleh itu, konflik menurut pandangan Marxisme adalah sesuatu yang sentiasa wujud dan menjadi pemangkin untuk perubahan sesuatu masyarakat itu (Rosen, 1998). Konflik seperti mana yang diterangkan oleh Rashid (2011) bukan hanya

mengenai kekerasan atau pertumpahan darah tetapi konflik dipersembahkan dalam bentuk sekurang-kurangnya dua pihak atau agregat sosial yang berbeza kepentingan dalam memperjuangkan kepentingan mereka.

Penjelasan ini boleh dikaitkan dengan watak Arthur yang berkonflik dengan masyarakat di sekelilingnya yang telah membuatnya berubah menjadi Joker. Arthur yang mempunyai konflik dengan individu-individu di sekelilingnya seperti dengan ibu, rakan sekerja, majikan, anak-anak muda yang membuli, psikitari, tiga orang pekerja Wall Street, Thomas Wayne, Murray Franklin dan kerajaan Gotham itu sendiri. Konflik dengan ibunya, Penny Fleck tercetus apabila dia mengetahui bahawa dia adalah anak angkat dan didera sehingga menghadapi penyakit ketawa. Kemuncak konflik antara Arthur dan ibunya, apabila dia mengetahui ibunya juga merupakan penghidap penyakit mental dan pada waktu dulu tidak melindungi Arthur dari didera oleh teman lelakinya. Konflik terus berlaku apabila rakan sekerja Arthur, Randall yang mengkhianatinya dengan tidak mengaku bahawa pistol yang dimiliki oleh Arthur adalah pemberiannya. Konflik antara Arthur dan majikannya pula tercetus apabila Arthur telah dituduh melarikan diri bersama papan tanda kedai elektronik dan berakhir dengan gajinya dipotong.

Seterusnya konflik juga dapat dikaitkan dengan ekonomi. Reiman (1979) telah mengemukakan teori konflik dalam jenayah melalui bukunya *The Rich Get Richer And The Poor Get Prison*. Menurutnya, kelas bawahan akan ditangkap dan dituduh dalam kelakuan jenayah yang dibuat seperti mencuri, merompak dan membuat serangan. Namun, kesalahan-kesalahan seperti pecah amanah dan lari cukai yang dilakukan oleh kelas atasan dan pertengahan dianggap tidak berbahaya atau dipandang remeh, sedangkan kesalahan yang dilakukan oleh kelas bawahan dilayan seperti pesalah jenayah yang besar. Bagi Reiman (1979) kita sering melihat dan mendengar tentang perbuatan salah dalam analisis jenayah tentang kesalahan jenayah kelas bawahan. Ini menyebabkan kesalahan besar dan lebih bahaya yang dilakukan oleh kelas atasan terus hilang dan lenyap begitu sahaja. Secara amnya menurut Reiman walaupun sistem keadilan dianggap berjaya tetapi masih ada kegagalannya. Hal ini terbukti dalam isu pembunuhan tiga pekerja Thomas Wayne.

Konsep Kelas Sosial

Penganalisan Marx tentang stratifikasi sosial adalah untuk melihat ketidaksamaan disebabkan kewujudan kelas-kelas sosial. Marx membahagikan masyarakat kepada dua kelas utama yang bermusuhan, satu golongan penindas yang menguasai punca-punca pengeluaran dan satu lagi golongan yang tertindas. *Theory of Revolution* oleh golongan Marxist menekankan bahawa pemberontakan adalah ciri penting yang menjurus kepada konflik struktur kelas (Bernard, 2007). Konflik kelas akan mendorong masyarakat umum menggunakan revolusi sebagai alat bantahan dan kebanyakannya berakhir dengan keganasan. Kesedaran kelas penting bagi menimbulkan satu tindakan kolektif.

Semasa temubual oleh Murray Franklin, Arthur mengatakan “*Oh, why is everybody so upset about these guys? If it was me dying on the sidewalk, you’d walk right over me. I pass you everyday and you don’t notice me! But these guys, what, because Thomas Wayne went and cried about them on TV?*” Dialog Arthur ini cuba untuk memperlihatkan konsep kelas sosial yang mengkategorikan tiga pekerja Thomas Wayne sebagai kelas atas. Walaupun kelas atasan melakukan kesalahan iaitu melakukan kekerasan dan provokasi terlebih dahulu tetapi disebabkan Arthur daripada kelas bawahan yang mengakhiri konflik dengan pertumpahan darah, maka kesalahan itu dilihat begitu besar dan dikecam.

Arthur menambah lagi bahawa, sistem sosial di Gotham hanya mementingkan golongan kelas atasan semata-mata ketika ditemubual oleh Murray, “*Do you ever actually leave the studio? Everybody just yells and screams at each other. Nobody’s civil anymore! Nobody thinks what it’s like to be the other guy. You think men like Thomas Wayne ever think what it’s like to be someone like me? To be somebody but themselves? They don’t. They think that we’ll just sit down and take it like good little boys! That we won’t werewolf and go wild!*”. Filem ini jelas menggambarkan sistem sosial kerajaan Gotham adalah bersifat kapitalis kerana mementingkan golongan yang berkepentingan sahaja. Harris (2003) juga menjelaskan, Marxisme mengaitkan sistem kapitalis yang diamalkan menguntungkan pihak yang berkepentingan di dalam sistem kapitalis. Oleh itu, kapitalisme menurut Marxisme akhirnya akan membawa kepada konflik bukan hanya pada pemilik dan buruh tetapi juga kepada masyarakat (Haris, 2003; Rosen, 1998)

ANOMI

Menurut Carrabine et al. (2014) melalui kajian Merton(1938) telah mentafsirkan bahawa anomie ialah norma yang telah rosak. Pengaruh personaliti dan persekitaran yang berlaku kepada Arthur telah mewujudkan anomie dalam filem ini Arthur berhadapan dengan tekanan dan ketegangan setelah usahanya menemui kegagalan untuk berjaya dalam bidang komedi. Dia tidak lagi percaya pada cara konvensional untuk berjaya dan popular. Hal ini turut dibincangkan oleh (Merton 1938) di dalam kajian teori Anomie.

Menurut Merton(1938) manusia cenderung untuk melakukan jenayah akibat tekanan persekitaran dan ketegangan. Ini bagi memenuhi kehendak masyarakat yang telah menetapkan satu penanda aras bagi tafsiran orang yang berjaya. Menurut Merton (Merton 1938) lagi masyarakat melihat seseorang itu berjaya jika dia bekerja kuat dan sentiasa berusaha namun Merton(1938) juga menyatakan tidak semua orang boleh berjaya dengan bekerja kuat kerana peluang seseorang itu tidak sama. Bagi orang yang dibesarkan dalam keadaan miskin dan didera dari kecil seperti watak Arthur, merasakan tidak mungkin keadaan ini dapat diatasi dengan bersikap konvensional iaitu bersikap rajin dan berusaha semata mata kerana ketidakadilan dalam persaingan sentiasa berlaku dalam masyarakat bandar Gotham. Hal ini berbeza dengan seseorang yang dilahirkan dari asal usul keluarga kaya dan tidak mempunyai masalah keluarga. Oleh itu untuk mencapai juga aras kejayaan yang ditetapkan oleh masyarakat, Arthur telah menggunakan pendekatan yang lain dengan meninggalkan cara konvensional tetapi dia telah mengambil pendekatan melakukan jenayah iaitu mencetuskan pemberontakan di bandar Gotham.

RUMUSAN

Penyelidik melihat fenomena sosial di bandar Gotham pada babak pertengahan dan terakhir adalah hasil daripada pergerakan sosial baru (*new social movement*) iaitu rusuhan dengan memegang sepanduk ‘*Kill Rich*’. Penindasan dan ketidakadilan sosial telah membuatkan masyarakat mempunyai keupayaan berfikir tentang realiti kehidupan sebenar. Oleh itu mereka mula bertingklahlu secara sedar dengan melakukan pemberontakan dan rusuhan yang tidak mampu dikekang oleh kerajaan (struktur). Maka, fenomena terhasil dan masyarakat memberi nilai kepada fenomena tersebut. Pendekatan fenomena ini boleh dilihat dalam teori fenomenologi yang diasaskan oleh Edmund Husserl (Bernard, 2007).



Natijahnya, Joker memainkan peranan yang begitu besar terhadap kewujudan fenomena sosial di bandar Gotham. Masyarakat telah mengangkat Joker sebagai pencetus fenomena sosial dan menganggap Joker sebagai penjenayah ikonik dan wira dalam kalangan masyarakat yang terpinggir. Arthur yang dahulunya merupakan individu yang tidak dikenali dan sering ditindas kini telah menjadi Joker yang dikenali ramai dan status sosialnya diangkat ke tahap yang lebih tinggi dalam masyarakat. Pada akhirnya, Arthur meneruskan kehidupannya sebagai Jo' watak Arthur yang lemah tiada lagi dalam dirinya.

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Keseliratan Kepimpinan Wanita dalam Masyarakat Sivil di Malaysia

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Abstrak

Penglibatan wanita di peringkat kepimpinan baik dalam sektor ekonomi, sosial dan politik masih memerlukan pembaikan agar selari dengan yang digariskan dalam beberapa dasar kerajaan serta komitmen kerajaan di peringkat antarabangsa. Beberapa kajian utama menjelaskan kedudukan wanita sebagai pembuat keputusan dalam sektor ekonomi dan politik tetapi tidak banyak yang diketahui mengenai kedudukan wanita dalam organisasi masyarakat sivil. Penglibatan dan kepimpinan wanita dalam organisasi masyarakat sivil ini adalah aspek penting apabila menilai landskap yang lebih luas berkaitan penyertaan wanita dalam proses pembuatan keputusan. Justeru, kajian ini berusaha untuk memberikan analisis mendalam terhadap kerumitan cabaran dan intervensi yang diperlukan untuk meningkatkan penyertaan wanita dalam peranan kepimpinan. Penekanan khusus dalam konteks Malaysia yang unik dan pelbagai, yang dicirikan oleh kepelbagaian dan landskap sosio-politik yang kompleks dan mendapati bahawa cabaran dan intervensi yang dihadapi oleh wanita bermula dari ruang domestik, yang membezakannya dengan banyak kajian antarabangsa – yang mana dinamika budaya dan keluarga memberi kesan yang signifikan terhadap peluang kepimpinan wanita. Selain itu, adalah penting untuk mengakui bahawa peningkatan kepimpinan wanita tidak semata-mata bergantung kepada cabaran struktural dan sistemik. Faktor-faktor seperti modal sosial dan pemerksaan psikologi memainkan peranan penting dalam membentuk perjalanan kepimpinan wanita. Oleh itu, kajian ini mengiktiraf keperluan pendekatan yang menyeluruh dan terangkum yang melibatkan pelbagai sektor masyarakat untuk meningkatkan penyertaan dan kepimpinan wanita dalam organisasi masyarakat sivil di Malaysia. Tuntasnya, walaupun cabaran dalam bidang kepimpinan wanita di Malaysia adalah kompleks dan berakar dalam pelbagai aspek, Kajian ini juga secara tidak langsung ingin menyumbang memperkayakan lagi wacana akademik dan memberi panduan kepada inisiatif dasar dan praktikal untuk memperkasakan wanita dan memastikan penyertaan mereka aktif dan berkesan dalam peranan kepimpinan di semua sektor masyarakat Malaysia.

Kata kunci: Kepimpinan Keseliratan, Gender, Masyarakat Sivil, Pemerksaan Wanita, Pembuatan Keputusan



Women and the Labyrinth of Leadership in Malaysian Civil Society

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Abstract

The issue of women's underrepresentation in leadership roles persists across various sectors in Malaysia, spanning economics, social dynamics, and the political landscape, despite concerted efforts in both the domestic and international commitments of the government to rectify this imbalance. While the literature has highlighted women's status within decision-making, particularly in the economic and political spheres, such as their participation in political parties and electoral processes, relatively little attention has been directed towards their roles within civil society organisations. This significant knowledge gap is particularly striking, considering the pivotal role of civil society in shaping social discourse, advocating for change, and influencing policy decisions. Therefore, this study examines these critical issues guided by the labyrinth of leadership framework developed by Eagly and Carli based on a qualitative method incorporating in-depth interviews with experts (n=15) from selected Civil Society Organisations (CSOs). The in-depth analysis is conducted with a particular emphasis on the unique and multifaceted Malaysian context, characterised by its diversity and complex socio-political landscape. It is imperative to acknowledge that women's leadership trajectories depend not solely on structural and systemic challenges but also on social capital and individual empowerment. The findings highlighted these challenges, and the corresponding interventions are rooted not solely in the public sphere, as seen in many existing literature, but also originated from the domestic sphere, where cultural and familial dynamics significantly impact women's leadership opportunities. Thus, the study recognises the need for a comprehensive approach that engages various sectors of society to elevate women's leadership within civil society in Malaysia. In conclusion, while the obstacles to women's leadership in Malaysia are multifaceted and deeply rooted in cultural conduct, this study clarifies the complexities and advocates for the necessary interventions to bring about a more inclusive and equitable society. This research contributes valuable insights to enrich the academic discourse and practical initiatives to ensure women's active participation in leadership positions across all sectors.

Keywords: Labyrinth, gender, civil society, women's empowerment, decision making

PENGENALAN

Malaysia memperlihatkan komitmen yang jelas dalam menggiatkan penglibatan wanita dalam proses pembuatan keputusan di pelbagai peringkat dan di berbagai sektor yang berbeza. Beberapa institusi telah ditubuhkan untuk mengintegrasikan wanita ke dalam aliran utama pembangunan. Antara tindakan terawal adalah dengan menubuhkan Majlis Penasihat Kebangsaan Mengenai Integrasi Wanita Dalam Pembangunan (NACIWID) di Jabatan Perdana Menteri pada tahun 1976 bagi menterjemahkan pelan tindakan sedunia mengenai wanita dalam pembangunan negara. Pada tahun 1983, Urusetia Hal Ehwal Wanita (HAWA) telah ditubuhkan untuk mengawasi dan menilai perkhidmatan-perkhidmatan yang dibekalkan oleh sektor awam dan swasta bagi faedah kaum wanita. Pada tahun 1989 Dasar Wanita Negara diperkenalkan bagi menjamin perkongsian yang saksama antara lelaki dan wanita dalam pemilikan sumber dan maklumat, di samping mendapatkan peluang dan faedah dari pembangunan. Pada tahap ini jelas bahawa fokus dasar wanita pada era 1970-an dan 1980-an adalah penyertaan dalam pembangunan yang selaras dengan orientasi negara ketika itu yang sedang mengalami transformasi ekonomi dan sosial yang pesat.

Di peringkat antarabangsa, pada tahun 1995 Malaysia meratifikasi Konvensyen Penghapusan Segala Bentuk Diskriminasi Terhadap Wanita (CEDAW), Konvensyen Mengenai Hak Kanak-kanak (CRC), Deklarasi dan Pelan Tindakan Beijing (*Beijing Platform for Action*). Malaysia kemudiannya menandatangani Matlamat Pembangunan Milenium (MDGs) pada tahun 2000 serta diikuti dengan Program Tindakan Mengenai Pembangunan Wanita Dalam Negara Anggota Pergerakan Negara-Negara Berkecuali (*NAM Putrajaya Declaration*) pada 2005. Bagi menyelaraskan dan menterjemahkan komitmen antarabangsa ini, Malaysia telah menggubal beberapa dasar kebangsaan yang penting. Antaranya dengan membangunkan Malaysia's Gender Gap Index (MGGI) pada tahun 2006, dan menyemak Dasar Wanita Negara 1989 dengan melancarkannya semula bersama Pelan Tindakan Pembangunan Wanita pada tahun 2009 (KPWKM 2019). Melalui semakan ini, fokus dasar wanita Malaysia menjadi lebih inklusif dan holistik dengan tidak hanya menasaskan penambahbaikan kualiti kesihatan wanita dan penyertaan dalam bidang ekonomi bahkan juga dalam kebudayaan, politik dan hak sivil lainnya.

Bagi memantau pelaksanaan dasar-dasar ini, Malaysia telah membangunkan beberapa petunjuk gender (*gender indicator*) yang membantu kerajaan, NGO, penyelidik memantau penyertaan dan perwakilan wanita dalam sektor-sektor yang berbeza; industri, perkhidmatan, industri pertanian dan sebagainya. Kerajaan secara konsisten menerbitkan data wanita dalam guna tenaga, penduduk, kesihatan, kepimpinan dan lain-lain. Laporan ini boleh digunakan untuk memastikan institusi berkaitan bertanggungjawab terhadap komitmen mereka mengenai kesaksamaan gender. Petunjuk jantina dan data yang berkaitan boleh memperlihatkan jurang antara komitmen dalam kalangan badan kerajaan dan institusi lain di semua peringkat. Buat masa ini, hanya sektor awam dan swasta secara konsisten mengeluarkan data statistik tersebut.¹

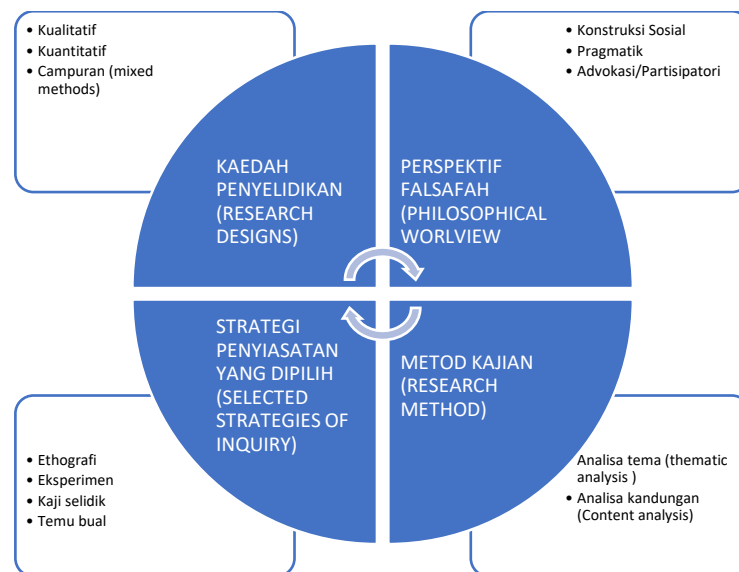
¹ Jabatan Perangkaan Malaysia (DOSM) menerbitkan Malaysia Gender Gap Index (MGGI) berdasarkan empat indikator utama; ekonomi, pendidikan, kesihatan, politik tetapi tidak merangkumi penyertaan wanita dalam masyarakat sivil (DOSM 2020). Kebanyakan kajian mengenai kepimpinan wanita dalam sektor awam dan korporat di Malaysia memberi penekanan kepada cabaran-cabaran yang dihadapi oleh wanita dan membahaskan usaha-usaha yang dilaksanakan dalam mengatasi cabaran tersebut (Abdul Ghani Azmi et al., 2011; Aman et al.,

Namun, tiada usaha bersepadu untuk menghasilkan laporan statistik yang sama mengenai penyertaan wanita dalam badan bukan kerajaan (NGO) terutama pada peringkat kepimpinan dan pembuatan keputusan. Terdapat sejumlah kajian sedia ada mengenai wanita namun ia merupakan kajian yang terpisah-pisah dan belum lagi dibentuk usaha yang komprehensif untuk mendokumentasi situasi kepimpinan wanita dalam masyarakat sivil. Malah, kajian yang umumnya bersifat kualitatif ini hanya tertumpu kepada NGO wanita sahaja (Makmor 2002; Ng, Maznah, Tan 2006; Pek Leng 2011). Sedangkan sebagaimana yang disyorkan oleh Bahagian Kemajuan Wanita PBB (*UN Division for the Advancement of Women*) dan Dasar Wanita Negara 2009 penglibatan wanita dalam masyarakat sivil juga merupakan indikator penting dalam menilai kedudukan wanita di peringkat pembuatan keputusan selain kesatuan sekerja, akademik, dan media (WomenWatch, 2007).

METODOLOGI

Kajian ini bertujuan untuk mendapatkan kefahaman mengenai kedudukan wanita dalam tingkat pembuatan keputusan atau mudahnya kepimpinan wanita dalam masyarakat sivil di Malaysia. Kajian ini akan mengenal pasti cabaran dan intervensi bagi meningkatkan kedudukan wanita dalam kepimpinan organisasi dengan menggunakan metodologi kajian kualitatif seperti ditetapkan oleh Creswell (2009) dan konsep keseliratan kepimpinan Eagly dan Carli (2007). Creswell (2009) memudahkan penjelasan konseptual ini kepada gambar rajah di bawah.

Rajah 1: Kerangka Pembinaan Kaedah Penyelidikan



Sumber: Creswell, 2009

Berdasarkan penjelasan di atas, kajian ini akan melihat pengalaman, realiti dan makna yang dialami oleh individu dipengaruhi oleh persekitaran, norma, budaya, dan sosio-ekonomi serta latar sejarahnya (Allen, 2017). Perspektif ini adalah selari dengan teori keseliratan kepimpinan

(*Leadership Labyrinth*) oleh Eagly dan Carli (2007) yang melihat kualiti kepimpinan wanita itu dibentuk oleh persekitarannya yang menjadikannya sentiasa dinamik.

Gender dan Kepimpinan

Teori seperti *The Great Man*, *Trait theory* oleh McGregor, *transformational* dan *transactional* bersifat binari atau boleh dikatakan sarat dengan esensialisme feminin dan maskulin. Teori-teori ini masih melihat kepimpinan dan kedudukan lelaki dan wanita ketara dengan stereotaip bernuansa patriarki melalui “think crisis, think female. Think manager, think male” (Ryan & Haslam 2007a: 553), “women take care, men take charge” (Eagly & Carli 2007) dan “think male, think leader”. Jika menyentuh tentang teori gender dan kepimpinan, tidak banyak ditemukan melainkan ia berkisarkan perniagaan, psikologi dan politik (Pace 2010). Wanita yang menggerakkan ekonomi kerajaan dan rumah tangga didapati tidak menggerakkan mereka ke status pekerjaan, gred dan kelayakan yang lebih baik. Justeru pelbagai teori mahupun konsep seperti *labyrinth* (Eagly & Carli 2007) dan *firewall* (Bendl & Schmidt, 2010: 5) dipakai untuk mengungkap cabaran kepemimpinan wanita dari pelbagai bidang antaranya *sticky floor*, *glass ceiling* (Dunn, D. 1987: 226-33), *glass cliff*, *glass cage and glass palace* (Gabriel Y 2005: 9), *backlash effect theory* (Rudman & Glick 1999), *gender roles spill over* (Charlotte kraft 2021), *leaking pipe line* (Grogan K.E. 2019). Beberapa konsep ini masih boleh dipakai untuk menjelaskan situasi tertentu yang tidak mampu dijelaskan secara mendalam dalam teori keseliratan.

Antara penjelasan yang sering diguna pakai adalah konsep siling kaca (*glass ceiling*) yang merupakan halangan yang tidak kelihatan tetapi menghambat wanita untuk mendaki hierarki kepimpinan (Lucia & Padgett, n.d.). Namun, Eagly dan Carli (2007) berpendapat konsep ini bermasalah kerana berasas kepada andaian (i) wanita memiliki akses kepada jawatan *entry-level* yang sama dengan lelaki (ii) mengabaikan kerumitan halangan yang dihadapi wanita, khususnya yang bersifat sosio-budaya (iii) membawa kepada cadangan intervensi yang tidak mengambil kira halangan-halangan yang bersifat sosio-budaya tadi. Kerangka Eagly dan Carli (2007) justeru menawarkan cara memahami cabaran yang dihadapi wanita dalam kepimpinan sesebuah organisasi dan mengiktiraf bahawa wanita juga memiliki daya kepimpinan sebagaimana lelaki. Pendekatan ini berbeza daripada pendekatan yang mengidentifikasikan kepimpinan wanita dengan nilai-nilai khusus seperti ‘transformational,’ demokratik, partisipatif dan inklusif sementara kepimpinan lelaki lebih bersifat ‘transactional,’ instrumental dan agentic (Davis-Blake & Pfeffer, 1989; Eagly, 2003; Eagly & Johnson, 1990; Jonsen et al., 2010b). Deduksi kepada nilai khusus ini hanya mengukuhkan stereotaip gender dan pendekatan yang menolak sama sekali perbezaan antara gaya kepimpinan lelaki dan wanita atau ‘gender-blind’ pula menyebabkan kecenderungan untuk menafikan fenomena yang dihadapi oleh wanita seperti ‘siling kaca’ (Jonsen et al., 2010a; London et al., 2019).

Wanita yang berdepan dengan pelbagai bentuk diskriminasi memberi kesan dalam penyertaan ruang awam dan aktiviti politik. Dengan melihat pengalaman, realiti dan makna yang dialami oleh individu dipengaruhi oleh persekitaran, norma, budaya, dan sosio-ekonomi serta latar sejarahnya - teori keseliratan kepimpinan (*Leadership Labyrinth*) oleh Eagly dan Carli (2007) melihat kualiti kepimpinan wanita itu dibentuk oleh persekitaran yang menjadikannya sentiasa dinamik. Kerangka ini menghargai kemampuan individu sebagai agensi untuk memberikan makna terhadap realiti sosialnya, bukan bersifat *deterministic* dan

menyokong kepada kewujudan multi realiti (*multiple realities*) atau multi interpretasi (*multi interpretations*) individu (Lee, 2013). Atas sebab sama, Eagly dan Carli (2007) menolak penjelasan halangan struktural semata-mata seperti siling kaca atau penjelasan yang bersifat biologi semata-mata seperti trait wanita yang tiada nilai kepimpinan. Eagly & Carli ingin menunjukkan kerumitan cabaran sepanjang perjalanan kerjaya wanita. Pendekatan yang digunakan ini mengajak kita untuk memahami peranan gender yang lebih longgar iaitu tiada versi sejagat tentang sifat wanita yang boleh berubah tetapi dihadkan persekitarannya (Harcourt 2009; Bradley 2007; Sen 2006). Pertentangan binari yang membentuk lelaki dan wanita berasaskan biologi dan hubungan binar hanya menghadkan gaya kepimpinan dan kemampuan individu yang boleh berubah kerana manusia bukan robot. Kedudukan sosial dan imej inferior yang diletakkan pada wanita bukannya satu lumrah (*nature*) tetapi telah dikonstruksi budaya (*culture*) dan perbincangan inilah yang diketemukan apabila wanita mula menaiki tangga pembuatan keputusan.

Wanita dan Pembangunan di Malaysia

Wanita sudah lama terlibat dalam projek pembangunan negara dan dalam tempoh itu, isu berkaitan wanita dikenal pasti seperti diunjurkan dalam setiap Rancangan Malaysia. Dasar-dasar kerajaan dilengkapkan dengan adanya dokumen yang penting dalam isu dan pembangunan wanita di Malaysia iaitu *Women's Agenda for Change* (WAC) pada Mei 1999, *Women's Candidacy Initiative* (WCI) pada September 1999 – kedua-duanya mempunyai tuntutan melampaui skop usulan dokumen Dasar Wanita Negara oleh NCWO pada 1989, yang seterusnya menjadi Dasar Wanita Negara 1995 dan Pelan Tindakan Wanita dalam Pembangunan pada 1997 (Martinez 2003; Weiss dan Saliha 2003).

Meskipun gerakan sosial wanita boleh ditelusuri seawal tahun 1848, bagi menuntut hak mengundi (Miller, 2021; Tilly, 2015) bagi mendapatkan representasi politik, namun tumpuan kajian akademik mengenai wanita dan kepimpinan hanya bermula pada akhir 1980-an apabila berlaku perubahan yang besar dalam ekonomi dunia – berakhirnya kemelesetan ekonomi global dan peningkatan teknologi – yang menyaksikan peningkatan signifikan wanita daripada segi pendidikan, penjawatan awam dan kerjaya dalam bidang swasta. Sebagai contoh, pengalaman di Amerika Syarikat, dekad ini menyaksikan percambahan kajian-kajian kes berkaitan dengan “women's worlds” dan “female cultures” yang dalam masa yang sama mengukuhkan perspektif gender dalam kajian lain seperti etnik, kaum, kelas agama dan politik (Meyerowitz, 2008) Perkembangan ini sekali gus memberi kesan terhadap teori dan perspektif yang sebelumnya sarat dengan androcentrisme (Stivens, 2019). Maka tidak hairanlah ‘wanita dan kepimpinan’ merupakan sebahagian tema penting dalam kajian berkaitan dengan pembangunan (Meyer et al., 2002; Meyerowitz, 2008), dan perkembangan ini juga berlaku di Malaysia. Maila Stivens, antara sarjana yang memberikan satu gambaran komprehensif mengenai perkembangan kajian berkaitan wanita dan pembangunan di Malaysia. Bagaimana pun, menurut beliau, kajian sedia ada berkaitan dengan gender dan pembangunan ‘*drawing on a confused history of theorising the relationship of gender to development, modernity and globalisation*’ yang diakibatkan oleh pendekatan yang androcentrik dalam memahami fenomena ini (Stivens, 2000).

Menurut Stivens, kajian-kajian awal yang umumnya bersifat antropologi mengenai wanita oleh kolonial, memberi penekanan kepada idea wanita Melayu kampung tradisional

yang 'relatively autonomous'² sebelum beralih selepas Merdeka kepada kajian yang lebih kritikal mengenai wanita yang kehilangan nilai autonomous tersebut akibat perkembangan kapitalisme dan patriaki³ yang berlatarbelakangkan industrialisasi dan Dasar Ekonomi Baru (Stivens, 2000). Pemerhatian Stivens ini tercermin dalam beberapa kajian utama pada 1980-an yang dikumpulkan oleh Azlina Abdullah (2012) iaitu *Women in Malaysia* (1984) suntingan Hing Ai Yun, Nik Safiah Karim dan Rokiah Talib, *Women and Work in Malaysia* (1986) suntingan Hing Ai Yun dan Rokiah Talib dan *Technology and Gender Women's Work in Asia* (1987) suntingan Cecillia Ng. Akan tetapi kompilasi yang disediakan oleh Azlina Abdullah (2012) ini sangat bersifat diskriptif dan tidak menjelaskan mengenai fokus dan trend penyelidikan mengenai tema wanita dan pembangunan di Malaysia.

Kepimpinan wanita dalam gerakan bersifat politik

Meskipun wanita telah terlibat aktif dalam gerakan nasionalisme sebelum perang Dunia Kedua lagi, namun minat terhadap kajian terhadap tema ini hanya mula mendapat perhatian pengkaji pada akhir 1980-an dengan munculnya karya penting *Feminism And Nationalism In The Third World* oleh Kumari Jayawardena (1986) yang memperlihatkan bahawa konsep feminisme bukan hanya eksklusif di dunia barat, malah di dunia membangun juga.⁴ Pada masa yang sama, terdapat beberapa memoir dan penerbitan yang mengiktiraf sumbangan tokoh nasionalisme wanita seperti Ibu Zain (1903-1989), Khatijah Sidek (1918-1982), Aishah Ghani (1923-2013) dan Shamsiah Fakeh (1924-2008) yang membuktikan bahawa wanita di Malaysia bukan sekadar terlibat aktif dalam gerakan nasionalisme sebagai ahli tetapi juga mempamerkan kualiti kepimpinan (Cheah Boon Kheng, 1996; K. K. Khoo, 1994; Lai Suat Yan, 2020; Maznah Mohamad, 2002; Musa, 2010; Rohana Ariffin, 1999). Cecilia et al., (2006) mengakui bahawa kajian mengenai penglibatan wanita dalam gerakan sosial dan politik tidak mendapat perhatian yang sewajarnya yang sebahagiannya kerana tiadanya tradisi mendokumentasikan penglibatan tersebut secara tersusun.

Terdapat juga literatur menunjukkan sebaliknya iaitu dengan menyatakan lelaki sebagai "prime mover" dalam pembinaan negara bangsa (Khairudin 2013: 154) sedangkan wanita telah pun terlibat dan memimpin dalam gerakan yang berkepentingan politik, antaranya Khatijah Sidek, Shamsiah Fakeh, Aishah Ghani, Suriani Abdullah untuk memperjuangkan kemerdekaan tanah air dan menuntut perwakilan wanita. Wanita terinspirasi dengan perjuangan anti-Jepun dan nasionalisme di China terdedah dengan politik kiri di sekolah, ramai pelajar perempuan meninggalkan bangku sekolah dan menyertai politik pada akhir 1940-an – salah satunya Women's Federation pada tahun 1946 (Pek Leng 2010).

2 Anthony Reid (1988) juga mengakui bahawa wanita di Asia Tenggara pada abad keenam belas dan ketujuh belas di Asia Tenggara mungkin lebih autonomus daripada segi sosial dan ekonomi berbanding bahagian lain dunia pada era yang sama.

3 Stivens secara spesifik merujuk kepada dua contoh utama iaitu Ng, C. 1989 *Women in Development: Malaysia, Country Briefing Paper*, Asian Development Bank, Manila dan tulisan oleh Ong, A. 1987 *Spirits of Resistance and Capitalist Discipline: Factory Women in Malaysia*, SUNY University Press, Albany.

4 Tumpuan kajian mengenai peranan wanita dalam gerakan nasionalisme di Malaya bermula lebih awal lagi yang antaranya melalui kajian Phd Asiah Abu Samah pada tahun 1960 di Universiti Malaya Singapura (Rahimi 2020).

Menurut Marsden (1783) dan Tan (1981) sejarah penjajahan yang hanya memberi pendidikan asas atau lebih tepat lagi 'kemahiran rumah tangga' kepada wanita menyediakan mereka untuk menjadi isteri dan ibu yang baik. Dengan orientasi demikian, banyak pemimpin wanita sejak era sebelum Perang Dunia Kedua bergiat dalam persatuan bercorak kebajikan, lantas memperkukuh peranan tradisi wanita. Wazir (1981) pula melihat kepimpinan wanita melalui Kaum Ibu UMNO yang mana wanita bebas bergerak, mempunyai sistem sokongan (keluarga elit, masyarakat dan kerabat) dan pendidikan luar yang baik serta hubungan politik dengan parti pemerintah, dan ini tidak cukup menggambarkan kepimpinan wanita secara keseluruhan. Bagi pemimpin wanita yang mempunyai pertalian keluarga dengan elit politik lelaki (suami atau bapa), dari kelas menengah, berpendidikan Barat seperti pemimpin wanita dalam NCWO, berpengaruh dalam komuniti turut dilibatkan dalam urusan kepimpinan. Kaum Ibu UMNO dan para pemimpin AWAS rata-ratanya merupakan anak atau isteri pemimpin lelaki dalam Angkatan Pemuda Insaf (API). Menurut Manderson (1987), Ramlah (1993) dan Rahimi (2014) faktor kelas sosial dan pertalian keluarga memiliki pengaruh kuat terhadap struktur kepimpinan dalam masyarakat Melayu.

AWAS telah mencipta seksyen yang berbeza ini untuk membangkitkan kesedaran tentang hak yang setara dengan lelaki untuk membebaskan mereka daripada ikatan tradisi. Kumpulan kaum ibu pada awal 1946 yang menyokong kesatuan Melayu dilihat paling signifikan, dipimpin oleh Puteh Mariah pada 1949, Hajjah Zain Binte Suleiman (Ogos 1950), Raja Perempuan Perlis Tengku and Khatijah Sidek – wanita ini aktif di peringkat kebangsaan, negeri dan bahagian. Mereka yang memegang kedudukan kepimpinan merupakan wanita bandar, anak perempuan atau isteri aktivis politik dari kalangan aristokrat dan berpendidikan Inggeris, vernakular atau berpendidikan agama (Lenore Manderson, 1977).

Kebanyakan pemimpin wanita mempunyai hubungan kekeluargaan iaitu bapa, adik-beradik atau pasangan yang aktif dalam UMNO atau pemimpin masyarakat. Kepimpinan wanita didukung dengan status sosioekonomi kerana mampu mempunyai orang gaji bagi membolehkan mereka terus bekerjaya dan melepaskan dari kerja domestik. Kebanyakannya wanita muda pada awal 20 tahun yang pertama kali menyertai UMNO dan memegang jawatan pemimpin. Walaupun terdapat banyak desakan untuk wanita muda berpendidikan menyertai seksyen, majoriti wanita yang menjadi ahli sudah berkahwin, pertengahan umur, wanita kampung yang hanya menyumbang dalam aktiviti '*subsistence*' – dikenali sebagai ahli rumah tangga, kerja rumah atau kerja kampung (Lenore Manderson, 1977). Keadaan ini menjadikan kebanyakan ahli Kaum Ibu tiada masa, pendidikan atau peluang untuk menuntut sebarang perubahan. Apabila akses terhadap pendidikan semakin meningkat, kesedaran ibu bapa akan pendidikan anak perempuan juga berubah dan meningkatkan jumlah wanita berpendidikan dalam Kaum Ibu. Namun jumlah ini tidak signifikan memandangkan ada keraguan daripada wanita kampung yang lebih tua untuk memegang kepimpinan dalam organisasi (Lenore Manderson, 1977). Jelas bahawa wanita dalam gerakan nasionalisme juga berdepan dengan dilema antara jangkauan sosial sebagai suri rumah tangga dengan idealisme untuk kemerdekaan negara.

Antara cabaran yang dihadapi oleh wanita adalah berbentuk struktural dalam parti politik yang mana lelaki tidak melepaskan kerusi parti untuk calon wanita, proses pencalonan, mekanisme dan badan politik sedia ada mengekang wanita untuk menjadi pemimpin (Azmi, 2020; Sukhani, n.d.). Situasi ini lebih jelas lagi dalam parti tertentu seperti PAS yang lebih patriarki apabila cenderung memilih lelaki untuk memenuhi kerusi pimpinan parti dan mengehadkan penglibatan Muslimat dalam peringkat pembuatan keputusan (Azmi 2020: 74). Situasi ini berbeza dengan parti di bawah Pakatan Harapan yang datang dengan strategi

dalam parti seperti Akademi Keadilan Rakyat dan kerusi simpanan untuk meletakkan calon wanita pilihan raya dan meningkatkan kepimpinan wanita dalam parti politik (Alicia Izharuddin, 2019). Kekangan budaya dan tafsiran agama yang tidak memihak pada wanita masih lagi menjadi cabaran utama terutama dalam parti Melayu yang berasaskan agama seperti PAS. Dalam masyarakat moden, peranan gender dilihat masih tetap dan suci justeru wacana alternatif untuk mencabar tafsiran agama yang patriarki ini dan menjadi cara memajukan wanita Melayu sebagai pemimpin (Saat, 2019).

Secara puratanya hanya 10% jawatan Menteri di Malaysia disandang oleh wanita dan peratusan ini hanya meningkat kepada 28% selepas perubahan rejim buat pertama kali dalam sejarah pada 2018 yang lalu. Walaubagaimanapun, angka ini masih di bawah purata negara-negara OECD (OECD & ADB, 2019). Angka ini penting untuk menunjukkan di mana kedudukan wanita kini di peringkat politik nasional dan perkembangan perlahan yang masih berlaku walaupun setelah segala dasar dilancarkan atau adakah terdapat kelompangan dalam pelaksanaan.

Kepimpinan wanita dalam sektor awam

Kini, walaupun wanita melebihi lelaki dari segi pendidikan namun di peringkat pengajian tinggi menyaksikan penurunan kerana wanita tidak lagi melanjutkan pengajian sebaliknya berkahwin dan menjadi suri rumah. Dari segi pendidikan dan latihan, Dasar Wanita Negara menggariskan beberapa saranan namun telah gagal memenuhi saranannya sendiri untuk menekankan institusi pendidikan serta peluang pendidikan sepanjang hidup agar kaum wanita dapat terus mengembangkan pengetahuan dan kemahiran mereka.

Kerajaan telah pun menghasilkan mekanisme bagaimana untuk mengekalkan wanita dalam ekonomi kerana fenomena wanita yang berpendidikan tinggi dan bekerjaya berdepan dengan cabaran domestik. Antara yang dilaksanakan kerajaan adalah menyediakan kemudahan penjagaan kanak-kanak, parental leaves, fleksibiliti kerja dari rumah (work from home). Bagaimanapun faedah mesra keluarga ini bagaimanapun hanya ditumpukan dan digunakan oleh wanita yang akhirnya memberi kesan dalam kemajuan kerjaya wanita. Kelompangan dalam membaca dan membentuk dasar mesra keluarga sehingga ke hari ini gagal menyasarkan peranan aktif lelaki dalam urusan domestik dan ini merupakan halangan wanita untuk kekal dalam kerjaya dan seterusnya menjadi pemimpin.

Umumnya, majoriti wanita menjawat pelbagai kedudukan dalam kerajaan tetapi masih lagi berhadapan dengan halangan signifikan dalam menduduki pembuatan keputusan. Cabaran organisasi menurut Eagly & Carli (2007) tidak cukup untuk menerangkan mengapa berlaku situasi wanita yang telah melepasi halangan siling kaca dan menjadi pemimpin dalam organisasi memilih untuk keluar dari organisasi atau tenaga kerja. Di sini letaknya keperluan menggunakan konsep “glass cliff” bagi menjelaskan situasi tertentu. Pemimpin wanita dikatakan dilantik ke peringkat atasan pada masa-masa krisis dan tidak stabil berbeza dengan lelaki, ini menghasilkan tekanan dan “burn out syndrome” yang akhirnya memaksa pemimpin wanita ini keluar dari organisasi (Ryan & Haslam 2005). “Glass cliff” ini tidak memberi peluang dan menghadkan pilihan wanita untuk terus maju, ini tidak lain hanyalah gelombang kedua diskriminasi terhadap wanita.

Di Asia Tenggara, Malaysia masih ketinggalan berbanding Vietnam dan Filipina (OECD/ADB, 2019). Wanita didapati sanggup menumpukan masa untuk kemajuan kerjaya jika diberi latihan, mentoring dan peluang kenaikan pangkat tetapi ini terus menjadi halangan

sistemik (*systemic barrier*) dan wanita ini tadi akan memilih keluarga berbanding kerjaya (Syifa Mustapa et al., 2018) (Hirschman, 2016) (Abdul Ghani Azmi et al., 2011).

Kepimpinan wanita dalam sektor industri dan korporat

Di Malaysia, bermula dengan gerakan nasionalisme dan agenda pembangunan kerajaan, penyertaan wanita dalam gerakan sosial, parti politik dan kesatuan sekerja menuntut adanya kepimpinan wanita yang membawa isu pekerja wanita memandangkan isu wanita sebagai pekerja dengan keperluan yang berbeza sering diketepikan.

Salah satu tema utama kajian gender yang berkaitan dengan pembangunan di Malaysia adalah penglibatan wanita dalam sektor perindustrian atau dalam istilah budaya popular yang kemudiannya diangkat oleh Fatimah Daud dalam tulisan penting beliau 'minah karan.'⁵ Kajian-kajian ini banyak bersifat sosiologi dan memberi fokus kepada perubahan sosio-budaya (Aminah Ahmad, 1995; Jamilah Ariffin, 1981b, 1981a), halangan dan cabaran yang bersifat institusi (Miles, 2016; Rohana Ariffin, 1989, 1997) dan juga budaya seperti stereotaip dan diskriminasi (Aminah Ahmad, 1995; Crinis, 2004; Zainuddin & Kartini, 2018).

Walaupun lebih ramai wanita di Malaysia memperoleh pendidikan tinggi (Ching Goy et al., 2017; Education & 2015, 2014; Tienxhi, 2017; Wan, 2017) dan memasuki pasaran kerja sumbangan wanita ini tidak diterjemahkan dalam kedudukan kepimpinan (*leadership position*) dalam banyak sektor pekerjaan (Zainuddin & Kartini, 2018) malah masih berhadapan dengan kesenjangan gaji (*wage gap*) dengan lelaki (Ismail et al., 2017). Kajian kes oleh Asri Selamat (2009) terhadap wanita yang bekerja dalam bidang industri di beberapa sektor terpilih di Johor mendapati bahawa wanita masih ketinggalan daripada segi ilmu pengetahuan, kemahiran serta pengalaman dan mencadangkan agar wanita mempertingkatkan diri. Kesimpulan sebegini sangat mengelirukan kerana tidak mengiktiraf kewujudan cabaran dan halangan struktural dan budaya sebagai yang dinyatakan oleh Zainuddin dan Kartini (2018) mengenai diskriminasi halus yang mengakibatkan fenomena *glass ceiling* dan ketiadaan fasiliti untuk menyokong wanita yang berkeluarga untuk bekerjanya seperti dengan menyediakan kemudahan penjagaan kanak-kanak. Di peringkat korporat pula, pada 2011 Malaysia meluluskan dasar yang mewajibkan 30% wanita bagi jawatan pengurusan kanan dan lembaga di syarikat dengan lebih daripada 250 pekerja. Pada 2017 Suruhanjaya Sekuriti Malaysia (SC), menerbitkan Kod Tadbir Urus Korporat Malaysia (MCCG) yang mensyaratkan syarikat untuk mendedahkan dasar, langkah dan sasaran mengenai diversiti gender masing-masing (Suruhanjaya Sekuriti Malaysia, 2017).

Meskipun demikian, kajian oleh Shamsul N. Abdullah et al., (2016) terhadap firma terpilih di Malaysia pengarah wanita masih berdepan dengan bias gender setelah berada di peringkat tertinggi pengurusan yang sebahagiannya disebabkan oleh persekitaran kerjaya tersebut yang didominasi oleh lelaki. Maka tidak hairanlah penglibatan wanita dalam pengurusan tertinggi korporat masih kecil. Satu kaji selidik terhadap 50 syarikat telah dijalankan KWPKM menunjukkan penyertaan wanita dalam Lembaga Pengarah yang semakin berkurang dari tahun 2001-2008. Pada tahun 2014 pula, di Malaysia hanya terdapat 21% (5989)

5 Istilah minah karan adalah berkisar fenomena penglibatan wanita sebagai pekerja industri perkilangan yang berkembang pesat pada tahun 1980an. Fenomena ini banyak dicerap dalam budaya popular seperti filem, lagu dan sebagainya (G. C. Khoo, 1999). Fatimah Daud menyiasat fenomena ini daripada perspektif sosiologi dengan melihat bagaimana hubungan etnik masih lagi kuat mengikat kumpulan ini. Bagi perbincangan lanjut, rujuk Fatimah Daud. (1985). "Minah Karan": The truth about Malaysian factory girls. Kuala Lumpur: Berita Publishing.

Lembaga Pengarah wanita daripada 28561 syarikat awam dan 29.7% syarikat swasta. Pelantikan pengarah wanita sepanjang tempoh 5 tahun ini cukup menggambarkan perkembangan yang perlahan dalam kepimpinan gender berkait status wanita dalam pembuatan keputusan dalam sektor komersial di Malaysia (Zainal, Zulkifli & Saleh 2013). Data bursa saham menunjukkan terdapatnya 144 syarikat dengan kurang daripada 8% wanita di peringkat pembuatan keputusan dan ini disebabkan wanita dikatakan kurang prestasi bila menjawat Lembaga Pengarah, jangkaan sosial, masalah struktural. Walaupun tiada masalah di peringkat kemasukan (*gender gap entry*) tetapi “*gender segregation*” berdasarkan peranan gender dan sifat kerja mempengaruhi wanita yang cuba mendaki tangga kepimpinan. Kajian terhadap pengurusan IKS oleh wanita juga mendapati bahawa wanita masih berhadapan dengan cabaran menguruskan anak, kekurangan sokongan keluarga dan persepsi negatif komuniti (Mazidah Musaa et al., 2016). Hal ini menunjukkan wanita yang bekerja dalam sektor industri dan korporat masih berhadapan dengan cabaran yang sama di semua peringkat kepimpinan yang menyukarkan wanita untuk mendaki tangga kerjaya.

Namun, terdapat kajian yang melihat trend ini sebagai sifat kolektivisme masyarakat Malaysia yang mementingkan masa bersama keluarga berbanding kerja mempengaruhi jumlah wanita dalam tangga pembuatan keputusan maka isu seperti kekeluargaan lebih penting daripada memajukan kerja wanita (Abdul Ghani Azmi et al., 2011; Syifa Mustapa et al., 2018). Kenyataan bahawa trend ini sebagai manifestasi ‘sifat kolektivis masyarakat Malaysia’ menunjukkan bahawa terdapat kajian yang tidak menggunakan lensa gender dalam melihat fenomena keciciran wanita dalam tingkat kepimpinan.

Ini juga merupakan antara stereotaip dan prejudis yang dimaksudkan oleh Eagly dan Carli (2007) boleh datang daripada pelbagai bentuk sama ada secara struktural mahupun non-struktural. Struktural ini boleh terjadi kerana adanya dasar-dasar dalam organisasi yang tidak mengiktiraf kewujudan perbezaan gender (*gender-blind*) atau tidak sensitif gender. Hal ini boleh juga terjadi apabila adanya kekeliruan dalam memahami *gender sensitisation* seperti mendapatkan maklumat berlebihan berkaitan pekerja wanita sehingga menimbulkan stereotaip dan prejudis. Selain itu, daripada segi non-struktural pula adalah bias dan tekanan yang dihadapi oleh wanita berdasarkan gender mereka, dan biasanya berkaitan dengan identiti mereka yang lain (*intersectionality*) seperti status perkahwinan, usia, kesihatan, warna kulit dan sebagainya.

Kepimpinan Wanita dalam Masyarakat Sivil

Perjuangan wanita untuk mendapatkan hak sivil dan politik telah bermula sejak sebelum Perang Dunia Kedua lagi. Gerakan sosial ini bermula apabila wanita tidak lagi terikat dengan pekerjaan domestik dan mula terlibat aktif dalam pembangunan negara selepas Revolusi Industri. Namun, mereka dinafikan hak untuk diwakili dalam pemerintahan negara (Maznah Mohamad, 2002; Miller, 2021; Tilly, 2015). Gerakan sosial yang bermula dengan hak demokrasi ini kemudiannya berkembang kepada usaha untuk membaiki situasi wanita dalam setiap aspek kehidupan moden termasuk representasi dalam politik formal dan non-formal (Maznah Mohamad, 2002).

Mungkin *Feminism and the Women’s Movement in Malaysia: An Unsung (R)evolution* adalah salah satu usaha komprehensif untuk mendokumentasikan naratif sejarah pergerakan wanita di Malaysia, selain tulisan Lai Suat Yan (2004) dan Meredith & Saliha (2004) yang meletakkan gerakan wanita sebagai sebahagian gerakan sosial yang lebih besar di Malaysia

secara umum. Namun, buku yang pertama ini hanya memfokuskan perbincangan dan analisis pada pengalaman di Semenanjung Malaysia. Juga tiada perbincangan mengenai perjuangan wanita dalam kalangan petani, peladang dan orang asli, terutamanya kerana pergerakan wanita tidak mengangkat kebimbangan ini dalam cara yang sistematik – yang juga mencerminkan asas agak sempit untuk mobilisasi.

Malah menurut Crinis (2008) punca wanita kurang terwakil dalam kesatuan buruh adalah kerana kesan langsung daripada sejarah kemunculan kesatuan buruh di Malaya pra-Kemerdekaan yang ketika itu tertumpu di ladang dan lombong yang didominasi oleh pekerja lelaki. Meskipun terdapat sebilangan pekerja wanita India di ladang-ladang getah, namun pekerjaan mereka tertumpu kepada bidang tanpa kemahiran dan dianggap sebagai unit buruh keluarga (*family labour units*). Apabila DEB dilaksanakan, lebih ramai pekerja wanita (Melayu) menyertai kesatuan buruh dan berjaya melobi untuk hak pekerja wanita seperti upah saksama dan cuti bersalin namun hanya tertumpu dalam sektor kolar putih. Pekerja wanita dalam sektor kolar biru masih kurang berjaya (Bernasek & Gallaway, 1997; Crinis, 2004, 2008). Hal ini menunjukkan dimensi etnik dan kelas masih lagi signifikan dalam gerakan kesatuan sekerja di Malaysia. Di samping itu, Rohana Ariffin (Rohana Ariffin, 1989) menjelaskan penglibatan wanita yang rendah dalam kesatuan sekerja ini juga berpunca daripada budaya patriarki dalam organisasi kesatuan itu sendiri di samping kurangnya kepekaan gender dalam kalangan kepimpinan kesatuan. Pada masa yang sama, kawalan negara dan perpecahan etnik berterusan menjadi gerakan kesatuan sekerja yang sedia lemah yang tidak dapat menyokong organisasi massa pekerja wanita (Cecilia et al., 2006).

Kelemahan ini sebahagiannya kerana kebanyakan mobilisasi tertumpu dalam kalangan kelas menengah bandar (Ng, Maznah & Tan 2006). Bagaimanapun, kajian Spiegel (2007) didapati mengisi ruang ini sedikit sebanyak kerana mengkaji organisasi di bahagian semi-periferi iaitu di Kelantan. Pengalaman masyarakat sivil terutamanya NGO wanita ini dengan kerajaan Malaysia sering mendatangkan kerugian dan kekecewaan dalam pelaksanaan seperti dinyatakan oleh Cecilia Ng, Maznah Mohamad & Tan Beng Hui dalam *An Unholy Alliance?: Women in Engaging with the State* (2007). Kajian lain yang sama pentingnya termasuklah *Beyond Numbers: Women and Politics in Malaysia* (Pek Leng 2011), *Pertubuhan Bukan Kerajaan: Pembangunan dan Implikasi bagi Pembangunan* (Nik Safiah Karim & Makmor Tumin 2010), *Wanita dan Pembangunan Politik di Malaysia: Alaf Baru, Politik Baru* (Rashila Ramli & Saliha Hassan 2010).

Namun secara umumnya, kesemua karya ini kurang memberi penekanan kepada memberi tumpuan kepada wanita dalam kesatuan sekerja sedangkan kesatuan sekerja juga merupakan antara aktor penting dalam masyarakat sivil. Akan tetapi hal ini bukanlah disengajakan kerana kajian mengenai gerakan kesatuan buruh dan kesatuan sekerja sendiri sememangnya kurang diberi perhatian di Malaysia, apatah lagi yang memberi fokus kepada peranan wanita yang sedia kecil dalam kesatuan buruh (Crinis, 2008; Rohana Ariffin, 1989, 1997, 1999). Bermula awal 1980-an, isu yang mengambil perhatian ialah keganasan terhadap wanita dan penglibatan wanita yang lebih besar dalam kepimpinan. Terdapat beberapa NGO wanita yang utama seperti Women's Aid Organisation (WAO, tertubuh pada 1982); Women's Crisis Centre (WCC pada 1985); Sabah Women's Action Resource Group (SAWO pada 1987); Sarawak Women for Women Society (SWWS, pada 1985); dan All Women Action Movement (AWAM pada 1985), kemudian diikuti dengan TENAGANITA, ARROW dan Sisters-in-Islam (Rohana Ariffin, 1999).

Menurut Perlez (2006) terdapat dua peristiwa yang telah menyemarakkan debat awam di Malaysia salah satunya adalah kejayaan meluluskan pindaan Undang-undang Keluarga Islam

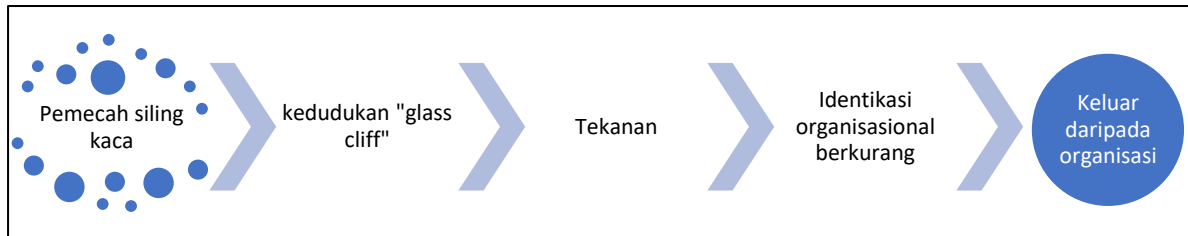
dalam poligami dan cerai. Protes yang dilakukan oleh Sisters-in-Islam ini juga disebabkan sokongan daripada barisan senator dan Menteri wanita yang didesak untuk menyokong mengikut garis parti. Perdebatan dan cabaran terhadap undang-undang yang dilihat mendiskriminasi wanita juga terdapat pada usul “Repeal of the Amendments to Islamic Law in Malaysia”. Kempen ini diterajui Sisters in Islam bersama Joint Action Group of Women Against Violence (JAGVAW). Selain NGO wanita, Sultan dan pemimpin Melayu tradisional juga menentang pelaksanaan fatwa yang didapati menindas misalnya fatwa terhadap ‘tomboy’ dan yoga. Sistem syariah memerlukan pembaikan, penguatkuasaan pihak polis dan undang-undang Islam terutama yang berkaitan undang-undang keluarga Islam sentiasa dikemas kini (Maznah 2009; M. Shahrizad 1996; Raja Rohana 1991). Peristiwa ini dikatakan menunjukkan penentangan dan perjuangan wanita terhadap perubahan yang berlaku di sekeliling mereka, “women’s organisations whose involvement in public debate about politics, women and gender issues dates back before independence are playing significant part in this resistance,” (Anna Spiegel, 2010: 25).

Berdasarkan perkembangan-perkembangan ini, wanita menerima kesan besar daripada pelaksanaan dasar kerajaan memandangkan wanita mempunyai keperluan yang lebih spesifik dan bilangan suri rumah yang tidak mempunyai pendapatan yang tetap serta hak kesihatan tidak dijamin dalam Perlembagaan Persekutuan sebagai hak asasi manusia menjadikan warga Malaysia terikat dengan putusan de-facto perkhidmatan kesihatan yang diberi subsidi kerajaan sebagai salah satu elemen penting dasar sosial sejak kemerdekaan (Maznah 2012; Chan 2003). Walaupun kerajaan menghasilkan mekanisme bagaimana untuk mengekalkan wanita dalam ekonomi kerana fenomena wanita yang berpendidikan tinggi dan bekerjaya berdepan dengan cabaran domestik. Antara yang dilaksanakan kerajaan adalah menyediakan kemudahan penjagaan kanak-kanak, cuti keluarga (cuti bersalin dan cuti suami kerana isteri bersalin), fleksibiliti kerja dari rumah (*work from home*) – faedah mesra keluarga ini bagaimanapun hanya ditumpukan dan digunakan oleh wanita yang akhirnya memberi kesan dalam kemajuan kerjaya wanita. Kelompangan dalam membaca dan membentuk dasar mesra keluarga sehingga ke hari ini gagal menyasarkan peranan aktif lelaki dalam urusan domestik dan ini merupakan halangan wanita untuk kekal dalam kerjaya dan seterusnya menjadi pemimpin.

Selain itu, cabaran organisasi menurut Eagly dan Carli juga tidak menerangkan mengapa berlaku situasi wanita yang telah melepasi halangan siling kaca dan menjadi pemimpin dalam organisasi memilih untuk keluar dari organisasi atau tenaga kerja. Di sini letaknya keperluan menggunakan konsep “glass cliff” bagi menjelaskan situasi tertentu. Pemimpin wanita dikatakan dilantik ke peringkat atasan pada masa-masa krisis dan tidak stabil berbeza dengan lelaki, ini menghasilkan tekanan dan “burn out syndrome” yang akhirnya memaksa pemimpin wanita ini keluar dari organisasi (Ryan dan Haslam 2007). “Glass cliff”⁶ ini tidak memberi peluang dan mengehadkan pilihan wanita untuk terus maju, ini tidak lain hanyalah gelombang kedua diskriminasi terhadap wanita. Melalui model gender-stress-disidentification (Ryan et al 2007) di bawah menjelaskan proses situasi ini berlaku:

6 Terma “glass cliff” merujuk kepada situasi wanita dinaikkan pangkat menjadi ketua (kedudukan tinggi) ketika krisis atau tekanan ekonomi yang mana peluang gagal adalah besar.

Rajah 2: model gender-stress-disidentification



Sumber: (Ryan et al 2007)

Wanita di Malaysia didapati masih berdepan dengan beban berganda untuk memenuhi tuntutan tradisional dan moden sebagai isteri sekaligus wanita berkerjaya. Ini dikuatkan lagi dengan pegangan keagamaan, permintaan suami, kekurangan pusat penjagaan kanak-kanak dan pengaruh konsep British “Victorian housewife” untuk duduk di rumah dan mendidik anak-anak berjaya di sekolah. Malah, aspirasi untuk menempati kedudukan tertinggi dalam pengurusan dikatakan aspirasi mereka yang tinggi maskulin dan rendah feminin – bermaksud seolah-olah wanita tidak mementingkan keluarga dan anak-anak. Stereotaip ini berakar dalam masyarakat dan konsisten dengan jumlah lelaki menjawat kedudukan tinggi dan peranan penting dalam organisasi.

Justeru, Eagly dan Carli (2007) mencadangkan intervensi yang melibatkan perubahan institusi bagi menjadikan organisasi tersebut lebih mesra gender. Namun, inisiatif ini sangat bergantung kepada faktor internal (kapasiti individu) dan eksternal (sokongan dasar organisasi) dalam membantu organisasi membentuk intervensi mereka dan memperbaiki kedudukan wanita di peringkat kepimpinan dalam masyarakat sivil di Malaysia.

IMPLIKASI ETNIK

Dalam membincangkan **perbezaan gender** dalam kepimpinan, Eagly dan Carli (2007) mengatakan bahawa gaya kepimpinan ini bukanlah ditentukan oleh gender tetapi dipengaruhi oleh dua faktor utama iaitu (i) struktur organisasi (ii) budaya. Wanita yang berada dalam organisasi yang didominasi oleh lelaki cenderung untuk mengikuti gaya kepimpinan organisasi tersebut. Faktor budaya pula menurut Eagly dan Carli (2007) berkait rapat dengan sosialisasi dan faktor etnik. Mengambil beberapa kajian kes di Amerika, Eagly dan Carli (2007) menjelaskan bahawa wanita kulit hitam memaparkan gaya kepimpinan yang berbeza antara lain kerana diskriminasi berganda yang mereka alami, rasisme dan seksisme. Eagly dan Carli (2007) juga menjelaskan, wanita Asia juga memiliki gaya kepimpinan yang berbeza dengan wanita kulit putih dengan lebih menekankan aspek lebih bersederhana, menghormati/sopan terhadap orang lain yang membawa kepada pembentukan kesefahaman dan keputusan kolektif.

Kepimpinan wanita dalam gerakan bersifat politik menunjukkan penyertaan aktif dari setiap etnik terutama ketika negara memperjuangkan kemerdekaan. Perjuangan atas dasar semangat nasionalisme menentang penjajahan tanpa mengira batas etnik, kelas dan gender kemudian menjadi asas terbentuknya NGO yang mempunyai latar belakang yang pelbagai. Hal ini dinyatakan Weiss (2004) bahawa organisasi masyarakat sivil Malaysia berakar daripada organisasi yang pelbagai termasuklah kongsi gelap Cina, nasionalis India, Melayu Islam progresif. Di Tanah Melayu, sekumpulan pemimpin wanita Melayu yang antaranya Ibu Zain

(1903-1989), Khatijah Sidek (1918-1982), Shamsiah Fakeh (1924-2008), Aishah Ghani (1923-2013), Suriani Abdullah (1924-2013) bersama sekumpulan wanita Cina menyertai perang gerila bersifat anti-penjajahan memperjuangkan kemerdekaan tanah air dan menuntut perwakilan wanita sebagaimana wanita di India dalam Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) dan Parti Bharatiya Janata (BJP) yang terlibat dalam keganasan politik etnik dan aktif bagi projek *Shining India*. Wanita didapati sudah memimpin dan membina jambatan untuk menghubungkan sesama wanita dan organisasi wanita dari pelbagai komuniti etnik (Cecilia Ng, 2007; Crisp 2004). Namun kedua-dua etnik Cina dan India yang berkongsi sejarah anti-penjajahan ini mengukuhkan lagi etnosymbolisme mereka. Penglibatan komuniti India dalam kemerdekaan India dan perjuangan menghadapi kenyataan politik di Malaya selepas perang, perpecahan politik dalam negara China, pendudukan Jepun yang mengancam identiti China mewujudkan organisasi politik bersifat primordial (Hui 2011; Lebra 2008; Gungwu 1962).

Konflik antara Jepun dan penduduk tempatan Cina dan Melayu memaksa kaum Cina yang tertindas masuk ke hutan dan menjalankan gerakan bawah tanah. Wanita Melayu melalui akhbar *Warta Malaya* dan wanita India melalui seruan Bose pula dituntut berjuang menuntut kemerdekaan dan bahawa wanita itu harus dilayan setara dan dihormati (Lebra 2008). Keadaan ini memberi perangsang kepada bekas ahli Indian National Army (INA) dan Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army (MPAJA) yang tidak dapat bergerak dalam politik, menubuhkan kesatuan sekerja yang besar, Kesatuan Sekerja Agung (GLU) (Stenson 1970). PKM dapat menguasai GLU melalui satu organisasi yang dikenali sebagai Pan Malayan Federation of Trade Unions, PMFTU berupaya menarik pekerja Cina dan India walaupun dikuasai pemimpin Cina yang radikal tetapi jawatankuasa pentadbir kesatuan berbilang kaum. Etnik Melayu sendiri kurang terlibat dalam kesatuan buruh ketika itu akibat dasar buruh kolonial yang ketika itu lebih memberi tumpuan untuk meregulasi sektor perladangan dan perlombongan yang lebih formal berbanding dengan pertanian, penternakan dan penangkapan ikan sara diri yang lebih didominasi oleh orang Melayu (Crisis, 2008).

Kepimpinan wanita dalam sektor industri dan korporat pula menunjukkan walaupun wanita tidak berdepan dengan masalah "entry level" tetapi kerja yang diberikan bersifat stereotaip. Pelaksanaan dasar kerajaan membawa banyak peluang pekerjaan kepada wanita terutamanya wanita Melayu yang bukan dari latar belakang kelas menengah, berpendidikan Barat maupun mempunyai hubungan kekeluargaan dengan pemimpin. Faktor etnik masih mempengaruhi peluang wanita untuk menjawat jawatan tinggi terutamanya dalam sektor korporat. Menurut Noor Afza Amran et al., (2014), berdasarkan kajian terhadap 831 syarikat Malaysia, mendapati majoriti syarikat dengan Pengarah wanita ialah daripada etnik Cina dengan latar pendidikan dalam bidang akaun dan perniagaan serta mempunyai talian kekeluargaan dengan pengarah lain.

Kepimpinan wanita dalam masyarakat sivil pula menunjukkan pemimpin wanita yang terdiri daripada etnik Melayu, Cina dan India juga mempunyai persamaan iaitu kelas menengah, berpendidikan Barat serta mempunyai jaringan sosial yang luas tetapi kelas sosial yang berbeza memberi cabaran kepada wanita dari segi keseimbangan kerjaya dan keluarga, kepemimpinan organisasi dan sokongan sosial. Lebih-lebih lagi bagi wanita Islam didapati berdepan dengan banyak sisi mahupun tafsiran agama berbeza yang antaranya cenderung mendiskriminasi hak wanita untuk memenuhi kapasiti dan potensi sebagai individu yang setara. Ini dapat ditelusuri semenjak awal gesaan Kaum Muda untuk memberi pendidikan kepada wanita adalah disebabkan kaum Cina lebih ramai berpendidikan dengan jumlah sekolah vernakular di Tanah Melayu melebihi kaum Melayu sendiri dan masih menuntut wanita Melayu yang berpendidikan perlu patuh pada adat tradisionalnya (Frank Swenttenham 1913;

Zaryff Razali 2018; Tan Liok Ee 1997).

Dengan kebangkitan Islam di peringkat global pada 1980-an, Islam di Malaysia turut bergabung dalam identiti budaya Melayu hingga timbullah identiti Melayu 'Islam' yang membezakan mereka dengan 'yang lain'. Kebangkitan ini mendorong Islam dipolitikkan untuk menunjukkan 'siapa lebih Islam' dalam mengabsahkan sesuatu tindakan dan menegangkan hubungan etnik-agama yang turut memberi kesan kepada wanita. Politik etnik ini berakar umbi sejak zaman penjajahan British dan diteruskan setelah mencapai 'kemerdekaan' pada tahun 1957, sejenis nasionalisme ditempa berdasarkan persepakatan dan penyesuaian antara pelbagai etnik yang ada di bawah hegemoni Melayu (Cecilia Ng, 2007). Sepanjang tahun 1990-an, etnik dan agama menjadi asas utama yang sangat besar dalam kehidupan ekonomi, politik dan budaya Malaysia. Wanita Melayu khususnya menjadi sasaran, peranan mereka sebagai ibu dan penjaga identiti budaya dihormati dibayangi dan melambangkan kestabilan dalam era yang pesat ini. Apabila berlaku perebutan kuasa, kad gender dan isu seksual didapati masih menjadi sasaran utama wacana dan kawalan.

Berdasarkan penglibatan wanita dalam pembangunan dan kepimpinan seperti dibincangkan di atas, dapat diperhatikan bahawa wanita yang menjadi pemimpin dalam sektor awam, politik, korporat dan swasta serta masyarakat sivil berkongsi kekangan dan latar belakang yang sama iaitu pendidikan tinggi, kelas menengah dan mempunyai pengaruh kekeluargaan atau politik. Kelebihan ini memberikan wanita ini keistimewaan untuk menjadi pemimpin dan kelebihan ini hanya ada pada beberapa pemimpin justeru mempengaruhi bilangan wanita sebagai pemimpin dalam setiap sektor.

KESIMPULAN

Teori Keseliratan Kepimpinan ini yang pada mulanya menggunakan kerangka gender berasaskan konsep seperti peranan sosial yang mampu menjelaskan cabaran yang dihadapi wanita dalam pengurusan dan diskriminasi organisasi, tanggungjawab keluarga, gaya kepimpinan (Eagly 1987, Eagly dan Karau 2002, Eagly dan Carli 2007). Kemudiannya, peranan dan tanggungjawab yang berubah ini menjadikan tanggapan yang lebih seimbang terhadap kedua-dua gender namun wanita masih lagi berdepan dengan cabaran dalam organisasi.

Penglibatan wanita dalam pasaran kerja awam dan swasta rancak disebabkan dasar-dasar kerajaan manakala penglibatan wanita dalam masyarakat sivil merupakan respons terhadap pelaksanaan dasar-dasar kerajaan sedia ada. Kedua-dua keadaan ini boleh bertindak sebagai pemangkin atau perencat kepada kedudukan wanita dalam masyarakat. Misalnya, Dasar Ekonomi Baru 1970-1990 telah memajukan wanita dari segi pendidikan dan peluang pekerjaan yang lebih luas namun pada masa yang sama, kekangan terhadap ruang demokrasi yang menyekat hak sivil dan berpersatuan menyukarkan wanita untuk berpartisipasi dalam masyarakat sivil apatah lagi menjadi pemimpin dalam organisasi (Jesudason, 1995; Kok Wah & Teik, 2014; Maznah Mohamad, 2008). Beban untuk penglibatan aktif wanita diberatkan lagi dengan jangkakan budaya, hubungan kekuasaan melalui peranan mereka dalam domestik yang membawa kepada kedudukan yang rendah dalam pasaran kerja dan tidak setara dengan lelaki. Sejarah merakamkan peningkatan fundamentalis dengan kuasa hanya akan merendahkan hak wanita, dan organisasi masyarakat sivil merupakan saluran untuk masyarakat Malaysia memajukan kedudukan wanita - ini bergantung sepenuhnya dengan pengaruh mereka di setiap peringkat kerajaan, aktivisme NGO dan sokongan daripada organisasi wanita tempatan (Agassi 1991; Hing 1984; Whyte R.O & Whyte Pauline 1978).

Korpus kajian mengenai kepimpinan wanita, khususnya dalam masyarakat sivil masih ada banyak ruang untuk diisi. Sedangkan, sebagaimana yang ditekankan dalam teori gerakan sosial, masyarakat sivil adalah antara ruang penglibatan dalam proses demokrasi yang penting dalam mencapai sesuatu perubahan sosial (Karim, 1983; Meyer, Whittier and Robnett, 2002; Tilly, 2015). Kajian sebegini perlu untuk menguji aplikasi beberapa persoalan teoritikal yang dibangkitkan dalam kerangka Keseliratan Kepimpinan oleh Eagly dan Carli (2007) dan menyumbang kepada pembentukan kefahaman yang lebih baik mengenai cabaran semasa yang dihadapi oleh wanita dalam kepimpinan masyarakat sivil. Kefahaman ini adalah penting dalam menambah baik indeks gender Malaysia sama ada di peringkat antarabangsa mahupun dalam negara.

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The Flow of History: Hegel's Historical Idealism Vs. Geussian-Benjaminian's Historical Realism

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to study the concept of history in two opposite dimensions: idealism vs realism. As the background of discussion, I start by introducing GWF Hegel's progressive reading of history. With this approach, Hegel would like to demonstrate history in a linear and rationalistic perspectives as symbolizes in his famous dictum, "what is rational is real; and what is real is rational." As a result, this teleological perspective portrays the concept of history in a closed history and totally encompassing the past/present/future. I would argue this optimism and normative view of history is highly problematic. Following that, I invite Raymond Geuss who argues that certain society has its sense of locatedness and metaphysical need. This argument based on his proposal that each and every society should be understood in its specific historical context. It is at this point, I link the discussion to Walter Benjamin's "On the Concept of History" by illustrating the discontinuity flow of history. Unlike Hegel, Benjamin views history as non-linear. Therefore, contrary to Hegel's optimistic reading of history, it seems that Benjamin's historical conception is likely pessimistic. To conclude, inspired by Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, I discuss the tension between Hegel's historical idealism and Geussian-Benjaminian's historical realism by suggesting that our history is apparently trapped into the power of present time; where the present has become too broad: capturing altogether the recorded past and the predictable future.

ABSTRAK

Makalah ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji mengenai konsep sejarah dalam dua dimensi yang bertentangan: idealisme lawan realisme. Sebagai latar belakang, makalah ini bermula dengan memperkenalkan bacaan sejarah secara progresif oleh GWF Hegel. Menerusi pendekatan ini, Hegel membentangkan perspektif sejarah dalam versi linear dan rasional selaras dengan diktum terkenalnya, "apa yang rasional adalah real; apa yang real adalah rasional." Hasilnya, perspektif yang bersifat teleologi ini menzahirkan konsep sejarah yang bersifat tertutup dan normatif, yang semua ini sebenarnya bermasalah. Selanjutnya, hujah Raymond Geuss dikemukakan menerusi penekanannya mengenai keperluan nilai kesetempatan dan metafizik. Hujahnya ini adalah berasaskan setiap masyarakat sewajarnya difahami berdasarkan konteks kesejarahannya yang khusus. Pada tahap inilah, wacana ini membawa pemikiran Walter Benjamin menerusi makalahnya, "On the Concept of History." Pandangannya ini jelas menunjukkan ketaksinambungan sejarah. Tidak seperti Hegel, Benjamin menegaskan sejarah dalam bentuk bukan-linear. Justeru itu, berbeza dengan bacaan optimistik Hegel, ternyata konsep sejarah Benjamin bersifat pesimistik. Akhirnya, berinspirasi Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, ketegangan

antara idealisme kesejarahan Hegel dengan realisme kesejarahan Geussian-Benjaminian dirumuskan sebagai suatu wacana sejarah yang telah terperangkap dengan kekuasaan masa kini; apabila masa kini menjadi terlalu luas, sehingga dapat menebak masa depan dan merakam masa lalu.

Keywords: History; Idealism; Realism; Historical Continuity; Historical Discontinuity

INTRODUCTION

This paper aims to study two opposing views of the concept of history, namely; historical idealism and historical realism. By definition, I regard historical idealism as having a normative and single universal form of society, whereas historical realism leans toward judgment or assessment of society according to its situational contexts.

The paper is divided into four parts. Firstly, as the background of my discussion, in part (1), I will focus on the progressive reading of history by G. W. F. Hegel, and specifically, I am concentrating on the Preface of "Philosophy of Right", as the main text.

As an aside, I am sure that Hegel's concept of history can also be read differently considering the breadth and depth of his other texts. However, this paper specifically requires me to highlight Hegel's concept of historical continuity.

In this version, Hegel seems to describe history in a linear form based on a rationalistic program. To my mind, Hegel's quotation of "what is rational is real; and what is real is rational" clearly symbolizes the rationalistic orientation and, interestingly, contains its normative aspect of history. As a result, this teleological determinism portrays Hegel's concept of history as a closed history that totally encompasses the past/present/future.

In part (2), I will focus on Raymond Geuss's work on "Realism" as the first counterpoint to Hegel's view of historical continuity. Geuss argues that society has its historical contexts and that each and every society should be understood in its specific environment, especially in relation to politics. For this reason, I identify that Geuss indirectly questions the Hegelian concept of historical continuity.

To directly grasp the strong contrasting view of historical idealism, in part (3) I have invited Benjamin's "Theses on the Philosophy of History" to the discussion. Unlike Hegel, Benjamin views history in a non-linear trajectory. In other words, he argues that history should be viewed in the context of historical discontinuity. Although Benjamin believes in the concept of a classless society, it seems the concept to be located in the past as a negative utopian concept. Indeed, Benjamin delegitimizes the concept of normative in history, and this move eventually leads him to make a close connection between the past and present.

In the final part (4) of the paper, I would like to suggest that it is inconclusive to imagine society merely through a historical development of rationality. From this viewpoint, I would articulate a historical approach by considering the possibility of detachment between historical events and historical time. The idea of detachment not only allows us to contemplate both patterns—

historical continuity and discontinuity—but it also allow us to understand our own complex modern society.

HEGEL ON HISTORICAL CONTINUITY

It is a common approach to begin the discussion of history by looking at Hegel's famous double dictum, "what is real is rational and what is rational is real". This phrase by Hegel, who is a philosopher in the tradition of German Idealism, has been widely discussed among scholars and it provokes various responses and different interpretations. However, for this paper, I intentionally read this double dictum in the context of a progressive reading, which means I refrain from discussing conservative reading (Popper 1966) and neutral reading (Stern 2006).

In progressive reading, this double dictum is read as "ought to", meaning that what is rational must be considered real. In this framework, Hegel believes that society is guided by reason.

In Hegel's concept of history, we can simplify that reason is synonymously linked to philosophy. For Hegel, by taking philosophy as its main mechanism of social development, society has the capacity to be self-creating to realize itself. According to Hegel (2005: xx), this means that "reason as the substantive essence of social order and nature." Equally, for Hegel, history is an irreversible process. From this interpretation of "endless iteration" of reason, I believe that the concept of history is represented in the linear motion of history. In fact, this tendency of Hegel's way of thinking can be easily found in the second and last paragraph of *the Preface*:

"Philosophy, as the thought of the world, does not appear until reality has completed its formative process and made itself ready. History thus corroborates the teaching of the conception that only in the maturity of reality does the ideal appear as a counter part to the real, apprehends the real world in its substance, and shapes it into an intellectual kingdom." (Hegel 2005)

If we accept this view, it will place Hegel's notion of history in the form of society's normative aspirations. The double dictum itself is a normative outlook in a Hegelian sense. However, I believe that this normative outlook must be understood in terms of a genuine society structured by reason. In this scope, social history involves reason as its medium of development.

To avoid any misunderstanding, I agree with Michael O. Hardimon that the double dictum not only maintains normativity in an absolute sense but also stresses that sense in its current social reality. In this case, the existing social reality ought to reflect the stage of its historicity. According to Hardimon (1994: 75), "What was special about the essence of Hegel's social world was that it was as it ought to be both relative to its stage in world history and absolutely."

In fact, when Hegel (2005: xxi) enumerates that "When Philosophy paints its grey in grey then has a shape of life grown old", it thus provides us with a telos orientation of historical continuity. Thus, Hegel continues to say that "philosophy, at any rate, always comes too late" to tell the world what it should be. Therefore, if I understand him correctly, Hegel's concept of history is expressed in a form of idealism regarding its normative aspiration. Given this interpretation, it is no wonder that Hegel's historical idealism is also known as absolute idealism.

Nevertheless, there are some implications when considering Hegel's perspective on history.

Firstly, this double dictum seems to frame society with a kind of rationalistic manifesto. In this context, society is historically designed in line with the process of civilization. Otherwise, anything outside the form of reason may well be perceived as uncivilized. Therefore, reason has been the spirit and inner essence of society in the evolution of human civilization.

Secondly, I believe that this rationalistic program narrows down social development in a closed history. For Hegel, every stage in society is a synthesis, a combination of separate complex elements brought together from the previous stage. Therefore, Hegel endeavours to make a closed connection between the previous (the past), the current (the present), and the next (the future). Of course, we may say that the future in Hegel's model is still open for any possibility, but the openness of future history is bound-up with an ongoing development of reason. In this case, I contend that Hegel's concept of history sequentially combines past, present, and future. That is why, according to Pensky (2004: 188-189), "Time for Hegel is equated with history, and history is fully disclosed". With this historical closure, Pensky sums up history as "a narrative drama of self-creation." In other words, historically speaking, the double dictum itself is an outcome of a historical process in which the rational has become the real, and the real has become the rational. The outcome, with this perspective, offers us some hope for society.

If Hegel correctly defined our historical development, it means that the "maturity of reality" is progressing in our society. For instance, it is well known that Francis Fukuyama's *The End of History and the Last Man* can be read in this Hegelian sense. Although the Fukuyama's thesis (1992) could still be debatable, but it is undoubtedly true that his book is inspired by Hegelian historical idealism, which regards reason as the central orientation of society. Overall, Hegel's concept of history provides us with an optimistic view of the future of world history.

GEUSS ON HISTORICAL CONTEXTS

I have attempted to explain how Hegel locates history in the context of continuity and normativity, and these perspectives assume that history progresses through the development of reason. That said, I would add that history, for Hegel, is accumulative by time and reason. Yet, this Hegelian interpretation of history is surely rational, but perhaps too restrictive as its application may be limited to certain societies.

Furthermore, I would like to clarify that Hegel's concept of history has some flaws when examining the historical experience of non-liberal or non-western society. Raymond Geuss makes some arguments in defending historical realism, especially regarding politics. Here, Geuss argues that history should not be universally equated to all societies. In fact, every society is supposed to have its own historical contexts. A telling detail here is that history is fragmented through a particular time (period) and place (society). Therefore, Geuss (2008: 22) likely attempts to replace historical idealism with "the realist approach to political philosophy". In doing so, I will lay out three arguments by Geuss on why we need such historical realism in the context of political philosophy. I argue, these three arguments emphasize how history cannot be totally viewed as rational, accumulative, and universal.

Firstly, for Geuss, society must not be merely understood in the context of reason. It is of paramount importance to note that certain societies have different perceptions of how to deal

with matters of differential choice. To speak of the matter, therefore, we need to let go of the idea that reason is the only way to capture social reality. Geuss contends that a society is dependent on how its social structures are constructed, perceived, and observed in the foundation of that certain society, and this is true especially in relation to the concept of political authority. Accordingly, there are many forms of political power, depending on the time and place. As Geuss (2008: 27) mentions:

"It is probably a mistake to treat "power" as if it referred to a single, uniform substance or relation where it was found. It makes more sense to distinguish between a variety of qualitatively distinct kinds of powers."

Following this assertion, Geuss expounds that the substantive understanding of politics is not parallel to a single universal form. Of course, the medium of reason can be true in one form for one society and not for another. Therefore, it is perhaps safer to say that society would be better understood by analysing of its "existing social and political institution" rather than to view it solely on the historical development of rationality. In brief, Geuss seems to suggest that reason and society can be separated in certain social historical contexts and that there is no single universal form that fits into all social models of civilized society.

Secondly, Geuss proposes that history does not gradually accumulate. Geuss (2008: 14) argues that politics is usually based on non-recurrent situations and a historically differentiated society. In a similar vein, certain societies have "their own specific context" on how to organize its "forms of action together." Therefore, it is problematic to simplify society into a single universal form. With this understanding, if we set history as merely accumulative, then the history of society cannot be an irreversible process. The flaw of this perspective is that any mistake in the historical phenomenon can be interpreted as futile, wasteful, and has no purpose. This shortcoming, as Geuss argues, fails to address the complexity of various forms of society. From the outset, Geuss (2008: 31) pins down that the history of society may be better viewed through a "number of phenomena having to do with order, sequence, priority and the temporality or historically of collective action." Given that, it is no surprise that Geuss highlights politics as an art form for choosing the right moment in the historical development of a society. To consider this timely situation and the importance of timing in political action, therefore, I suggest it would be advisable to look at history in a non-gradual stage or non-cumulative effect. To put it another way, history must now be understood in various forms, either sequence (historical continuity) or non-sequence (historical discontinuity).

Thirdly, as a further discussion from the previous point, I am inclined to say that it is too much to universally conceive society as having the same form for all societies; modern and non-modern. Geuss understands that every concept of society hinges on a particular time and place. Still, in politics, besides a matter of differential choice and a form of actions, Geuss (2008: 34) perceives that politics can be used for "collective forms of legitimizing violence". Given this fact, there are many indirect ways to address the legitimization of violence. They vary from one society to another. However, the question is how can we relate this variation in the context of history? The answer requires an example. In modern times, for instance, the concept of the state, democracy, freedom, etc., is undoubtedly concentrated on force as the ultima ratio in legitimizing violence. However, Geuss again argues that every society has its "sense of locatedness." Therefore, it is almost trivial to see society merely based on enforcing the law.

This leads Geuss (2008: 35) to conclude that "The legitimacy mechanisms available in a given society change from one historical period to another."

In reality, I suggest that there is no compelling reason to stick to a single universal form of legitimizing violence, in which to be historically imprinted in every society. Essentially, if we wish to avoid such mistakes, we need to keep in mind that history must be particularly contextualized according to a certain time and place. As a result, history is not universal, as we seem to believe.

BENJAMIN ON HISTORICAL DISCONTINUITY

To obtain a stronger sense of objectivity regarding the progressive nature of history, Benjamin provides us with another alternative historical realism. In his proposal, Benjamin's concept of history emphasizes the discontinuity of history when he describes history as the struggle to preserve the ideal of the past. Furthermore, Benjamin (2007: 254) insists that "only a redeemed mankind receives the fullness of its past." In essence, Benjamin refuses to see history in progressive reading. For Benjamin (2007: 261):

"The concept of the historical progress of mankind cannot be sundered from the concept of its progression through a homogeneous, empty time. A critique of the concept of such a progression must be the basis of any criticism of the concept of progress itself."

Similarly, Benjamin's concept of history can be viewed as discrete, or according to Trentin (2013: 1030) as a "topological hub in which various temporality co-exist." The striking point of breaking historical continuity will allow the moment of action to interrupt society. Therefore, the true meaning of Benjamin's concept of history is located at a particular point in time, meaning between the present and the past. I am fully aware that this is not the first time Benjamin rejects the progressive linear motion of history. In fact, in his earliest writing, *The Life of Students*, Benjamin (1996: 37) notes this tendency by advocating:

"A particular condition in which history appears to be concentrated in a single focal point, like those that have traditionally been found in the utopian images of the philosophers."

By applying the concept of historical discontinuity, Benjamin blurred the link between normativity and history. Since Benjamin (2007: 257) appreciates the "state of emergency", thus history can now be interpreted as negative utopian, or the archaic image of prehistory. This turning point will allow us to observe such an anomaly in a historical event without discarding everything from the past. In political reality, therefore, the struggle for making interruption over interruption has haunted the status quo. Another hint at how Benjamin delegitimizes the concept of normativity is by referring to another central idea with the idea of classless society. Here, Benjamin relates the idea of happiness as something that belongs to the past. As Benjamin (2007: 253-254) indicates, "Reflection shows us that our image of happiness is thoroughly coloured by the time to which the course of our own existence has assigned us." This summary provides us with Benjamin's imaginative construct about the negative utopian of society: a classless society without domination.

There are some consequences because Benjamin looks at history in discontinuity flow. Firstly, Benjamin stresses the need for action by interrupting society. For Benjamin, the moment of

action is essentially political and connected to the past as a source or motivation in its struggle against domination. Therefore, this reminds us of *kairos*, which Benjamin (2007: 255) pronounces:

"The past can be seized only as an image that flashes up at the instant when it can be recognized and is never seen again".

Another consequence, Benjamin considers that there is a "secret agreement" between the past and the present. If my understanding is correct, then the past is the background of narrative for the possibility of the present. With this intention, Benjamin considers the past as remembrance, while the present is a redemptive action. The light of this presence also means that present action is a moment for remembering the past. As Pensky (2004: 180) voices, "the 'past' and 'present' are constantly locked in a complex interplay in which what is past and what is present are negotiated through material struggles."

Next, Benjamin's historical discontinuity can also be interpreted as open history. He not only opens the future for various possibilities based on this action, but he also opens the past through redemption. To make more sense of this point, Loewy (2005: 115) admits:

"It is not just the future and the present that remain open in the Benjaminian interpretation of historical materialism but also the past. In this case, the opening-up of the past and the opening-up of the future are intimately linked."

And finally, I am convinced that Benjamin's historical discontinuity, or historical realism, proposes such pessimism. Since Benjamin mentions that this struggle is to overcome domination, it can be interpreted that society is burdened with the task of redemption. In this sense, Benjamin's negative utopia in a classless society needs a precise moment of action for us to taste the happiness of the past.

CONCLUSION

Throughout the discussion, I have outlined the consequences of history about historical idealism or historical realism. Therefore, let me finish this paper by highlighting three crucial points:

Firstly, it is acceptable to view society in relation to reason, as Hegel perceives it. From this perspective, Hegel favours the unknown future over the past. Yet, I believe it is more appropriate to assume that reason is just one form of the historical development of society. By allowing ourselves to view society differently, we suppose to take that history has many forms, as Geuss suggested. By taking this strategy, in turn, it allows us to describe our complex society in a more comprehensive way.

Secondly, in a certain sense, I have a strong affinity with Benjamin, who proposes the moment of action and the discreteness of history. This view enables us to appreciate the moment of action, which I think can give an advantage to an event over time. Following this line of reasoning, I suggest that the dimension of time between the past, present, and future could also be questioned. It seems that the distinction will be paradoxical with regard to our predictable everyday life or our future world. In our so-called 'post-modern' society, we can 'buy' our future. For instance, the concept of the future has been, slowly but surely, replaced by the concept of

risk (Beck 1992). A further sense here is that the future is structured in advance through the present action: one can think of ecological disasters, healthcare insurance, Gallup polls, and virtual communications to name a few. In this context, the present has become “a broad present” (Gumbrecht 2014) that can absorb the predictable future into the present action. In fact, our fast-paced society has saved our thinking and action time by guaranteeing our present actions. With our obsession with ‘going fast’ and ‘saving time’, the future has lost its unique sense of originality. The future can now be labelled as the “future past”. Likewise, the “past future”, where the past is apparently matched with the predicted future.

As a result, the dimension of the past/present/future may be insufficient to explain our current social reality. Following Reinhart Koselleck’s *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*, this viewpoint suggests that past and future are likely modes of possibility.

Koselleck prefers to view historical time based on the quality of experience, temporality, periodization, or the layers of time. Again, it is not too difficult to accept these views if we accept Benjamin’s discreteness of history. However, the price of the acceptance must be paid by the detachment between the event and time. What is highly regarded right now is not “when does it happen”, but “what does happen” or “how did it come to that?” In short, we can say that experience and history both begin with the event.

If my theoretical construction holds so far, and this leads to my final point. I think it would be plausible to see history as a methodological approach. Here I view the concept of history as either continuity or discontinuity. However, the way we experience history is neither with optimism nor pessimism. Since we are not concerned with time, the quality of events has become much more significant in our everyday life. Hence, we can also look at the relentlessness of an event as sequentially continuous or discretely discontinuous. However, the dramatic departure is that the future no longer surprises us because the predictable future is not foreign to us; while the past is no longer to be regretted because we can still reach the recorded past.

All of this happens just because our broad present time is now more expansive because of our present modern innovations and actions. With the cult of speed, ‘slowness’ has simply become the enemy of our present-day lives, but ironically, it could also be our vital panacea for our everyday lives in the future.

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Ethnic Struggles and Political Stability in Afghanistan 2001-2021: Thematic Analysis of Republican Collapse

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ABSTRACT

This research examines the complex relationship in Afghanistan between ethnic politics and political stability, emphasising the years 2001 through 2021. The study uses the Harf and Gurr theoretical framework to illuminate this intricate interaction. Thematic analysis is the preferred method for analysis, made possible by the advanced MAXCODA 18 programme. It became clear that an essential part of this study project was conducting several informative interviews. These interviews allowed for exploring the role of ethnic politics in influencing these dynamics while also gaining a thorough picture of the political stability situation, particularly in the wake of the fall of the Republican regime. Twenty-two interviews included a broad spectrum of socioeconomic groupings, jobs, and ethnic backgrounds. Key themes are carefully studied throughout the research and relate to the article's main topic. This study clarifies the complex relationships between ethnic politics and political stability in Afghanistan, advancing knowledge of this significant period in the country's history.

Keyword: Ethnic Politics, Political Stability, Afghanistan, Collapse, Thematic Analysis.

INTRODUCTION

Afghanistan has one of the most fragile states in the world. The process of modern state-building and bring development started at least from the rule of King Shir Ali Khan by establishing a Governmental Council of people unelected representatives and bringing modern principles, and uniforms for military forces during 1868-1879 years (Lee, 2019, pp. 362-364). Then Abdulrahman Khan changed the map and the country's geography on a smaller scale than his ancestor. He signed many agreements with Russia, Indo-British and Iran to determine the proper border. In contrast, the king started to make a centralised government like his ancestors, which led the country through a semi-federal system. He executed many people to achieve this target, including local and tribal leaders such as Shinwaris, and Hazaras (Lee, 2019, p. 399). In the twentieth century, Afghanistan has three different eras. First, from 1901-1929, modern and constitutional changes were faced after the declaration of freedom, legislation, institutionalising and cultural changes during Habibulla Khan and Amanulla Khan. Secondly, from 1929-1973 Afghanistan had a stable state, and managed political and economic development, especially in Parliamentary Democracy (1963-1973) where people's representatives elected most government. Finally, after the coup of Sardar Dawood, the period of collapse and war started in 1973 and continued up to 2001; that new political order was established in Bonn of Germany after the defeat of the Taliban by Northern Allies and US support. In that era, the theme and phenomena of Ethnic Politics were reborn in the modern

concept (Barfield, 2010, p. 170). Afghanistan's Politics during the second democratic period (2001-2021) involved a new dimension and aspect of the socio-political element called Ethnicity.

The Taliban collapse and the Bonn political order after 2001 had a new narration about politics, state building, political development, globalisation and war. During those periods (1973-2021), the main problem was war, instability and a fragile state.

In this article, we will discuss ethnic politics and its relation with political stability in a specific time from 2001-2021. We considered how influenced ethnicity and stability each other. Did it have a positive or negative impact on political development in Afghanistan?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Studies on ethnic politics do not have a long history in political science, particularly in political sociology that focuses on political development. Barbara Harf and Ted Robert Gurr (2004), in their book *Ethnic Conflict in World Politics*, argue that many states are facing with rising of ethnic movements on the whole planet. As they mentioned, the data from *Minorities at Risk*, which scribed 275 ethnic groups that were politically active in 1990, that 111 faced segregation and discrimination from their states (Harf & Gurr, 2004, p. 3). Then they argue about changing the political game from an ideological term to some ethnic and identical politics every day after the cold war to the present. This study state about Afghanistan: "Virtually every news analysis and essay on the future of Afghanistan written since September 2001 has stressed that the country's future stability depends on establishing a power-sharing coalition among leaders of its Pashtun, Tajik, Uzbek, and Hazara communities. This is in marked contrast to the discourse of the 1980s and early 1990s, in which outside observers saw only the conflict between mujahedeen rebels and a Communist regime in Kabul, and ignored the ethnic rivalries that have riven Afghan politics for centuries (Harf & Gurr, 2004, p. 210).

Another study focused on south and southeast counties with a similar orientation of boundary division with Afghanistan. This study shows that today ethnic conflict has roots in colonial domination about one century ago. They believe that the old division cannot solve the ethnicity challenges and will now become more dangerous by the polarisation of politics in democratic systems (Carothers, 2020, p. 14).

Posner has the notion of how institutions can increase the ethnic conflict between citizens from a very low level of cleavage toward conflict. His research focuses on Zambia, one of the most field states in Africa. If an ethnic group gains power, they would monopolise sources for their own. On the other hand, other groups would make coalition-building politics to bring the balance of power. The line of ethnic politics starts from government policies such as principles and regulations and then the menu of the ethnic coalition is born and ethnic groups choose to join with them. The result should be a cleavage of ethnic groups (Posner, 2013, p. 6).

In Latin America, societies are mobilised by the identity of indigenous and European-based ethnicity. According to Van Cott, Indigenous peoples also have formed parties in Argentina, Guyana, Mexico, Nicaragua, and Peru. Van Cott illustrates that the leading three race-ethnic groups such as Indigenous peoples, European and African trying to evolve their mobilisation around the political parties .this study focuses on the role of political parties that increase



participation in power that make prevent the collapse of a regime after the 1990s in Latin America (Cott, 2005, pp. 17-19). In Afghanistan, ethnicity changed parties 1990s from an ideological perspective toward ethical perspectives, and civil war was one the most potent sample of this evolution line.

In his article, Cochran discusses which cultural and political order norms help the USA to have one of the most diverse ethnic groups in the world and, on the other side, also have democratic political stability. He mentions the acceptance of cultural pluralism, a peace for ethnic mobilising that allow them to peacefully to gathering for their interests in contrast way of the totalitarian regime, the role of urban the tendency to integrate multi-ethnic group, the two-party system that gave the power of bargain for ethnic identities to gain their interests. In his opinion, those aspects of the American Political System support both entities' stability and diversity of ethnic groups (Cochran, 2022).

Pinder shows the history of American ethnic politics involved in racial bias against the white-generated population. He state: 'First Nations, blacks, Chinese, and other radicalised groups were unmistakably warranted. Eventually, the 1790 Naturalization Act would be one of the most significant resources for the confirmation of American identity as white by allowing only white men to be citizens of the United States of America' so as he mentioned, America had classification ethnic politics (Pinder, 2010, p. 115). Then he shows that American cultural hegemony is the other side of that, primarily based on the English language.

Butcher and Goldsmith argue how elections in ethnically diverse societies can impact instability. Majoritarian electoral institutions substantially impact the probability of electoral violence in Africa, where there is a large, excluded ethnic group. They believe ethnic fractionalisation leads elections toward instability (Goldsmith C. B., 2017, p. 1393). Then they show that after-election, the government's reaction can change the road of instability toward political stability. We have three ethnic structural, Hegemonic, polarised, and fractionated. According to the research, 11 ethnic wars occurred in 14 multi-ethnic countries of Africa during the (1960-2010) period of suffering from political instability (Goldsmith C. B., 2017, p. 1407).

United States Institute of Peace 2017 published its research on political stability in Afghanistan. This study illustrates that the political order is in crisis because of many factors, especially power division among the ethnic-parity groups after the election of 2014. The research suggested sharing power at the national and subnational levels by decentralising power and changing the constitution to legalise the National Unity Government (NUG) (Alex, 2017).

Rata and Openshaw (2006), in their studies about ethnic and public policy in Australia, show how public policies in Education, Health, and diversity recognition make an adoptive coherent relationship between Maori and other migrants. According to the paper suggested above, globalisation is itself an expression of the declining hegemony of an ethnic group on other groups. Identities tend to become part of a new dominant ideology related to extending this cosmopolitan identity as a general characterisation of the world (Rata & Openshaw, 2006).

Iraq, which was invaded in the same way as Afghanistan, also struggled with ethnic politics. Shakor believes Iraq faced a national identity crisis in which ethnic identities arose after 2003.

As a result, the national identity declined. The identity of Arab, Shia Arab, Sunni Arab, Kurd, Turkmen and Mixed are playing a crucial role in the instability of Iran. Power distribution among the Shia, Sunni and Kurds bring significant changes after Saddam Hussein era (Shakor1, 2022, p. 110).

Another study in Pakistan politics conducts the role of ethnicity and the rising of militant conflicts in the context of ethnic politics. Sediqi shows the geographic aspect of rising ethnic movements in Pakistan from three distinct socio-economic realms: tribal (Baloch), rural (Sindh) and urban (Mohajir). The Baloch movement (Baloch Librarian Army) had many military operations on the governmental army, which is secular, and the Taliban movement is an ideological movement. In conclusion, he warned that ethnic politics would lead to Pakistan's break-up in future (Siddiqi, 2012, pp. 113-116).

Research on ethnic politics and youth's participation in post-Taliban conduct shows that ethnic politics affects youth political participation in two ways: first, constraining institutionalised forms of political participation for youth, such as elections and voting through the designing of an electoral system that serves as the gateway to the system, and second, which results from the previous factor, is the political design and monopoly of power by the old guard that pushes the youth toward exercising more non-institutionalized forms of political participation and to take a more critical attitude toward the political system (Wafayezada, 2015, p. 15). This article focuses on the impact of ethnic politics, especially on youth participation. Our research aim is to understand the role of ethnic politics on political stability in the last two decades.

An article about political stability and ethnic politics discusses the Afghanistan community is a multi-identity ethnic group. They have a conflict during the civil war of 1992-2001 for balancing the power shares. According to the article, just a corporation ethnic-based approach can lead this country toward stability and peace. (Muhammad Fahim Khan, 2021, p. 432)

METHODOLOGY

This research adopted the qualitative research method by using the thematic analysis (TA) method. Approaches to qualitative data collection and analysis are numerous, representing a diverse range of epistemological, theoretical, and disciplinary perspectives. At a very basic level, TA is a method for developing, analysing and interpreting patterns across a qualitative dataset, which involves systematic data coding processes to develop themes – themes are your ultimate analytic purpose (Braun & Clarke, 2022, p. 13). At the beginning step of the research, we reviewed related materials to ethnic politics in Afghanistan, include of research, reports and some memories of politicians. In the second step, the interview's main points were prepared. The most important concepts were, government politic on ethnicity, ethnic-based political order, stability and ethnicity, security, recruitment and ethnicity and collapse of regimes and its relation with ethnic politics. The third step was interviewing three significant clusters, including Politicians (local and national), such as ministers and members of the provincial council; Academicians, such as scholars and lecturers; civil activists, including journalists and civil society members. They were chosen from different ethnicities such as Pashtun, Tajik, Hazara, Uzbek and Qizilbash with different genders. In thematic analysis, the data includes videos (pictures and films), audio and texts (Greg S Guest, 2012, p. 7). Interviews were conducted via Google Meet and WhatsApp, mostly in audio version and some specific cases,

in text version. Interviews were transcribed and analysed using MAXQDA 18 software. From the data, we figured out the codes. The codes are organised into three types, universal themes, organised themes and basic themes.

ANALYSIS AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Ethnic Politic and Ethnic Struggle

The phrase “ethnic politics” refers to a situation in which politicians tend to mobilise support based on an appeal to ethnic identity, and people tend to support leaders, politicians, and parties from the same ethnic group. In the term of ethnic politics, the central concept is mobilising based on the identity of ethnicity. Ethnic struggle means ethnic groups have conflict on resources such as power, wealth, and values, which come under the concept of ethnic politics. The role of identity in the last two decades of 21st-century politics is growing. According to Fukuyama, the demand for Thymos (recognition of human dignity) is growing severely. The first type of identity politics is recognition as an equal part of other members of Isothymia. The second type is recognition as the upper part than others in Megalothymia (Francis, 2018, p. 8). World politics now tend toward ethnic politics, and many countries today struggle to solve this new kind of politics. As he interprets the impact of these two types of identity, the second type or Megalothymia, is more harmful to democracy and stability in today's world.

Political Stability

Political stability refers to a political situation that lacks revolutionary collapse, non-violence response of the government to the demonstrations, democratic regime change and national acceptance of political regime. We can illustrate the situation of instability by revolutionary changing, adverse regime change, contest state dissolution, and collapse of central authority, which occur in political societies or countries (Marshall, Gurr, & Harff, 2015, pp. 11-13). As a system can respond to the demand of its citizens, government affairs are going on usually without critical challenges. However, the central concept of stability refers to the continuation of political order in a country, which is safe from collapse, respectively.

In terms of theory and concept, first, we want to focus on identifying ethnicity and stability. Then the framework of analysing would be introduced based on Ted R. Gurr, and Barbara Harff's theory. In their opinion, the seventh concept for analysing ethnic politics is essential.

1. Discrimination

The concept of discrimination was defined in the previous section as the extent of socially derived inequalities in ethnic group members' material well-being or political access in comparison with other social groups. We indicate this concept by focusing on a group's access to welfare and public services such as education.

2. Strength of group identity

They proposed in the previous section that the strength of ethnic group identity depends upon the number of traits group members share. The greater the number of shared traits, such as religion, culture, common history, place of residence, and race, the greater the strength of

identity. We can indicate by having the same language, history, racial character, and shared culture among the members.

3. Degree of cohesion among leaders and followers

Cohesive groups have a unifying belief system or ideology and dense communication and interaction networks linking leaders with followers. The more ideological disputes and factions within the group, the less cohesive it is. Indicators such as a high degree of leader acceptance, communication, and interaction can state the situation of cohesion among the leaders and followers.

4. Type of political environment

The political environment sets the stage for political action. They propose guidelines for identifying the types of regimes with which ethnopolitical groups may conflict: institutionalised democracies, autocracies, and socialist and populist states. Note that most contemporary states have one of these four types of political regimes; a few combine elements of several.

5. The severity of force used by governments against ethnic groups

The systematic destruction of ethnic people is the rarest and most severe form of violence the government use and is called genocide. Less severe kinds of force include massacre, torture, execution, detention without due process, forcible relocation of a people, and many others.

6. The extent of external support

As described in the previous section, external support refers to the entire range of active and passive support an ethnic group can receive outside the country. Military support is, of course, more valuable than verbal support. The more numerous the sources, the larger the volume, and the longer it is provided, the greater the extent of support.

7. Degree of international economic status

They proposed previously that the international community awards financial status to states according to the number and value of resources they command, such as scarce resources, a high level of food production, a well-educated population, and high levels of technology. Resource-rich states are likely to enjoy more elevated status than resource-poor states and are more likely to deal with ethnic challengers as they wish. (Barbara & Gurr, 2004, pp. 102-122)

ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEW

In the interview intently, 22 persons were selected for different contexts of Afghanistan most of them had knowledge and experience in politics, and society, and were engaged with official politics. Here are the variables referred to by the interviewees of this research.

Education

Five interviewees hold PhD degrees, comprising 22.7% of the total. 8 persons were Ph.D. Students make up 36.4% of the interviewees. Of 22 interviewees, seven persons hold Master's

Degrees which comprise 31.8% of the whole. Just two persons hold a Bachelor's Degree and 9.5% of interviewees.

Ethnic Group

To balance views from a different ethnic group, this research focuses on reflecting various points of view. Among 22 persons, seven interviewees were affiliated with Tajik ethnic groups, five interviewees were Pashtun ethnic group, five interviewees were Hazara ethnic group, three interviewees were Uzbek, and one interviewee was Qizilbash.

Social and Political Position

Among the participants, Job affiliation and cluster situation show that opinions come from different contexts of social and political conditions. The interview includes seven lecturers, three students, three ministers, two journalists, two lawyers, one Chief of the Provincial Council, one local politician and one vice-governor (See Figure 3: Interviewee Position). They had different activities in their life. Among them, nine persons were academicians, seven were politicians, and five were civil activists in the society of Afghanistan.



FIGURE 1: Participants' Demography by Power Bi

RESULTS

Thematic Analysis of Data

The coding analysis involves five Global Themes highlighted in red in Figure 5. Additionally, twelve Organizer Themes were identified. The total number of codes is 84, with 17 dedicated to Global and Organizer themes, leaving 75 codes for Basic themes. Each Global theme will be discussed in a separate section in the paper.

TABLE 1: Network Themes Chart

Network Themes Chart			
Global	Organizer	Interviewee Info	Basic
Ethnic Role in Politics	Essence of politics	15, Tajik, Politician: minister	“More than other things, politics essence is survival dispute in Afghanistan”
		11, Hazara, Civil Activist: Lecturer	During history, before international forces presented political actions, essence were ethnic, regional, and partial. Then in 20 years of the republican period in games such as elections, media, civil society and dealing in national stage changed toward ethical politics”
		21, Hazara, politician: minister	“Politics nature and essence is ethical; this fact appeared more obviously in recent years in Afghanistan.”
	Policy Making	9, Tajik, Academician: Lecturer	“Pashtun’s leaders that the president was from them in last 20 years acted severely ethnically. This led the country toward anomie and instability. For example, Ashraf Ghani [President] in a decree retired 160 Army’s General for ethnic issues”
		2, Pashtun, Academician: lecturer	“The main cause of the new Afghanistan modern state was the personal behavior of politicians tend upon ethnicity; for example, in ministries such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Finance, 50% of hiring was from minister’s friends, ethnic group or relative.”
		6, Hazara, Civil Activist: Journalist	“For stabilising of state, firstly they [ruler] need to oppress other ethnic groups. Every oppression had an ethical origin in the last one and a half centuries. Other ethnic groups

	State-building		are estimated as a threat to their ethnical state.”
		21, Hazara, Politician: Minister	Mollawi Niazi [Taliban Commander] once said that Tajiks must go to Tajikistan, Uzbek must go to Uzbekistan, and Hazara must go to graveyard...so, the state in Afghanistan established by the oppression of other ethnics.”
		6, Hazara, Civil Activist: Journalist	“After Ahmad Shah Durrani, ethnicity was fundamental to former power and state, and this caused the critical relation formation between state and race. All the events that last 150 years happened depending on the racial state.
		12, Qizilbash, Politician: Journalist	President had prejudice, its samples, military entry exam quotation, and military rank quotation. Regarding the army generals' retirement policy, I trusted the information that Mr Ghani ordered to find out the number of every ethnic general and allocate the quotation for remain
		22, Pashtun, Politician: Minister	“NUG was the wrong step in state-building. During the time of NUG, my colleagues complied with President's Orders and received the opposite orders from the Chief Executive of NUG. They were confused about what to do. This was an absolute disaster.
Root of Ethnic Politics	Internal Roots of Ethnicities	10, Uzbek, Academician: lecturer	“During the history, almost all of the states were mono-ethnic states, such as Abul Rahmand Monarchy, Nadir Shah Most of them were Pashtun dominated, but Rabani changed to Tajik dominated state.”
		1, Tajik, Politician: Chief of Provincial Council	“Afghanistan's tribal structure and state both of them were the causes of changing Ethnicity as a rule of a political game.”
		2, Pashtun, Academician: Lecturer	“Ethnic Politics is a Reaction. For example, in the past, after a surge of the Peshawar session on ethnic issues, eight Shia Parties in Iran want to join one party. They were right, and we call this type of politics a reaction. “
		6, Hazara, Civil Activist: Journalist	“An important reason for war [conflict] is discrimination and inequality among the ethnicities. The main problem is not allowing the rule of law and a united structure. What do you think about the cause of the last 40 years of conflict in Afghanistan? Just injustice and discrimination!”

	External Roots	21, Hazara, Politician: Minister	“Left [communist] parties near to the victory of Mujahedeen shifted toward Ethnic identity approaches; its sample is Setam-e-Millie Party. This party critic socialism by putting national injustice (Setam-e-Millie) against Non- Pashtun ethnicities...Khalq changed the home of Pashtun, Parcham, the home of Tajiks, Hazaras and Uzbeks.”
		13, Uzbek, Academician: Lecturer	“There was a theory that the USA supported Pashtun domination, also in the past Iran and Pakistan funded other ethnic parties after 1980 ...ethnic distribute has an external trigger.”
		12, Qizilbash, Politician: Journalist	“In Republican terms (last 20 years), setting off all ethnicity is on power. It was an unwritten model of Lebanon, so it was quoted based on ethnicity; 40% for Pashtuns, 30% for Tajiks, 20% for Hazaras or Shias, and 10% for Uzbeks.”
		22, Pashoon, Politician: Minister	“In post-colonialism politics rooted in the colonialism period, they have the famous slogan Divide and Rule, so follow that our neighbours were doing this. In a session of education ministers, the Pakistan education minister asked me, where are you from? I respond from Afghanistan. Then he asked again which ethnic? I angrily replied none of the business”
Ethnicities Impacts	Ethnic Cleavage	10, Uzbek, Academician: Lecturer	“Ethnic Politics caused deeply more disputations and cleavages in society.”
		5, Tajik, Local Politician: Politician	“Ethnicity is a tool for mobilizing in politics, for example, politicians promising plans for their ethnic group and they supporting him.”
		3, Pashtun, Civil Activist: Lawyer	“Leaders acted ethnically, as I mentioned, in three stages regional, national, and racial the impact of this kind of behaviours and decisions was different. In national stage lead toward instability and collapse of the republican regime.”
		6, Hazara, Civil Activist: Journalist	“No conflict was an ideological or holy war. Last 40 years wars had root in ethnic conflict. This is the main reason for the instability of the country.”
		18, Tajik, Politician: Vice-governor	“Politics of Parties became ethnicities. Sometimes parties such as Jamiat-e-Islami

			had regional approach. Ata Mohammad Noor led north, Ismail Khan led west, but nature was ethnicity.”
		16, Hazara, Civil Activist: Lecturer	“Election was another field of ethnic battle in democratic appearance, most Persian language ethnic group such as Tajik, Hazara with Uzbek voted for one candidate, and Pashto language ethnicity to other one.”
	Anti-specialization	22, Pashtun, Politician: Minister	“Rising ethnic politics in the field of originally non-political organs such as the Ministry of Education is another impact on ethnicities. In this ministry, political activities were running. It was a voting resource for parliamentary and presidential elections. Leaders to support their followers hired 6000 employees, which has obvious political motivation; unfortunately, our schools did not have teachers.”
		(17, Pashtun, Civil Activist: Businessman)	“Instability when occurred that ethnicism and parts come in the military section. The velocity of operations downed, and their attitude changed toward the enemy. For example, in our area, if an armed forces custody a criminal to trailed. A leader defended the criminal then he was released.”
Regime Collapse Causes	Power Monopoly	7, Hazara, Civil Activist: Student	“In last 21 years just Pashtun had power, majority of ministers and officials were Pashtun and Tajiks. They monopoly the power.”
		21, Hazara, Politician: Minister	“Nadir Shah send letters to Pashtun tribes leaders to ask them to fight against King Kalakani, who is Tajik So; they support them to catch Pashtun power “
		15, Tajik, Politician: Minister	“When the conflict started against Rabbani government, and then broken down; main discourse was Pashtun deprived of power or excluded from domination by Tajiks”
		19, Tajik, Civil Activist: Lecturer	“All positions were under the monopoly of one ethnic group before the democracy period, and other non-Pashtun ethnics group were divested. In the democratic period, with the the prime ministry of Dr Zahir and Dr Yusuf, Tajiks ruled democratically.
	Ethnicity and Stability	5, Tajik, Politician: Local Politician	Ethnic Politics as changing laws and governmental policies to support a specific race or ethnicity, in Afghanistan increased social tensions, biases behaviour, deprivation, and civil distrust of the state. This process thrives regimes collapse.”

		12, Qizilbash, Politician: Journalist	“Ex-regime collapse had ethnic roots...at parliamentary election 2008, government leadership condemned why no Pashtun win parliament seat in Ghazni province. The second reason for hiring non-experiment commanders from Pashtoon ethnicity in the army. Army lost its confidence and wondered why we had been killed for an ethnic game. Latif Pedram said Tajik oath does not fight in the south”
		20, Uzbek, Civil Activist: Lawyer	“Instability of states in Afghanistan has roots in Ethnic Politic. Republican states broke down for ethnic politics in the last 20 years. If Bonn deals with power full fraction of Pashtun like the Taliban, we may have a stable state.”
		4, Pashtun, Civil Activist: Student	“Although we cannot ignore the role of ethnic politics, the regime stability and continuation is a big subject to discuss. It has multi-dimension, ethnicity has a weak role in instability”
	Complexes Causes	19, Tajik, Civil Activist: Lecturer	“It is not easy to say one cause for that [instability], geopolitics has a role more than anything.”
		3, Pashtun, Academician: Lawyer	“The lack of meritocracy and priority of ethnic interest to national interests threatened the regime, but more leader egoism and dogmas actions of statesmen caused the collapse of regimes.”
Solution of Ethnic Conflict	Political Culture Options	22, Pashtun, Politician: Minister	“Firstly, we must identify our national identity that represents various ethnicities and languages, that our exact national identity. Second, changing our approach on history [official history in education system] to emphasis on civilization, art, costumes, and poems...civil wars as a national lesson for future generations.”
		4, Pashtun, Civil Activist: Student	“Afghanistan’s society is an ethnical mosaic...the foundation of the political structure is semi-confederation of tribes and ethnicity, the solution is accepting and apply in real”
		1, Tajik, Politician: Chief of Provincial Council	“The racial identities must be recognized officially in a defensive situation. We must endure diversity. If the ethnic cleansing policy does work, Abdul Rahman Khan will succeed. Countries such as Lebanon and Swiss are

Systematic Options			multi-ethnic. Multi-ethnic recognized state solved the problem.”
		11, Tajik, Civil Activist: Lecturer	“We need a new political order that every ethnicity be agreed on their power share [quota] in a legal and democratic system”
		1, Tajik, Politician: Chief of Provincial Council	“Democratic regime, instead of autocracy, can deal with ethnic conflict. Politicians oath to think systematically solving, four decades of war is enough.”
		14, Hazara, Academician: Lecturer	“A decentralisation system same two centuries ago can obtain conflict. It can be like parliamentary or federal or another model that distributes the power to the people in every province”
		5, Tajik, Politician: Local Politician	“So for achieving stability in society, the state must emphasise empowerment of government to offer public services regarding every ethnic group’s human rights and equality, instead of ethnic policy.

ETHNIC STUDIES IMPLICATION

Themes come out from interviews shown that generally Afghanistan Politics is involved mostly with ethnicity issues. This refers to the role of Ethnicity in many stages of politics, especially related to government and its role found in essence of politics, then policymaking, and finally on state-building in Afghanistan. Participants discussed about this fact clearly: “Politics nature and essence is ethical; this fact appeared more obviously in recent years in Afghanistan” (21, Hazara, Politician: Minister). In term of policy making, policies was involved ethnicity, but more clearly state building was affected from ethnic issues in other word a stage of ethnic struggle. The research figure out themes like oppression, mono-ethnic state, ethnic cleaning, and ethnic allocating in government. Participant state that: “During the history, almost all of the states were mono-ethnic states, such as Abul Rahmand Monarchy, Nadir Shah Most of them were Pashtun dominated, but Rabani changed to Tajik dominated state.”(10, Uzbek, Academician: Lecturer). (See Table: 1 and Table 2). As a final conclusion, politics were in many stages involved with ethnicity.

The root of ethnic politics and ethnic struggle are internal and external issues. This set of themes includes the triggers of ethnicities; their origin is internal and located in the country's territory. According to the interviewees' attitudes, most Tajiks, Hazaras, Uzbeks, and Qizilbash believed that ethnicities have internal roots, but Pashuns showed different point of view. Internally, Discrimination in government, and Tribal Structure and State have big role than others. Most of participant believe it started from Dawood Kgan Coup, promoted by Communist and Mujahideen states (See Table 2). For example, Tribal Structure role; it means Afghanistan's most dominant ethnic group has a tribal structure, and state nature is part of the tribal structure. In this statement, the combination of two different origins has been shown. The tribe's structure and customs are traditional element. “Afghanistan's tribal structure and state

both of them were the causes of changing Ethnicity as a rule of a political game.” (1, Tajik, Politician: Chief of Provincial Council). External roots speak about abroad triggers lead ethnicities in the country. According to Gurr and Harff, External support paly critical role in ethnic politics and conflict. Bonn Session built the last two decades political order with support of International Allies. Some participant mention this was the root of ethnic struggle. “In post-colonialism politics rooted in the colonialism period, they have the famous slogan Divide and Rule, so Afghanistan’s neighbours were doing this. A participant mentioned an example, in the Session of Education Ministers, the Pakistan education minister asked me, where are you from? I respond “from Afghanistan”. Then he asked again which ethnic? I angrily replied “none of the business” (22, Pashtun, Politician: Minister). Afghanistan has a long history of intervention in its modern history such as first British invade 1839-1842, second British invade 1879, USSR invade 1979-1989, and finally presence of International Society 2001-2021.

Ethnicities and Ethnic Politic have some impacts on Afghanistan Politics. In the process of ethnicities, the shape of politics, society, culture, national identity, and state changed. As mentioned in the literature review, studies show these changes in many organisations. This paper wants to establish a quotation of themes from interviews. In a society such as Afghanistan, with about four leading ethnic groups, twelve mentioned ethnicities in the Constitutional Law of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, and more than thirty ethnic identities living in the country, ethnic politics has more impact such as Ethnic Cleavage occur by Ethnic as Mobilizer, Ethnic Conflict, and Ethnic Voting. (See. Table 2) “Ethnicity is a tool for mobilizing in politics, for example, politicians promising plans for their ethnic group and they supporting him.”(5, Tajik, Local Politician: Politician). Other side of ethnicities is that participant count as negative impact is Anti-specialising that stand opposite side of rationality, political development, decrease the output political system, and institutional stability. The Education Institution and Military were more affected from ethnic politics (See Table 1). “Rising ethnic politics in the field of originally non-political organs such as the Ministry of Education is another outcome on ethnicities. In this ministry, political activities were running in last tow decades. It was a voting resource for parliamentary and presidential elections. Leaders to support their followers hired 6000 employees, which has obvious political motivation; unfortunately, our schools did not have teachers.” (22, Pashtun, Politician: Minister)

This research figure out strong relationship between Ethnic Politics in term of Ethnic Struggling and Political Instability. The power Monopoly based on ethnic is major reason in term of Instability happened by ethno-power monopoly, Pashtun Power Monopoly, and Pashtun Reject Tajik Domination (See Table 2). “All positions were under the monopoly of one ethnic group before the democracy period, and other non-Pashtun ethnics group were divested. In the democratic period, with the prime ministry of Dr Zahir and Dr Yusuf, Tajiks ruled democratically (19, Tajik, Civil Activist: Lecturer). Clearly Ethnic Politics Thrives Collapse state by participants eight times in hole (See Figure 3). This mean the last regime collapse one important cause was Ethnic Politic and Ethnic Struggles. “Ex-regime collapse had ethnic roots...at parliamentary election 2008, government leadership condemned why no Pashtun win parliament seat in Ghazni province. The second reason was hiring non-experiment commanders from Pashoon ethnicity in the army. Army lost its confidence and wondered why we had been killed for an ethnic game. Latif Pedram said Tajik oath does not fight in the south.”

(12, Qizilbash, Politician: Journalist). Ethnic Thrive Instability mention in participant discussed this phenomena which refer ethnic politics triggering instability in all dimensions, particularly political instability. This theme was repeated in eight interviews, which can infer ethnic politics as independent factor has a reverse impact on stability as dependent factor (See Figure 4). “Instability of states in Afghanistan has roots in Ethnic Politics. Republican states broke down for ethnic politics in the last 20 years. If Bonn deals with power full fraction of Pashtun like the Taliban, we may have a stable state.” (20, Uzbek, Civil Activist: Lawyer). In some interviews, participants illustrated that the Collapse of Republican Regime has had complex causes, one of them was ethnicities they talked about geopolitics and leaders egoism. (See Table2).

Finally, the research suggest solutions based on data come out from interviews. The suggested solutions would compare with those of Gurr and Harff in their theory .Themes first focused on the options related to the type of political culture. Afghanistan's political culture in the last two centuries changed from traditional to Participated culture that discuss on National Identity: based on ethnic diversity, Ethnicity Identity Recognition, Ethnic Participation, Power Sharing: Stabilise Political Order (See Table 2). The Future of Afghanistan, written in September 2001, has stressed that the country’s stability depends on establishing a power-sharing coalition among leaders of its Pashtun, Tajik, Uzbek, and Hazara communities. (Barbara & Gurr, 2004, p. 242) It is still not fear for modern age politics. Interviewees mentioned some ideas for bringing change in political culture. “Based on experience during the 1990s, the optimal outcome of self-determination conflicts is a negotiated agreement between a government and ethnic group representatives that acknowledges collective rights and provides institutional means for attaining them”(Harff & Gurr, 2004, p. 240). In research, interviewees suggesting the Political Solutions option for ending the conflict in ethnic politics of Afghanistan, respectively. “The racial identities must be recognised officially in a defensive situation. We must endure diversity. If the ethnic cleansing policy does work, Abdul Rahman Khan will succeed. Countries such as Lebanon and Swiss are multi-ethnic. Multi-ethnic recognised state solved the problem.” (1, Tajik, Politician: Chief of Provincial Council)

According to Harff and Gurr, the condition of ethnic conflict, especially among minorities going reduced by the rise of democratic and transitional countries (See Figure 2). They state: “The new democratic states established during the 1990s have a strong record of acknowledging and promoting minority rights.” (Barbara & Gurr, 2004, p. 239). The interviewees precisely emphasized establishing the democratic system in the country—a systematic Option as an organizer of the theme, discussing the same as Harf and Gurr on democratic options. Data shown that the kind of political regime solving conflict. Gurr and Harf, in their five options solution, suggested decentralisation. Decentralised systems give regionally concentrated minorities an excellent voice in state or provincial politics (Harff & Gurr, 2004, p. 241). Some participants suggest Decentralization, “A decentralisation system same as two centuries ago can obtain conflict. It can be like parliamentary or federal or another model that distributes the power to the people in every province” (14, Hazara, Academician: Lecturer). The clear system suggested was a kind of parliamentary system with Semi-Federal: Stable Politics theme (See Table 2). “Our history is censored. In Abdali’s period, we experienced a semi-federal system where ethnic groups had roles. Our sword caught India; every ethnic group were the ruler of their territory and just paid tax to Kandahar. One Hazara

was the Herat governor. From many governors, just two of them, Kashmir and Punjab, were appointed by the central government.” (2, Pashtun, Academician: Lecturer)

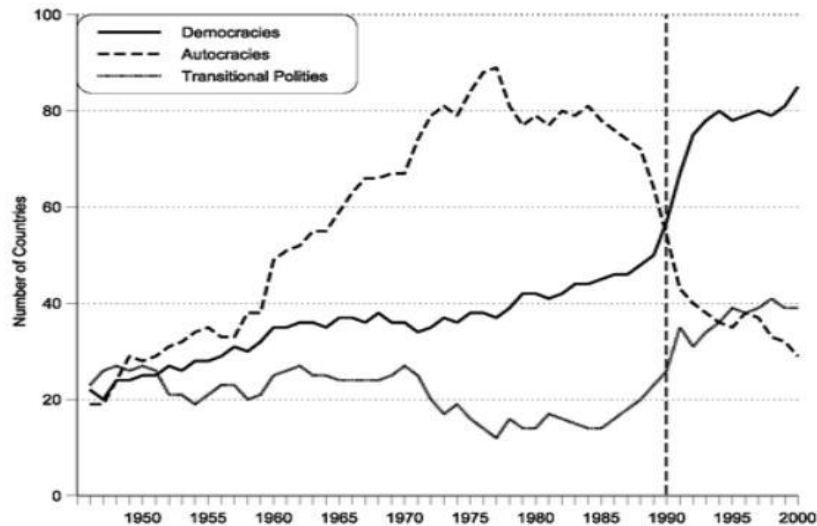


FIGURE 2: Global trends in numbers of democratic, autocratic, and transitional regimes, 1946–2001. Source: Harff & Gurr

Code Links

According to MAXQDA18 analysis of codes (themes), the research interprets the relations between codes in the interview’s context from whole transcripts with double frequencies in text. According to Figure 6, for example, the most integrated codes are Discrimination (9 in entire codes of theme), five links with Ethnic Politic: Thrive Collapse (8 in entire codes of theme), Ethnic-Decision Making (10 in entire codes of theme), and four links for Ethnic Recruitment (6 in entire codes of theme).

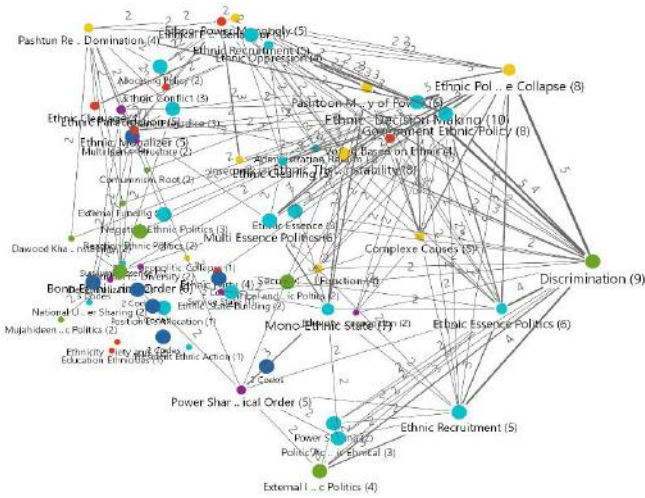


FIGURE 3: Codes relations map in contexts of Interviews

Themes Complex Map

To analyse the most critical themes mentioned in the interviews, MAXCODA18 made Figure 7 from the centre of the map toward the margin located the most to less mentioned codes in the coding process of research. For Ethnic-Decision Making, Government Ethnic Policy, and Ethnic Thrive Instability are at the centre, so these themes are essential notions mentioned by interviewees. Education, Ethnicities, Service State, and Political Regimes Solving conflict at the margin are less critical. (See Figure 4)



FIGURE 4: Codes Complexity Map

CONCLUSION

Ethnic politics is at the core and center of Afghanistan politics, as stated by those who participated in the interviews. While the country deals with various political instability issues, ethnic politics has become critical over the past 20 years. Its precise beginnings are still a mystery; some place it during the Mujahidin Era, while others place it during the Abdurrahman Khan Era. The government, political parties, and elections have all been heavily influenced by ethnic politics during the course of this time, and policies frequently have a vital ethnic component. The respondents emphasize that racial politics directly impact political instability, as was particularly evident after the fall of the Republican regime. They suggest building political cultures that promote ethnic participation, power sharing, appreciation of variety, and a sense national identity based of ethnic diversity to overcome these issues. Systematic solutions such as semi-federal system, decentralization and service state were mentioned. As this paper examined the theory of Hurf and Gurr on ethnic conflict from seven elements, the elements of discrimination were more obvious in our data, the extending of external support was also a multi mentioned element in the data. The strength of group identity that showed itself in election and parties as a mobilizer institution in Afghanistan Politics was indeed powerful.

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Table 2: Variables and Global, Organizer and Basic Codes Matrix

Global, Organizer and Basic Codes	Tajik	Pashtun	Qizilbash	Hazara	Uzbek	Politician	Civil Activist	Academician	Minister	
Ethnic Roles in Politics	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Essence of Politics	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Negative Ethnic Politics	14.29	14.29	0.00	0.00	14.29	14.29	14.29	14.29	14.29	100.00
Surviving Essence	33.33	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	33.33	0.00	0.00	33.33	100.00
Ethnic and Ideological Essence	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
Politicians Action: Ideology and Ethnicity	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	100.00
Ethnic Essence Politics	30.00	0.00	10.00	0.00	10.00	30.00	20.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
Ethnic Essence	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	33.33	16.67	0.00	100.00
Politic Action is Ethnical	33.33	16.67	0.00	0.00	0.00	16.67	33.33	0.00	0.00	100.00
Multi Essence Politics	30.77	0.00	0.00	7.69	7.69	15.38	15.38	15.38	7.69	100.00
Policy Making	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
11 Parliament Member of Hazara	0.00	0.00	0.00	33.33	0.00	33.33	0.00	0.00	33.33	100.00
Government Ethnic Policy	17.65	5.88	0.00	17.65	5.88	23.53	17.65	5.88	5.88	100.00
Ethnic Recruitment	0.00	9.09	0.00	18.18	18.18	9.09	18.18	18.18	9.09	100.00
Ethnic Recruitment	40.00	0.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	30.00	20.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
Position Ethnic Allocation	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	100.00
Power Sharing	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	25.00	25.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
Ethnic -Decision Making	21.05	10.53	0.00	10.53	5.26	15.79	21.05	10.53	5.26	100.00
Administration Reform	14.29	0.00	0.00	14.29	14.29	28.57	14.29	0.00	14.29	100.00
Ethnic Cleaning	22.22	0.00	0.00	22.22	0.00	22.22	11.11	11.11	11.11	100.00
Ethnic Oppression	14.29	0.00	0.00	28.57	0.00	14.29	28.57	0.00	14.29	100.00
Allocating Policy	0.00	0.00	0.00	20.00	20.00	20.00	0.00	20.00	20.00	100.00
Degree Based Citizenship	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
State-Building	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
President Ethnic Action	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
Ghani: Prejudice	12.50	0.00	12.50	12.50	0.00	37.50	0.00	0.00	25.00	100.00

National Unity	16.67	16.67	0.00	0.00	0.00	33.33	0.00	0.00	33.33	100.00
Government: Ethnic Power Sharing										
Ethnic State-building	25.00	0.00	0.00	25.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
Mono-Ethnic State	16.67	8.33	8.33	8.33	8.33	8.33	25.00	16.67	0.00	100.00
Root of Ethnic Politics	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Internal Root of Ethnicities	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
History Censor	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	100.00
Tribal and State Derive Ethnic Poltics	25.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	25.00	25.00	0.00	25.00	0.00	100.00
Mujahideen Support Ethnic Politics	0.00	40.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	20.00	0.00	20.00	20.00	100.00
Reaction Ethnic Politics	0.00	25.00	0.00	25.00	0.00	0.00	25.00	25.00	0.00	100.00
Discrimination	28.57	0.00	0.00	14.29	7.14	14.29	35.71	0.00	0.00	100.00
Comumnism Root	0.00	20.00	0.00	20.00	0.00	20.00	20.00	0.00	20.00	100.00
Dawood Khan Coup thrive Instability	20.00	20.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	20.00	0.00	20.00	20.00	100.00
Ethnic Self Consciousness	0.00	0.00	0.00	33.33	0.00	33.33	0.00	0.00	33.33	100.00
Interests Mafia	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
External Root of Ethnicities	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Bonn Ethnic Power Sharing Order	8.33	16.67	8.33	8.33	0.00	25.00	0.00	16.67	16.67	100.00
External Funding	0.00	25.00	0.00	0.00	25.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	100.00
External Driver of Ethnic Politics	33.33	11.11	0.00	0.00	0.00	22.22	22.22	0.00	11.11	100.00
International Society Build Political Order Based on Ethnicity	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
Ethnicities Impacts	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Ethnic Cleavage	0.00	14.29	0.00	14.29	14.29	14.29	0.00	28.57	14.29	100.00
Ethnic: Mobilizer	15.38	15.38	0.00	7.69	0.00	30.77	0.00	7.69	23.08	100.00
Ethnical Politicians Behaviour	0.00	11.11	0.00	11.11	22.22	11.11	11.11	22.22	11.11	100.00
Ethnic Conflict	0.00	14.29	0.00	28.57	0.00	14.29	14.29	14.29	14.29	100.00
Ethnic Party	14.29	14.29	0.00	0.00	14.29	28.57	14.29	0.00	14.29	100.00
Voting Based on Ethnic	0.00	0.00	12.50	12.50	25.00	12.50	25.00	12.50	0.00	100.00

Anti-specialization of Institutions	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Education-Ethnicities	0.00	33.33	0.00	0.00	0.00	33.33	0.00	0.00	33.33	100.00
Ethnicities of Army	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
Ethnicity Impact on Art, Society and..	0.00	40.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	20.00	20.00	0.00	20.00	100.00
Regime Collapse Causes	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Power Monopoly	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Pashtun Reject Tajik Domination	10.00	10.00	0.00	10.00	10.00	20.00	0.00	20.00	20.00	100.00
Ethnic-Interest Competition	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	100.00
Pashtun Monopoly of Power	9.09	9.09	9.09	18.18	0.00	18.18	27.27	0.00	9.09	100.00
Ethno-Power Monopoly	18.18	0.00	0.00	18.18	9.09	18.18	18.18	9.09	9.09	100.00
Ethnicity and Stability	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
Ethnic Politics Thrive Collapse	7.14	0.00	7.14	21.43	14.29	14.29	28.57	7.14	0.00	100.00
Ethnic Thrive Instability	20.00	0.00	0.00	13.33	13.33	6.67	33.33	6.67	6.67	100.00
Insecurity	0.00	16.67	0.00	0.00	33.33	0.00	16.67	33.33	0.00	100.00
Security: Ethnicity Dual Function	16.67	16.67	0.00	16.67	0.00	16.67	33.33	0.00	0.00	100.00
Weak Role on Instability	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
Complex Causes	12.50	0.00	12.50	12.50	12.50	25.00	12.50	12.50	0.00	100.00
Geopolitic: Collapse	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
Najibullah Collapse has Ethnic Root	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Leaders Egoism: Collapse Regime	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	100.00
Solution of Ethnic Conflict	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Political Culture Options	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Power Sharing: Stabilize Political Order	9.09	27.27	9.09	0.00	0.00	18.18	18.18	9.09	9.09	100.00
Ethnic Participation	9.09	9.09	0.00	18.18	0.00	27.27	9.09	0.00	27.27	100.00

Ethnicity Identity Recognition	25.00	0.00	0.00	25.00	0.00	25.00	25.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
Multi Identity: Mosaic Structure	0.00	20.00	0.00	20.00	0.00	20.00	20.00	0.00	20.00	100.00
National Identity Based on Ethnic Diversity	0.00	20.00	0.00	0.00	20.00	20.00	0.00	20.00	20.00	100.00
Systematic Options	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Semi-Federal: Stable Politics	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	100.00
Service State	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
Decentralization	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	100.00
Political Regime: solving conflict	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
SUM	14.48	10.63	2.26	11.31	6.56	18.10	16.97	10.18	9.50	100.00
N = Documents	15.56	11.11	2.22	11.11	6.67	15.56	20.00	11.11	6.67	100.00



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Sports and Heritage: A Review of the Chinese Lion Dance (*Sukan dan Warisan: Tinjauan Tarian Singa Cina*)

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ABSTRACT

The Lion Dance is a globally renowned sport and performance art that boasts a primarily Chinese constituency. This article provides a comprehensive overview of the present state of lion dance research by gathering literature from both English and Chinese contexts. The results demonstrate that there exist numerous suppositions regarding the origins and symbolic connotations of lion dance. As a sport, research on lion dance concentrates on methods to enhance athletic performance. Moreover, as a part of cultural heritage, the study of lion dance is presently transitioning from traditional research paradigms to critical heritage studies. Accordingly, we advocate for the adoption of Harrison's dialogical model (2013: 204) of heritage studies in lion dance research to reveal the significance of this captivating art form for both the present and future generations.

Keywords: Lion dance; Heritage; Sports; Performance art; Review

ABSTRAK

Kata kunci: Tarian singa adalah sukan dan bentuk kesenian yang diiktiraf secara global, yang juga kebanyakannya dianggotai masyarakat etnik Cina. Artikel ini menawarkan sorotan kajian yang komprehensif mengenai taraf penyelidikan semasa mengenai tarian singa, melalui ulasan literatur daripada sumber Bahasa Inggeris dan Bahasa Cina. Dapatan kajian ini menunjukkan bahawa terdapatnya banyak tanggapan mengenai asal-usul dan maksud simbolik tarian singa. Sebagai sebarang sukan, kajian mengenai tarian singa mengetengahkan cara-cara meningkatkan pencapaian atletik. Sebagai warisan budaya pula, kajian mengenai tarian singa berevolusi daripada paradigma kajian tradisional kepada paradigma kajian warisan kritikal. Maka, kami memperjuangkan penggunaan model dialogik oleh Harrison (2013: 204) yang berfokus kepada kajian warisan kebudayaan dalam tarian singa untuk menyerlahkan signifikan bentuk kesenian yang unik ini untuk generasi kini dan akan datang.

Kata kunci: tarian singa, warisan budaya, kesenian, sukan, ulasan

INTRODUCTION

The lion dance is an established and popular sport and performing art that has captivated the attention of numerous scholars. As a review, we initially collated thorough discussions concerning the origins, symbolism, and variations of lion dance. Secondly, we presented the latest research breakthroughs in lion dance as a sport, with much of the primary research emanating from China. Thirdly, we examined the advancement of lion dance in heritage studies, which encompasses the research on lion dance within the established paradigm of

heritage studies and the potential for a critical research shift. Finally, we emphasized the significance of critical heritage studies for the lion dance amidst super-diversity (Vertovec, 2007) and recommended the adoption of Harrison's dialogical model (2013: 204) in future research, specifically, a focus on the interaction between humans and non-human entities and the cultivation of a sustainable heritage future dialogically. It is imperative to note that this paper's scope is limited to lion dances that remain active within the Chinese community or are still prominently Chinese. Consequently, inquiries into traditional Korean lion dances (Sajonoreum) and traditional Japanese lion dances (Shishimai), for instance, surpass the ambit of this paper.

ORIGINS, SIGNIFICANCE AND TYPES OF LION DANCE

Although the lion dance is one of China's iconic rituals, the lion is not native to China. Historically, the lion first came to China during the Han Dynasty as a tribute from the West via the Silk Road. However, there is no precise answer to the question of when the lion dance originated, and significant discrepancies exist between the Chinese and English texts regarding the origin. Based on a wide range of literature, this study summarises two mainstream views on the origins of lion dance:

- (1) *Lion dance is a by-product of intercultural trade* The Han Dynasty of China established the original Silk Road over 2000 years ago, which was a vast commercial network connecting people from China, Central Asia, the Middle East, and Europe (Li & Schmerer, 2017; McBride, 2015). The trade that occurred on this road facilitated the movement of people, goods, and culture across the region. It is said that during one such trade venture, a lion was brought to China as a tribute but it ended up attacking people. In order to avoid punishment, two underlings stripped the lion's skin and wore it to pretend to be a lion. This incident is believed to have given rise to the prototype of the lion dance, a traditional Chinese dance in which performers wear lion costumes and mimic the movements of the animal. There are several accounts of this story, but it is widely acknowledged that the lion dance has its roots in the Silk Road era and has been an important part of Chinese culture ever since (Duan, 2006; Jiang, 2011).
- (2) *Lion dance is a by-product of Buddhism* This is one of the most widely accepted assertions (Gu, 2002; Lyu, 2008; Zhang, 2003) that has been posited. Buddhism was introduced into ancient China as a foreign culture since the opening of the Silk Road during the Han Dynasty. Buddhist texts abound with numerous depictions of lions that significantly impacted Buddhist philosophy. As the Bodhisattva's mount, the lion is perceived by adherents of Buddhism as a divine creature endowed with supernatural powers. The first stunning demonstration of the lion dance occurred on the day of Buddha's celebration (Xing Xiang), which is chronicled in the written accounts of the Lo-Yang ch'ieh-lan chi (A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-yang) during the Northern Wei Dynasties. Typically, this effigy would be demonstrated and paraded on the fourth day of the fourth month, following representations of man-made beasts like 'pi-hsieh and lions' (Yang, 1984: 71). The Buddhist practice of burning incense later became more generally embraced and evolved into a Chinese cultural tradition known as *Xiang Hui* (Lyu, 2008).

Today, the symbolic meaning of the lion dance is to celebrate, entertain and express Chineseness. In this research, the lion dance has been summarized into three main functions:

- (1) *For fortune and to ward off evil spirits* The Chinese believe that the lion is majestic, powerful, brave, and is known as the ‘king of animals’ and regard it as a sacred object to protect and ward off evil spirits. An essential part of the lion dance is called the ‘cai qing’. In Cantonese, the word ‘lettuce’ (shengcai) has the same sound as ‘child’ (shengzai), which means ‘have a child’. Later on, people gave the word ‘lettuce’ (shengcai) a new meaning of ‘being rich’ (shengcai) (Jiang, 2011; Li, 2011; Tan, 2007).
- (2) *Hero worship* The lion dance is usually modelled on heroic figures such as Liu Bei, Guan Yu and Zhang Fei from the Three Kingdoms period. Then with elements from opera that express positive images, the lion head is dressed up with the hero’s characteristics, and the corresponding character traits are described in the performance (Duan, 2006; Tan, 2007).
- (3) *Fitness and entertainment* The lion dance combines martial arts and dances through drumming and music, with props to perform various shapes and complex movements. It is both a physical and mental exercise for the performers.

Lion dances are classified into two main styles, namely northern and southern styles (Chang, 2013; Loo & Loo, 2016). The northern lion dance, which is renowned in North China, features a lion with golden, orange, and red fur that closely resembles an actual lion. Generally, northern lion dances are performed by a male and a female lion together, led by a master dressed as a warrior who heads the procession. In contrast, the southern lion dance is more elaborate, colorful, and well-liked than its northern counterpart, featuring numerous embellishments and costumes that closely resemble a real lion’s appearance.

LION DANCE IN SPORTS SCIENCE

Despite the fact that lion dance competitions have recently been introduced in Malaysia after a hiatus since the 1980s, contemporary research on lion dance within Sports Science is mainly of Chinese origin. The principal justification for this is that over a dozen sports colleges within China already provide lion dance courses, and an established competition system has been developed for hundreds of national competitions (Zhang, 2008).

In Malaysia, the introduction of lion dance competitions has brought about changes to the traditional lion dance. The need to tailor the dance to suit competition requirements has resulted in the merging of southern and northern lion dances, as well as the creation of new competition sets (Loo & Loo, 2016). China was influenced by Malaysia and, in 1995, established the Chinese Dragon and Lion Dance Sports Association, which held the first-ever Dragon and Lion Dance National Championship (Xue & Wang, 2013). Reviewing lion dance competitions over the past 30 years, Xue & Wang(2013) observed that the development of lion dance has been characterized by an emphasis on innovative movement choreography, an improvement in the standard of basic motions, and an enhancement of artistic performance. Lei (2007) suggested that enhancing the artistic expression of athletes is crucial for improving the performance of lion dance sports. Accordingly, training programs should be designed to strengthen athletes’ stage awareness, physical quality, and artistic appreciation.

Ma & Lei (2014) have provided a more detailed account of competitive lion dance, which comprises 2D planar techniques and 3D stereoscopic techniques. The former includes basic movements of lion dance and mannerisms embodied through the lion, while the latter incorporates advanced techniques such as lion dances in the air, jumping, leaping, and shaping. The demand for superior performances in competitive lion dance has led to research efforts in other fields. Duan et al.(2010), for example, studied the changes in athletes’ heart rates during set training sessions. They found that athletes in the lion’s head position consistently had higher

heart rates than those in the lion's tail position, suggesting that different training methods should be developed based on athletes' positioning and their heart rate responses. Liu (2018) developed an algorithm to monitor and enhance the stability of landing following the implementation of motion, while other studies have focused on blood indicators for lion dance practice (Fan, 2010) and the development and innovation of lion dance equipment (Chang & Shen, 2013).

The development of lion dance sports has stimulated some scholars to ponder the idea of incorporating lion dance education into school curricula, particularly at higher education levels (Chen et al., 2022; Gao et al., 2012; Ma & Zuo, 2009; Xu et al., 2017; Zhang, 2008). With authorities encouraging students of all ages to learn traditional and ethnic sports, lion dance and wushu have been granted the opportunity to be included in the school curriculum (Gao et al., 2012). Zhang (2008) emphasized that the symbolic spirit embodied in the lion dance is crucial for the mental health and character development of students. Both Gao et al. (2012) and Ma & Zuo (2009) found that China's university students possess enough enthusiasm to learn lion dance and that there are sufficient conditions to promote its uptake in more universities.

LION DANCE IN HERITAGE STUDIES

Since 2006, China has recognized 32 traditional lion dances as a national intangible cultural heritage, while Malaysia listed the lion dance as a national cultural heritage in 2007 (Rodzi et al., 2013), and Chinese communities in many other countries preserve and promote lion dance as a cultural tradition. In this section, the study of lion dance heritage is divided into the study of 'objects' and the study of 'individuals'. This categorisation is based on a paradigm shift in heritage studies, which emphasises reflexivity and critical thinking in research. Rather than solely focusing on technical questions related to preservation, heritage researchers are now examining the broader social, political, and cultural implications of heritage preservation. This shift acknowledges that heritage is not only about preserving objects or traditions but also about understanding the significance of these traditions for individuals and communities and how they contribute to shaping cultural identities and narratives (Havinga et al., 2020).

STUDIES ON THE LION DANCE ITSELF

Numerous scholars have delved into the question of what precisely the lion dance entails. Li & Long (2016) conducted a historical investigation into the *Wu Pi Xiu*, a traditional lion dance in Wuchuan City of Guangdong Province, and posited that the origins of the lion dance in this region trace back to the Southern Song Dynasty. Li et al. (2021) attributed the roots of the Hakka lion dance in Meizhou City of Guangdong Province to both external and internal factors, contending that the Hakka lion dance was an extension of the dependence on court lion dances from the Han Dynasty while also drawing heavily on Hakka martial arts and Buddhist folkloric traditions. Matusky & Tan (2017) noted that the lion dance has a lengthy history in Malaysia, brought over by Chinese immigrants in the 19th century, particularly those from Guangdong Province. Early lion dance associations in Malaysia served as hubs for working-class Chinese individuals and young educated Chinese people to socialize and cultivate skills (Tan, 1989). Chang (2013) observed that during the 1800s, when there was a significant influx of Southern Chinese migrants to the United States, Southern lion dances appeared in Chinese-dense areas such as California, Hawaii, and New York. The lion dance in the United States has now assumed a new character, thanks to the involvement of Southeast Asian ethnic Chinese and Singapore and Malaysia's influence in the lion head's design and choreography. Slovenz (1987)

provided a comprehensive account of how the lion dance is performed, with similar studies undertaken in other works (Huang et al., 2008; Su, 2007; Zheng & Hu, 2017). Some scholars are committed to exploring how to preserve the lion dance. Lian (2017) studied the inheritance model of the *Qing Lion Dance* in Jieyang, Guangdong, while Gao (2021) responded to the preservation and heritage of *Nuo Lion Dance* in Hunan Province.

In a study on lion dance production and commercialization, Tian & Li (2021) argued that preserving the traditional lion dance in modern society requires attention to both its economic and cultural worth. Zeng et al.(2013) analyzed the sociocultural context behind the Lingnan lion image's development, different types of lion images, stylistic and decorative features, as well as the present state of design applications. Additionally, it is crucial not to limit oneself to the expression of skills but to explore multiple forms and channels for self-expression (Wang, 2017).

STUDIES ON INDIVIDUALS

The lion dance is regarded as a confluence of individual and social interactions. According to Xie (2020) socio-historical inquiry into the Foshan lion dance, social movements exerted a profound influence on the interpretation and dissemination of this performing art. The transmission of the Foshan lion dance transpired in two phases: from 1949 to 1976, it shifted from an overt and public form to a suppressed and clandestine one due to significant changes in the political and social fabric. Nevertheless, the legacy of this practice survived despite external interventions with the custodians of this tradition during that epoch. It highlighted that although the cultural sustainability of the lion dance is largely reliant on socio-cultural mores, the inheritors cannot be overlooked. This view is corroborated by Wang et al.(2016) and Wu & Wu (2020). Wang et al.(2016) posited that the Tianyang Lion Dance underwent a transformation due to varying degrees of individualism, ethnicity, sub-groups, local government, and national demand, driven by different motivations and interests. Wu & Wu (2020) argued that the lion dance was based on the political, economic, and social infrastructure of the market, government, and local community. However, the integration of the state and the market as providers of space for the lion dance led to the alienation of lion dancers, techniques, and organizations from the local community, thereby raising the issue of the variability of the lion dance.

The lion dance holds significant importance as a symbol of identity in overseas Chinese communities, often reflecting a multifaceted Chinese identity. In Canada, the lion dance was reorganized and reintegrated to construct a new collective identity that unified individuals of Chinese descent from various regions and dialects (Li, 2017). Traditional authenticity was not deliberately emphasized or promoted; rather, localized trivialization was employed to express a multivocal Chinese identity (Li, 2017). Similarly, in New Zealand, lion dance was used to negotiate and construct Chinese cultural identity. A study conducted by Johnson (2005) highlighted how students regarded lion dance as an expression of their tradition, heritage, and collective cultural identity. The performance of lion dance facilitated the coming together of students from diverse Chinese backgrounds, helping them form a shared identity. In the United States, critical research has focused on the bodily subjectivity of lion dance. The vibrant props and costumes associated with performing the lion dance are used to shift the audience's focus from the performer to the captivating lion. Such innovative settings enable performers to express their self-awareness and voice the intentions of their group or class. For example, Avaunt (2021) suggested that the symbolism and theatricality of the lion neutralize hypersexualized and racialized notions of bodily permeability regarding Asian American

women bodies. Feminism, concealed behind the costume, influences the technical practice and shapes a new form of lion dance in Boston's Chinatown. This illustrates that compared to other performing arts, the appearance of lion dance can easily conceal the performer's intentions, even during periods of acute social conflict. Lion dance provides an opportunity for performers to express their voices and engage in a dialogue with the audience. In this process, the lion dance, as a living entity, undergoes continuous recreation to match social-ecological conditions. Avaunt (2022) also examined female lion dance troupe 'Gund Kwok' to explore the concept of 'sisterhood'. The study argued that the female-only troupe and its sisterhood ideology articulate Chinese American cultural identity beyond the framework of Western cultural traditions and the patriarchal nature of the dance itself.

In Southeast Asia, the lion dance is widely recognized as a platform for multi-ethnic interaction and an essential component of national culture. In Myanmar, street lion dance created a temporary communal space that fostered trust and friendship-building between individuals from diverse cultural and religious backgrounds (Roberts, 2011). The annual lion dance competition held on the streets represented a tentative step towards cross-cultural interaction and understanding in Myanmar (Roberts, 2013). In Malaysia, during the last century, when ethnic awareness was on the rise (Mahyuddin, 2011), lion dance was chosen as a traditional cultural emblem to resist national assimilation and promote cultural revival (Tan, 2007). In the national culture debates of the 1980s, Malaysian Chinese called for the preservation and acceptance of lion dance as part of Malaysian culture (Carstens, 1999). However, Malaysian lion dance gradually transcended ethnic boundaries and became a shared cultural practice for promoting national unity. Loo & Loo (2016) noted that lion dance troupes incorporated the concept of national unity by allowing non-Chinese members to participate and by blending Malay and Indian rhythms and instrumentation into their performances

NEW TREND: CONNECTIVITY AND SUSTAINABILITY IN LION DANCE STUDIES

Heritage researchers' approach to action has undergone a significant shift, from an unwavering commitment to preserving cultural heritage in its original form to a focus on the present and future, where people's demand for 'using' heritage determines and creates heritage resources without constraints (Ashworth, 2011). This shift signifies a transition from an objective orientation, which prioritizes tangible heritage preservation and protection, to a subjective orientation, which emphasizes the use and development of heritage in response to human needs. Thus, heritage is viewed as a 'cultural creation of the present', where people constantly imagine 'new pasts' to meet their changing needs.

However, heritage studies are undergoing a new paradigm shift from heritagization paradigm to critical heritage studies. Critical heritage researchers argued that 'heritagization' has led to a 'distortion between heritage and place' and has affected the authenticity and sustainability of heritage (Ahmed, 2008). In response to the challenges posed by heritagization, critical heritage researchers see heritage as a process of cultural practices constructed by multiple groups, where heritage values are not naturally generated and self-evident, but are artificially assigned by different heritage subjects (Smith, 2011). Heritage is not just a tangible, static, material object, but an intangible, dynamic, spiritual, discursively constructed 'landscape', a process of practice, an act of communication and an act of making meaning for the present in which all groups participate (Smith, 2006) which echoed Samuel's (1994: 303) emphasis on the role of heritage as a social process in promoting social diversity. Critical heritage studies therefore advocate the use of heritage as a pathway for interaction with other

diverse and relevant fields, rather than just studying heritage for the sake of studying heritage or critiquing existing heritage studies and practices (Winter, 2013). At the same time, critical heritage studies have also moved on from heritage to global issues such as sustainable development, international relations and cultural conflicts, in order to understand and explain the common problems facing all of humanity in today's world through the lens of heritage (Winter, 2013).

From the above sections, we can see that although there is a scientific materialist paradigm for lion dance (mainly focused on sports science), most of the research focuses on the heritage studies of preservationism, conservationism and heritagization paradigms. There also have some scholars who attempt to explain social inequality (Avaunt, 2021, 2022) and social diversity (Loo & Loo, 2016; Roberts, 2011, 2013) through the discursive shift in lion dance studies. But the above analysis does not give an adequate theoretical explanation of the role played by the 'lion dance' as a materiality in society. Meanwhile, the excessive obsession with representational politics and knowledge/power has not only neglected the material emotional quality and dynamism of heritage but has also lost sight of the social processes and globalisation that surround it (Harrison, 2013: 113), especially in super-diversity (Vertovec, 2007).

The concept of super-diversity highlights the unprecedented complexity and diversity found in plural societies. In such societies, individuals have multiple identity options, which poses a challenge to heritage studies as cultural traditions become more varied and vague (Koch, 2009). Fixed ethnic boundaries have also started to blur (Lobo, 2010), leading to difficulties in classifying individuals and ethnicities (Aspinall, 2009; Song, 2009). Super-diversity raises a serious issue for lion dance research, particularly that of representation. Traditionally, lion dance was associated with a single ethnic Chinese narrative and served as a 'differencing machine' (Harrison, 2013: 140). However, super-diversity fundamentally questions how society functions at all levels, from interpersonal communication to global structures (Blommaert, 2013: 6), and changes our understanding of identity categories (Meer, 2014: 144).

In this new social context, how does lion dance represent increasingly blurred and interacting community groups, and what impact do these groups have on society's character and construction? This calls into question the traditional concept of lion dance and aligns with Samuel's (1994: 303) view of heritage as an ongoing process. We believe that heritage derives its meaning from complex present-day interactions, and the value of lion dance is dynamic and adaptable. In Malaysia and Singapore, where diversity is considered a national asset, lion dance may serve as a tool for creating collective social memory in a modernised 'united Malaysian nation' (Shamsul, 1996: 328). Although such memories may simply maintain respect and camaraderie among different cultures without necessarily requiring one another to be fully acquainted (Lee, 2017).

To this end, we call for a break with the long-standing dichotomy between subjectivism and objectivism (Bourdieu, 1973) that has led to a mutual fragmentation of nature and culture in heritage studies (Harrison, 2013: 206). This requires the establishment of a total social science on lion dance research (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 26) and bringing the affective character of heritage 'things' back more directly to critical heritage research (Harrison, 2013: 113). Specifically, it entails a connectivity ontology and seeing heritage as a medium for dialogue between people and nature (Harrison, 2013: 229), namely, a linkage points that span a gamut of social interactions (Chan & Khalid, 2020), not only focusing on the substantive impact of lion dance on people and the environment, but also on the way it is practised in everyday lives, in order to better link it to social, economic and political issues.

CONCLUSION

Lion dance has undergone a transformation from its initial ceremonial origins to encompass a diverse range of social functions. As a sport, the scholarly debate has centred around improving competition performance through various means, including but not limited to meeting movement requirements, revising competition rules, and designing training programmes and educational schemes. Of course, greater attention has been paid to the study of lion dance as a heritage. The popularity of lion dance across various regions and countries has given rise to a plethora of distinct styles of the tradition. Ethnographic and historical research has thus been employed by scholars to explicate the essence of lion dance and address the question of how best to protect it. As heritage studies discourse has evolved, researchers have increasingly shifted their focus towards the people involved in lion dance. Whilst some academics still pursue a connection with the past through lion dance, others have begun to explore the present, pointing out that lion dance is a living embodiment of local culture, imbued with meaning for everyday life, and capable of generating new values. Nonetheless, a general concern for representation is insufficient when it comes to addressing the crisis faced by lion dance within super-diversity. To this end, we call for the implementation of the dialogical model (Harrison, 2013: 204) of heritage studies in lion dance research, which emphasises interactions, connections, and dialogues between objects, places, practices and people, which hold the key to nurturing sustainable heritage futures.

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ULASAN FILEM JOKER (2019) : ANALISIS PERSONALITI DAN PERSEKITARAN YANG MEMPENGARUHI WATAK ARTHUR FLECK

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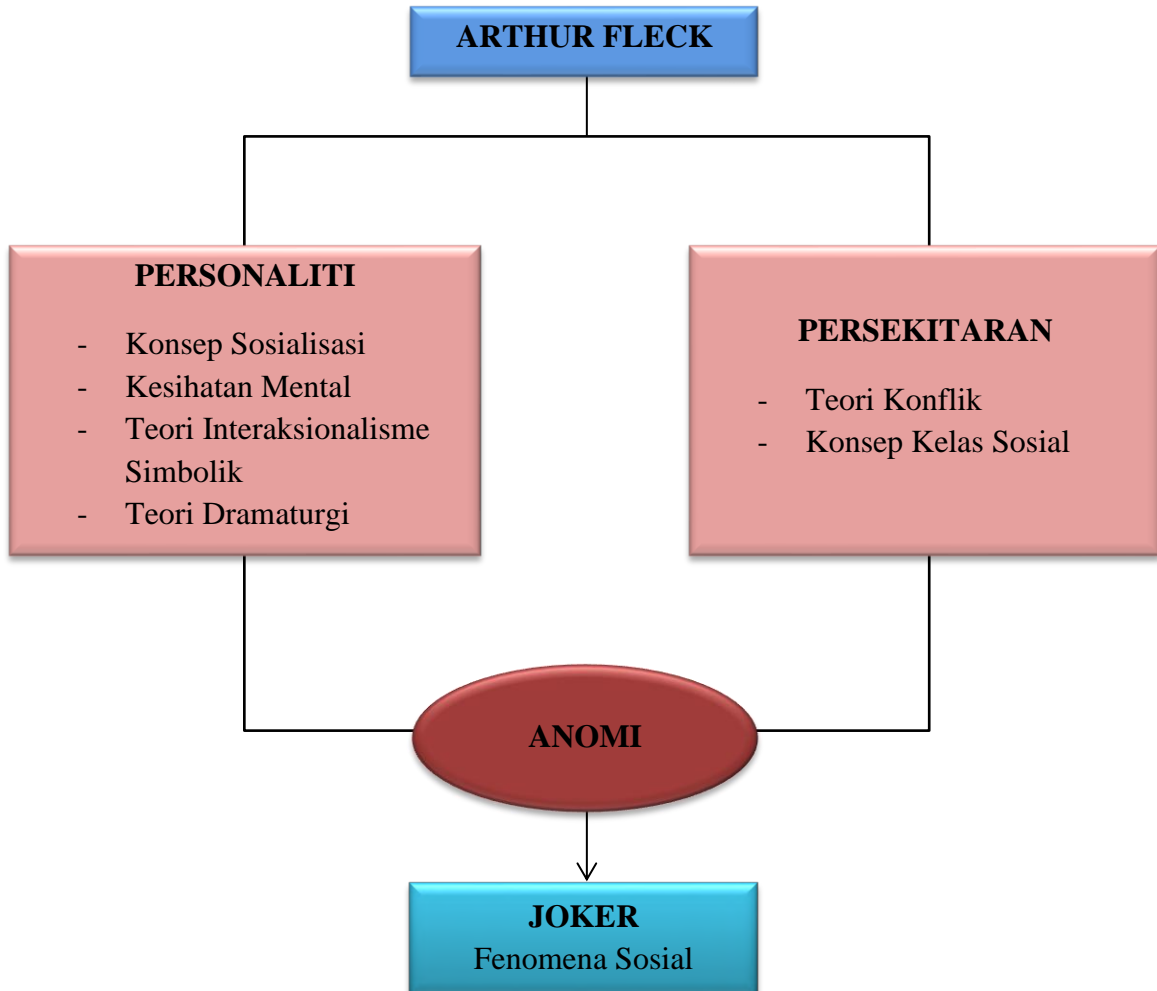
PENGENALAN

Filem ini berkisarkan tentang Joker atau nama sebenarnya Arthur Fleck. Arthur pada mulanya merupakan seorang lelaki yang baik dan janggal dalam masyarakat. Beliau menghidap penyakit ketawa (*pathological laughter*) menyebabkan orang sekeliling menganggapnya pelik. Arthur tinggal di bandar Gotham yang kotor dan penuh dengan jenayah. Dia sering dibuli dan berasa tertekan lalu melakukan pembunuhan. Kegagalan Arthur mencipta nama dalam bidang komedi dan merasakan seolah dirinya tidak wujud dalam kalangan masyarakat menyebabkan Arthur mula hilang kewarasan sedikit demi sedikit dan mula mencetuskan kekecohan dan pemberontakan di bandar Gotham. Dia diangkat sebagai penjenayah ikonik yang dikenali sebagai Joker. Hasil penelitian daripada filem ini, penyelidik membentangkan ulasan berdasarkan teori dan konsep yang berasaskan ilmu sosiologi dan antropologi. Sebelum itu, penyelidik akan menjelaskan satu kerangka konseptual berdasarkan imaginasi sosial.

Hasil lakaran kerangka konseptual dibawah, penyelidik cuba untuk menjelaskan bagaimana Arthur yang asalnya seorang lelaki biasa bertukar menjadi Joker hasil pengaruh daripada dua faktor iaitu personaliti dan persekitaran. Dibawah angkuabah personaliti, penyelidik cuba untuk mengembangkan teori dan konsep berkenaan konsep sosialisasi, kesihatan mental, teori simbolik interaksionalisme dan juga teori dramaturgi. Sementara angkuabah kedua dibawah persekitaran pula menerangkan teori konflik dan konsep kelas sosial. Akhir sekali, penyelidik akan menjelaskan bagaimana kedua-dua pembolehubah ini menghasilkan anomi dalam perlakuan Joker.

Sebelum penyelidik mengulas dengan lebih lanjut berkenaan filem ini, terlebih dahulu penyelidik membincangkan aliran pemikiran yang dimiliki oleh Arthur Fleck. Beliau merupakan seorang individu yang mempunyai pemikiran konstruktivisme sosial (*social constructivism*). Pemikiran ini merupakan satu sumber ilmu yang dimiliki oleh individu dengan cara memberi penilaian makna sendiri. Penyelidik menumpukan kepada konstruktivisme sosial di mana menurut Chrintine Aguis (2013), konstruktivisme sosial mendedahkan bagaimana kehidupan manusia bukannya hasil daripada sesuatu yang semulajadi, sebaliknya, kehidupan manusia hanyalah satu tipu daya melalui tingkahlaku dan tindakan manusia itu sendiri. Konstruktivisme sosial dalam aliran pemikiran Arthur adalah dipengaruhi oleh personaliti dan persekitaran seperti yang dijelaskan dalam kerangka konseptual penyelidik. Oleh itu, hasil interaksi sosial yang berlaku telah menyebabkan Arthur mencipta identiti baru dirinya sebagai Joker.

KERANGKA KONSEPTUAL



Rajah 1 : Kerangka Analisis Filem Joker

ULASAN PERSONALITI

Konsep Sosialisasi

Angkubah pertama iaitu personaliti, menghuraikan sosialisasi sebagai langkah pertama dalam pembentukan individu. Sosialisasi adalah proses di mana seseorang individu mempelajari peranan, status, nilai, kepercayaan, norma dan tingkah laku sosial yang perlu ada pada seseorang dalam institusi sosial iaitu masyarakat (Bernard, 2007). Keluarga, media massa dan institusi pendidikan adalah antara agen sosialisasi yang banyak mempengaruhi perkembangan kanak-kanak. Di peringkat permulaan sosialisasi berlaku, kanak-kanak belajar daripada orang dewasa atau ahli keluarga bagi membina konsep diri, personaliti, kemahiran dan penaklukan (Suria, 2003). Kehidupan Arthur yang membesar dalam keadaan trauma dan kurang kasih sayang ibu bapa menjadikan Arthur kelihatan murung dan pelik di mata rakan sekerja dan orang sekelilingnya. Arthur juga didedahkan kepada persekitaran sosial yang buruk akibat tinggal di kawasan yang mempunyai jenayah yang berleluasa, pengangguran yang tinggi dan majoriti penduduk yang miskin. Hal ini menunjukkan proses sosialisasi di dalam dan luar keluarga Arthur gagal memberikan Arthur kehidupan yang sejahtera.

Media massa juga merupakan agen sosialisasi yang penting dalam kehidupan Arthur. Arthur dan ibunya menggemari rancangan Murray Franklin di televisyen dan sering menontonnya bersama. Rancangan tersebut menggambarkan Murray sebagai seorang yang ceria dan lucu. Oleh itu, Murray dijadikan idola dan sumber dorongan kepada Arthur untuk menjadi popular sehingga Arthur mula belajar dan meniru aksi Murray ketika mengacara. Kadang-kala, Arthur berimajinasi menjadi seorang pengacara yang dapat menarik perhatian ramai penonton. Selain sebagai sumber hiburan, pengaruh media massa juga membentuk karakter dan perilaku Arthur sebagai seorang penghibur. Hal ini menunjukkan media massa telah menjadi institusi sosial bagi Arthur untuk mempelajari dan memahami norma dan nilai sosial dalam anggota masyarakat.

Seterusnya, ahli terapi Arthur juga adalah agen sosialisasi dan golongan yang paling hampir dalam kehidupan Arthur selepas ibunya. Arthur bukan sahaja mempunyai masalah mental tetapi menderita penyakit yang dikenali sebagai *pseudobulbar condition*. Penyakit ini juga dikenali sebagai *pseudobulbar affect* (PBA) atau emosi pseudobulbar merupakan gangguan neurologis yang menyebabkan ketidakmampuan seseorang untuk mengawal emosi. Gejala PBA memberi kesan kepada ketawa berlebihan, menangis, marah, atau reaksi emosional lain yang tidak sesuai dengan situasi atau perasaan yang sebenarnya dirasakan oleh individu (Miller et al. 2011). Hal ini memaksa Arthur bergantung kepada ubat-ubatan dan berjumpa dengan psikiatri secara kerap. Interaksi antara Arthur dan ahli terapinya membantu Arthur untuk berkongsi cerita dan meluahkan isi hatinya. Oleh itu, ia dapat mendorong perkembangan emosi dan sosial Arthur. Namun, apabila kerajaan di bandar Gotham mengurangkan dana Perkhidmatan Kesihatan Awam, Arthur telah kehilangan sumber sokongan sosial yang membantu Arthur untuk mendapatkan rawatan.

Kesihatan Mental

Menurut Talcott Parsons (1951), penyakit adalah suatu fenomena sosial dan bukan hanya keadaan fizikal. Kebanyakan ahli penyelidik bersetuju bahawa antara punca gangguan mental adalah daripada kemunduran masyarakat atau menandakan kepincangan dalam masyarakat (Liem et al 1978). Antara punca penyakit adalah daripada hubungan intrapersonal yang bermasalah dengan masyarakat semasa proses interaksi sosial. Sekiranya seseorang menerima

sokongan yang kurang daripada masyarakat, ia boleh mengubah seseorang itu daripada individu normal kepada individu patologi (Bhattacharjee et al 2011). Hal ini terbukti apabila keadaan Arthur semakin merosot. Arthur kehilangan pekerjaan, bimbingan kaunseling, akses kepada ubat dan hubungan dengan ibunya menjadikan dirinya terabai. Penyakit Arthur turut mencetuskan perasaan negatif yang merasakan dirinya tidak diperlukan dan dikehendaki oleh masyarakat. Oleh itu, Arthur cuba bunuh diri dengan cara mengurung dirinya dalam peti ais akibat tidak tahan akan tekanan persekitaran yang dihadapinya.

Selain itu, perspektif *functionalist* mengatakan kesihatan adalah salah satu pra syarat untuk kelancaran fungsi masyarakat (Liem et al 1978). Sekiranya seseorang jatuh sakit maka individu tersebut tidak dapat memenuhi objektif yang ditujukan kepadanya oleh masyarakat dan dianggap *deviance* kerana melanggar norma dan etika sosial (Bhattacharjee et al 2011). Meskipun Arthur mempunyai masalah mental, Arthur merupakan pekerja yang berdedikasi dan kelihatan seperti individu yang normal serta ceria ketika bekerja. Arthur juga memenuhi peranan dan tanggungjawabnya sebagai anak dengan baik. Namun, keadaan tersebut berubah apabila Arthur menunjukkan tingkah laku yang ganas dengan melibatkan ancaman nyawa. Punca keganasan merupakan suatu tindak balas sosial bagi mencapai kepuasan dan kesenangan dan bukan disebabkan kesihatan mental Arthur.

Teori Simbolik Interaksionalisme

Teori ini menjelaskan bahawa agensi menentukan struktur. Manusia memberi makna terhadap tingkahlaku mereka sendiri dan berkait rapat dengan definisi situasi, pandangan realiti dari sudut pandangan individu tersebut. Interaksi di dalam teori ini adalah proses interpretasi dua hala (*two-way interpretive process*). Proses ini juga memerlukan kita memahami tindakan seseorang adalah sebagai satu produk (Jones, 2003). Perlakuan manusia merupakan produk interpretasi manusia tentang dunia di sekeliling mereka. Oleh itu, perlakuan manusia bukan dipelajari atau ditentukan oleh sesuatu di luar manusia. Sebaliknya, sesuatu perlakuan manusia adalah dipilih sebagai perlakuan yang sesuai berdasarkan kepada apa yang telah diinterpretasikan oleh manusia tersebut. Teori daripada pemikiran Max Weber ini menerangkan bahawa tindakan sosial yang dilakukan oleh individu didorong oleh hasil pemaknaan sosial terhadap lingkungan sekitarnya. Manusia boleh mengubah makna dan simbol yang mereka gunakan dalam interaksi dan semasa bertingkah laku berdasarkan kepada penginterpretasian mereka tentang keadaan interaksi (Bernard, 2007).

Pendekatan teori ini boleh dilihat melalui dua situasi yang berbeza berdasarkan satu simbol yang sama. Badut secara umum membawa makna gelagat yang lucu, gembira dan ceria. Simbol badut ini dibawa oleh Arthur pada permulaan cerita ketika dia bekerja dan menuntutnya untuk sentiasa tersenyum dan gembira seperti moto hidupnya, *'put on a happy face'*. Masyarakat juga telah meletakkan satu interpretasi bahawa peranan sebagai seorang badut haruslah sentiasa senyum dan jelas membuktikan bahawa masyarakat berinteraksi dengan simbol-simbol yang diberi makna oleh pelaku tersebut untuk menjelaskan situasi (*define the situation*).

Namun, simbol dan makna badut telah berubah setelah berlakunya peristiwa pembunuhan yang mencetuskan gelombang pemberontakan. Bagi sebilangan besar masyarakat di bandar Gotham, simbol badut yang dibawa oleh Joker adalah hero ikonik yang berani. Sementara bagi kerajaan (struktur), simbol badut yang dibawa oleh Joker adalah penjenayah. Segolongan besar masyarakat kelas sosial bawahan ini berinterpretasi bahawa tindakan Arthur tersebut dianggap wajar dan dapat mengubah nasib mereka. Manusia boleh mengubah makna

dan simbol yang mereka gunakan dalam interaksi dan semasa bertingkah laku berdasarkan penginterpretasian mereka tentang keadaan interaksi. Ini membuktikan bahawa manusia boleh membuat perubahan atau pengubahsuaian kerana mereka ada keupayaan berinteraksi sesama sendiri dan pada masa sama, menilai kebaikan dan keburukan yang mereka perolehi atau alami dan kemudian membuat pilihan mana yang mereka suka. Maka dapat disimpulkan, pembentukan imej Joker yang diangkat sebagai hero dalam pemberontakan terhadap kerajaan (struktur) adalah terhasil daripada interpretasi masyarakat (*self-image*) terhadap beliau.

Teori Dramaturgi

Teori Dramaturgi merupakan lanjutan daripada simbolik interaksionalisme yang dipelopori oleh tokoh Erving Goffman dalam bukunya, *Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* di mana agensi menentukan struktur. Goffman melihat '*self*' bukan sebagai milik aktor atau pelaku, melainkan ianya ialah hasil interaksi antara aktor dan penonton. Maksudnya, '*self*' mengarahkan tingkah lakunya sesuai dengan harapan penonton yang diperolehi aktor semasa berinteraksi dengan penonton (Bernard, 2007)

Aplikasi teori ini dapat dilihat dalam filem Joker apabila Arthur sebagai watak utama menjalani kehidupan berdasarkan konsep '*front stage*' dan '*back stage*'. '*Front stage*' ialah tempat untuk menunjukkan persembahan iaitu menunjukkan apa yang orang lain ingin lihat, maka Arthur memainkan wataknya sebagai seorang badut dan penghibur (*stand-out comedian*) di hadapan masyarakat dengan baik. Malahan, beliau juga memainkan watak dengan baik sebagai seorang anak yang patuh kepada ibunya, pekerja yang rajin, dan juga sebagai pesakit yang memerlukan rawatan kaunseling. Menurut Goffman lagi, pada umumnya manusia berusaha menampilkan '*self*' yang ideal dalam '*front stage*' sehinggakan mereka terpaksa menyembunyikan sikap sebenar mereka ketika beraksi.

'*Back stage*' merupakan diri sebenar aktor di mana tinghkah laku tidak formal boleh muncul. Malah, aktor akan cuba sedaya upaya untuk menghalang penonton daripada melihat '*back stage*'. Arthur ketika bersendirian tanpa diawasi oleh mana-mana individu, bertindak di luar norma seperti bercakap seorang diri seolah-olah sedang ditemu ramah oleh Murray. Tambahan pula, selepas aksi tembak menembak di stesen kereta api, Arthur menari seolah-olah berada dalam dunianya sendiri. Aksi-aksi seperti ini tidak ditonjolkan oleh Arthur ketika berada di hadapan masyarakat. '*Back stage*' merupakan tempat di mana dia tidak perlu bertingkah laku sesuai dengan harapan orang lain.

ULASAN PERSEKITARAN

Teori Konflik

Seterusnya masyarakat juga memainkan pengaruh yang besar terhadap pergolakan filem ini yang mengubah watak personaliti Arthur sehingga menjadi Joker. Pendekatan teori Marxisme digunakan untuk menerangkan mengenai perspektif konflik dalam masyarakat Gotham. Marxisme, seperti yang diterangkan oleh Rashid (2011), apa jua sistem termasuk kehidupan masyarakat, konflik persaingan dan kontradiksi adalah suatu yang semula jadi. Dalam perspektif konflik, struktur sesuatu masyarakat itu terletak pada persaingan atau konflik antara kumpulan yang berkepentingan yang akan mengawal dan menguasai segala yang bernilai dalam masyarakat (Rashid, 2011). Oleh itu, konflik menurut pandangan Marxisme adalah sesuatu yang sentiasa wujud dan menjadi pemangkin untuk perubahan sesuatu masyarakat itu (Rosen, 1998). Konflik seperti mana yang diterangkan oleh Rashid (2011) bukan hanya

mengenai kekerasan atau pertumpahan darah tetapi konflik dipersembahkan dalam bentuk sekurang-kurangnya dua pihak atau agregat sosial yang berbeza kepentingan dalam memperjuangkan kepentingan mereka.

Penjelasan ini boleh dikaitkan dengan watak Arthur yang berkonflik dengan masyarakat di sekelilingnya yang telah membuatnya berubah menjadi Joker. Arthur yang mempunyai konflik dengan individu-individu di sekelilingnya seperti dengan ibu, rakan sekerja, majikan, anak-anak muda yang membuli, psikitari, tiga orang pekerja Wall Street, Thomas Wayne, Murray Franklin dan kerajaan Gotham itu sendiri. Konflik dengan ibunya, Penny Fleck tercetus apabila dia mengetahui bahawa dia adalah anak angkat dan didera sehingga menghadapi penyakit ketawa. Kemuncak konflik antara Arthur dan ibunya, apabila dia mengetahui ibunya juga merupakan penghidap penyakit mental dan pada waktu dulu tidak melindungi Arthur dari didera oleh teman lelakinya. Konflik terus berlaku apabila rakan sekerja Arthur, Randall yang mengkhianatinya dengan tidak mengaku bahawa pistol yang dimiliki oleh Arthur adalah pemberiannya. Konflik antara Arthur dan majikannya pula tercetus apabila Arthur telah dituduh melarikan diri bersama papan tanda kedai elektronik dan berakhir dengan gajinya dipotong.

Seterusnya konflik juga dapat dikaitkan dengan ekonomi. Reiman (1979) telah mengemukakan teori konflik dalam jenayah melalui bukunya *The Rich Get Richer And The Poor Get Prison*. Menurutnya, kelas bawahan akan ditangkap dan dituduh dalam kelakuan jenayah yang dibuat seperti mencuri, merompak dan membuat serangan. Namun, kesalahan-kesalahan seperti pecah amanah dan lari cukai yang dilakukan oleh kelas atasan dan pertengahan dianggap tidak berbahaya atau dipandang remeh, sedangkan kesalahan yang dilakukan oleh kelas bawahan dilayan seperti pesalah jenayah yang besar. Bagi Reiman (1979) kita sering melihat dan mendengar tentang perbuatan salah dalam analisis jenayah tentang kesalahan jenayah kelas bawahan. Ini menyebabkan kesalahan besar dan lebih bahaya yang dilakukan oleh kelas atasan terus hilang dan lenyap begitu sahaja. Secara amnya menurut Reiman walaupun sistem keadilan dianggap berjaya tetapi masih ada kegagalannya. Hal ini terbukti dalam isu pembunuhan tiga pekerja Thomas Wayne.

Konsep Kelas Sosial

Penganalisan Marx tentang stratifikasi sosial adalah untuk melihat ketidaksamaan disebabkan kewujudan kelas-kelas sosial. Marx membahagikan masyarakat kepada dua kelas utama yang bermusuhan, satu golongan penindas yang menguasai punca-punca pengeluaran dan satu lagi golongan yang tertindas. *Theory of Revolution* oleh golongan Marxist menekankan bahawa pemberontakan adalah ciri penting yang menjurus kepada konflik struktur kelas (Bernard, 2007). Konflik kelas akan mendorong masyarakat umum menggunakan revolusi sebagai alat bantahan dan kebanyakannya berakhir dengan keganasan. Kesedaran kelas penting bagi menimbulkan satu tindakan kolektif.

Semasa temubual oleh Murray Franklin, Arthur mengatakan “*Oh, why is everybody so upset about these guys? If it was me dying on the sidewalk, you’d walk right over me. I pass you everyday and you don’t notice me! But these guys, what, because Thomas Wayne went and cried about them on TV?*” Dialog Arthur ini cuba untuk memperlihatkan konsep kelas sosial yang mengkategorikan tiga pekerja Thomas Wayne sebagai kelas atas. Walaupun kelas atasan melakukan kesalahan iaitu melakukan kekerasan dan provokasi terlebih dahulu tetapi disebabkan Arthur daripada kelas bawahan yang mengakhiri konflik dengan pertumpahan darah, maka kesalahan itu dilihat begitu besar dan dikecam.

Arthur menambah lagi bahawa, sistem sosial di Gotham hanya mementingkan golongan kelas atasan semata-mata ketika ditemubual oleh Murray, “*Do you ever actually leave the studio? Everybody just yells and screams at each other. Nobody’s civil anymore! Nobody thinks what it’s like to be the other guy. You think men like Thomas Wayne ever think what it’s like to be someone like me? To be somebody but themselves? They don’t. They think that we’ll just sit down and take it like good little boys! That we won’t werewolf and go wild!*”. Filem ini jelas menggambarkan sistem sosial kerajaan Gotham adalah bersifat kapitalis kerana mementingkan golongan yang berkepentingan sahaja. Harris (2003) juga menjelaskan, Marxisme mengaitkan sistem kapitalis yang diamalkan menguntungkan pihak yang berkepentingan di dalam sistem kapitalis. Oleh itu, kapitalisme menurut Marxisme akhirnya akan membawa kepada konflik bukan hanya pada pemilik dan buruh tetapi juga kepada masyarakat (Haris, 2003; Rosen, 1998)

ANOMI

Menurut Carrabine et al. (2014) melalui kajian Merton(1938) telah mentafsirkan bahawa anomie ialah norma yang telah rosak. Pengaruh personaliti dan persekitaran yang berlaku kepada Arthur telah mewujudkan anomie dalam filem ini Arthur berhadapan dengan tekanan dan ketegangan setelah usahanya menemui kegagalan untuk berjaya dalam bidang komedi. Dia tidak lagi percaya pada cara konvensional untuk berjaya dan popular. Hal ini turut dibincangkan oleh (Merton 1938) di dalam kajian teori Anomie.

Menurut Merton(1938) manusia cenderung untuk melakukan jenayah akibat tekanan persekitaran dan ketegangan. Ini bagi memenuhi kehendak masyarakat yang telah menetapkan satu penanda aras bagi tafsiran orang yang berjaya. Menurut Merton (Merton 1938) lagi masyarakat melihat seseorang itu berjaya jika dia bekerja kuat dan sentiasa berusaha namun Merton(1938) juga menyatakan tidak semua orang boleh berjaya dengan bekerja kuat kerana peluang seseorang itu tidak sama. Bagi orang yang dibesarkan dalam keadaan miskin dan didera dari kecil seperti watak Arthur, merasakan tidak mungkin keadaan ini dapat diatasi dengan bersikap konvensional iaitu bersikap rajin dan berusaha semata mata kerana ketidakadilan dalam persaingan sentiasa berlaku dalam masyarakat bandar Gotham. Hal ini berbeza dengan seseorang yang dilahirkan dari asal usul keluarga kaya dan tidak mempunyai masalah keluarga. Oleh itu untuk mencapai juga aras kejayaan yang ditetapkan oleh masyarakat, Arthur telah menggunakan pendekatan yang lain dengan meninggalkan cara konvensional tetapi dia telah mengambil pendekatan melakukan jenayah iaitu mencetuskan pemberontakan di bandar Gotham.

RUMUSAN

Penyelidik melihat fenomena sosial di bandar Gotham pada babak pertengahan dan terakhir adalah hasil daripada pergerakan sosial baru (*new social movement*) iaitu rusuhan dengan memegang sepanduk ‘*Kill Rich*’. Penindasan dan ketidakadilan sosial telah membuatkan masyarakat mempunyai keupayaan berfikir tentang realiti kehidupan sebenar. Oleh itu mereka mula bertingklaku secara sedar dengan melakukan pemberontakan dan rusuhan yang tidak mampu dikekang oleh kerajaan (struktur). Maka, fenomena terhasil dan masyarakat memberi nilai kepada fenomena tersebut. Pendekatan fenomena ini boleh dilihat dalam teori fenomenologi yang diasaskan oleh Edmund Husserl (Bernard, 2007).



Natijahnya, Joker memainkan peranan yang begitu besar terhadap kewujudan fenomena sosial di bandar Gotham. Masyarakat telah mengangkat Joker sebagai pencetus fenomena sosial dan menganggap Joker sebagai penjenayah ikonik dan wira dalam kalangan masyarakat yang terpinggir. Arthur yang dahulunya merupakan individu yang tidak dikenali dan sering ditindas kini telah menjadi Joker yang dikenali ramai dan status sosialnya diangkat ke tahap yang lebih tinggi dalam masyarakat. Pada akhirnya, Arthur meneruskan kehidupannya sebagai Jo' watak Arthur yang lemah tiada lagi dalam dirinya.

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Ulasan Buku: Luhmann, N. 1995. *The Reality of Mass Media*, diterjemah oleh K. Cross. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

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Menurut tesis Luhmann, masyarakat adalah sebuah rangkaian sistem sosial kompleks yang saling berkaitan dan berfungsi secara bebas antara satu sama lain. Sistem sosial, menurut Luhmann, ditakrifkan oleh bentuk komunikasinya yang tersendiri, yang memisahkannya daripada sistem lain. Dapat difahami bahawa media massa juga boleh dilihat sebagai satu sistem sosial yang berbeza. Hal ini demikian kerana, media massa dapat dibezakan melalui proses dan fungsi komunikasinya yang berlainan. Luhmann memperkenalkan konsep sistem media massa dalam karya-karyanya yang kemudian, beliau telah mengembangkan fokusnya melangkaui topik sosiologi tradisional seperti politik, ekonomi dan undang-undang. Pada mulanya, penerbitan awal beliau mengutamakan penyelidikan bagi subjek konvensional ini. Walaubagaimanapun, apabila penulisan Luhmann semakin berkembang, ia telah menjadi lebih inovatif dan secara terbuka ia telah mencabar idea-idea yang telah ditetapkan serta menangani tema kontemporari, terutama sekali dalam penulisan bukunya *Ecological Communication* (1986), *Protest* (1996), dan kajiannya *The Reality of the Mass Media* (1995, 2nd ed. 1996) yang mencerminkan pendekatan yang lebih moden, yang kurang menonjol dalam karyanya yang terdahulu, *Social Systems* (1984). Pemerhatian Luhmann tentang media massa terbuka dengan nota apodiktik beliau yang bertulis, “apa sahaja yang diketahui tentang masyarakat, atau tentang dunia ini (di mana kita hidup), kita tahu melalui media massa” serta, “kita mengetahui terlalu banyak tentang media massa sehingga kita tidak mampu mempercayai sumber-sumber ini.” Mengguna pakai perspektif teori sistem Luhmann, media massa kini telah mendorong pertanyaan tentang asal usul dan keistimewaan sistem tersebut dan hubungannya dengan persekitaran sekeliling. Sepanjang sejarah, perkembangan teknologi yang berkaitan dengan pengedaran media seperti media cetak, penyiaran, dan penggunaan rangkaian internet telah memainkan peranan penting dalam perkembangan media massa sehingga kini. Menurut Luhmann, mana-mana institusi masyarakat yang menggunakan kaedah teknikal untuk meniru dan menyebarkan komunikasi boleh diintegrasikan ke alam media massa. Perkembangan medium penyebaran ini menangani cabaran umum yang lazim dalam semua masyarakat massa, iaitu ketiadaan hubungan langsung antara individu, serta antara penghantar dan penerima.

Hujah utama beliau yang mendorong kepada penulisan buku *The Reality of the Mass Media* (1995) adalah, media massa beroperasi dengan cara rujukan sendiri, dan ia dipandu oleh pembangkang binari dalam rangka kerja dalamannya, seperti maklumat atau bukan maklumat, dan sebagainya. Untuk memahami cara kerja subsistem lain, masyarakat harus memerhatikan aktiviti dalaman media massa. Dalam kajiannya, Luhmann membincangkan secara terperinci tentang teorinya yang memfokuskan mengapa isu ini merangkumi aspek moden dan produktif terutamanya dalam media berbentuk berita. Penaakulannya diasaskan pada dua tanggapan utama yang telah menjadi asas kepada penyelidikannya. Yang pertama, media massa adalah sistem tertutup secara operasi yang boleh dibandingkan dengan sistem sosial lain seperti undang-undang, politik, sains, perniagaan, dan sebagainya. Kedua, kognisi adalah rujukan sendiri dan bersifat terbatas; ia hanya boleh berlaku dalam sesebuah sistem. Ini menunjukkan bahawa media massa tidak memberikan imej realiti yang diiktiraf, sebaliknya ia membina



realiti yang disiarkan setiap hari sebagai satu berita, laporan dan pengiklanan. Walaupun realiti ini adalah realiti buatan yang dihasilkan secara terpilih oleh manusia, ia juga adalah realiti yang relevan secara sosial. Di samping itu, ia mengekalkan kesahihannya sambil memberikan kita gambaran realiti sebenar jika kita memahami bagaimana ia dihasilkan, dibina dan digunakan.

THE REALITY OF MASS MEDIA

The Reality of Mass Media (1995) yang ditulis oleh Luhmann, menyiasat dengan lebih mendalam tentang pengaruh media massa dalam mengubah pandangan kita tentang realiti. Luhmann menyatakan bahawa media massa memainkan peranan penting dalam masyarakat moden dengan mencipta dan menghantar maklumat, yang membentuk pandangan dan hubungan sosial masyarakat. Hal ini demikian kerana, beliau percaya bahawa media mempunyai kuasa untuk membentuk persepsi dan interaksi sosial masyarakat. Penciptaan dan kewujudan media massa secara amnya mengubah cara atau kaedah pengagihan pengetahuan, seterusnya mengubah masyarakat hampir di seluruh dunia. Menurut Luhmann, komunikasi berlaku apabila seseorang memahami tentang sesuatu perkara yang 'diucapkan' dalam satu mod. Namun begitu, komunikasi tidak pernah berlaku secara berasingan, tetapi sebaliknya ia sentiasa bersama-sama dengan sistem komunikasi lain. Urutan pemilihan komunikatif yang berbeza menjadi pengantara realiti sosial seperti yang difahami tentang sistem sosial. Beliau berpendapat bahawa media massa membina rangkaian maklumat dan komunikasi yang kompleks membolehkan ia membentuk sistem sosial dan identiti individu. Realiti yang dibina ini beroperasi melalui pelbagai saluran media seperti televisyen, akhbar, dan internet yang berfungsi sebagai alat yang berkuasa untuk mempengaruhi pendapat umum dan membentuk kesedaran kolektif. Luhmann menganalisis bagaimana media massa menyumbang kepada pembentukan sistem sosial dan pembinaan identiti individu. Beliau meneliti bagaimana naratif, pengetahuan yang dikongsi dan norma sosial dibentuk oleh pengaruh media. Seperti yang dikatakan sebelum ini, media massa boleh memberi kesan kepada pendapat umum dan mempengaruhi pandangan dan nilai masyarakat dengan menguruskan aliran maklumat dan membentuk tafsirannya. Menurut Luhmann, kuasa media melangkaui penyiaran maklumat semata-mata. Pembinaan dan penyebaran maklumat oleh media dapat mempengaruhi cara kita melihat dunia dan membentuk pemahaman kita tentang fenomena sosial, politik dan budaya. Media massa, melalui realiti ciptaan mereka, menyumbang kepada penubuhan pengetahuan bersama dan standard sosial. Maklumat dan jalan cerita yang dijana oleh media menjadi titik rujukan bagi individu serta memberi kesan kepada perspektif, sikap dan tingkah laku mereka.

FUNGSI MEDIA MASSA

Salah satu konsep utama Luhmann dalam teorinya mengenai media massa adalah sistem sosial ini dapat berfungsi melalui selektiviti, iaitu dengan menapis dan mengutamakan maklumat berdasarkan perkara yang berkaitan dengan maklumat tersebut, tarikan penonton, dan elemen sosiobudaya yang berbeza. Secara ringkas, media massa berfungsi sebagai sebuah sistem yang memilih (*selective*). Media massa beroperasi dengan menapis dan mengutamakan maklumat berdasarkan kaitan atau kerelevanan, daya tarikan penonton, dan faktor lain yang berdasarkan sosiobudaya. Pilihan ini penting dalam membentuk pendapat umum, membina naratif, dan mempengaruhi persepsi budaya masyarakat. Sebagai contoh, saluran media boleh secara terpilih menekankan bahagian acara atau topik tertentu, seterusnya membentuknya dengan cara yang boleh mengubah pendapat umum.

Penghasilan realiti media boleh mempengaruhi cara orang melihat dan mentafsir pelbagai isu sosial, politik dan budaya. Media massa merangkumi pelbagai kandungan, termasuk berita, hiburan, iklan dan bahan pendidikan. Pelbagai jenis kandungan media yang saling berkaitan, mempengaruhi dan membentuk naratif masyarakat dan aliran budaya. Apabila media massa menjadi semakin popular, keupayaannya untuk membentuk dan mengantara maklumat secara selektif menjadi lebih berkuasa. Ini adalah fokus utama bagi komunikasi media massa, di mana ia adalah sebuah sistem 'pengeluaran maklumat yang terpilih'. Oleh itu, sistem media massa memilih dan mengedarkan maklumat yang dipilih melalui penyiaran atau penerbitan. Media diberikan tanggungjawab sebagai penyampai maklumat yang pasif, tetapi mereka juga menjadi pencipta realiti yang aktif. Hal ini demikian kerana media memainkan peranan untuk memilih, menapis, dan menyampaikan maklumat kepada orang ramai. Oleh sebab itu, salah satu konsep utama media massa sebagai sebuah sistem adalah ia dapat berfungsi melalui selektiviti, iaitu dengan menapis dan mengutamakan maklumat berdasarkan perkara yang berkaitan dengan maklumat tersebut, tarikan penonton, dan elemen sosiobudaya yang berbeza.

Esser (2013) melakukan kajian meta-analisis mengenai kesan media dan mendapati bahawa media massa mempunyai pengaruh besar terhadap pembentukan pendapat umum. Kajian ini menyokong dakwaan Luhmann bahawa media massa beroperasi sebagai pengantara realiti yang berkuasa, yang mengubah persepsi dan kepercayaan orang ramai. Pengetahuan yang dikongsi ini berpotensi untuk membentuk tingkah laku sosial. Ia juga boleh membentuk norma, kepercayaan, dan nilai dalam masyarakat. Hasilnya, media mempunyai kesan yang besar dalam membentuk kesedaran kolektif masyarakat dan mempengaruhi evolusi struktur sosial. Luhmann mengkaji kuasa media massa dalam mempengaruhi pendapat umum dan membentuk kesedaran kolektif. Beliau membincangkan bagaimana mesej dan naratif media boleh membentuk sikap, kepercayaan dan nilai dalam masyarakat. Hujah Luhmann adalah berdasarkan pemerhatian yang dilakukan oleh beliau di mana beliau mendapati bahawa media massa berpotensi untuk mengubah pendapat umum dan menjana naratif yang mempengaruhi cara seseorang individu itu melihat realiti, kerana jangkauan dan pengaruhnya yang sangat besar.

INFORMATION DAN NON-INFORMATION

Luhmann juga berpendapat bahawa media massa memainkan peranan penting kepada masyarakat moden dalam membina dan menyebarkan maklumat kerana beliau mempercayai bahawa media mempunyai kuasa untuk membentuk persepsi serta interaksi sosial masyarakat. Proses pembinaan ini memerlukan pembuatan keputusan dan tafsiran yang mempengaruhi cara penonton mentafsir sesuatu peristiwa dan isu. Oleh sebab itu, sistem media massa mengawasi dan memerhati persekitarannya, terutama sekali persekitaran intrasosial, dan seterusnya memilih dan mencipta atau membina maklumat berdasarkan persekitaran tersebut.

Beliau menyatakan dalam bukunya *Theory Of Society Volume 2* (1997) bahawa maklumat yang diedarkan oleh media adalah bersifat awam dan bukannya maklumat yang dimiliki secara peribadi. Perkara ini bermaksud, ia melambangkan pengetahuan yang tersedia bagi masyarakat umum. Pengetahuan ini dipanggil sebagai maklumat (*information*), yang merupakan hasil daripada pemprosesan, pengumpulan dan penganalisisan data yang dapat menambah pengetahuan kepada penerima maklumat tersebut. Namun, terdapat juga perkara yang bukan maklumat (*non-information*) yang merujuk kepada ketiadaan maklumat. Walau bagaimanapun, menganggap sesuatu sebagai tidak bermaklumat merupakan satu keperluan untuk sistem ini berfungsi, bagi mengelakkan ketidakcekan dalam membezakan sesuatu daripada persekitarannya.

Harus diingati juga bahawa, kedua-dua jenis maklumat ini dibina berdasarkan perspektif sosial. Perbezaan ini juga berfungsi sebagai asas untuk operasi kod media. Akibatnya, media massa memperoleh pengetahuan terdiri daripada pengetahuan masyarakat dan dunia yang boleh atau dapat dikomunikasi dengan individu dalam sasaran khalayak media massa. Sistem media massa memilih dan mengedarkan maklumat yang dipilih melalui penyiaran atau penerbitan.

KAJIAN LUHMANN MENGENAI SIFAT MEDIA MASSA

(1) PENYEBARAN MAKLUMAT DAN KOMUNIKASI

Luhmann meneroka peranan media massa dalam menyebarkan maklumat dan memudahkan komunikasi merentasi sfera sosial yang berbeza. Beliau membincangkan bagaimana saluran media bertindak sebagai perantara, menghantar maklumat dan membentuk interaksi sosial. Beliau berpendapat bahawa media massa telah menjadi pusat kepada masyarakat moden kerana kehadiran dan pengaruhnya yang meluas, menjadikannya sebahagian daripada sistem sosial kita. Kesalinghubungan (*interconnectedness*) sistem media massa ditekankan dalam teori Luhmann. Sebagai sebuah sistem sosial, media massa berfungsi sebagai rangkaian komunikasi canggih yang menghubungkan individu, komuniti dan masyarakat. Hal ini demikian kerana, ia melangkaui sempadan geografi dan temporal dan membolehkan pemindahan maklumat ke seluruh dunia dengan kadar pantas. Media massa bertindak sebagai perantara dalam sfera sosial yang berbeza, menghantar maklumat dan memudahkan komunikasi merentasi pelbagai domain masyarakat. Jangkauan global ini juga mewujudkan rangkaian yang menghubungkan orang di seluruh wilayah dan budaya yang berbeza. Pemusatan ini menyebabkan media massa mempunyai kuasa yang signifikan dalam membina dan menyebarkan maklumat, sekali gus membentuk persepsi dan interaksi manusia. Media massa beroperasi melalui pelbagai saluran seperti televisyen, radio, akhbar, majalah, laman web, *podcast* dan platform media sosial. Setiap saluran berfungsi sebagai nod dalam rangkaian komunikasi yang membolehkan pengedaran maklumat kepada segmen penonton yang berbeza. Kebangkitan platform digital dan media sosial telah meningkatkan pengembangan dan kesalinghubungan media massa yang mengubahnya menjadi rangkaian saluran komunikasi yang kompleks.

(2) RUJUKAN KENDIRI MEDIA

Luhmann menyerlahkan sifat rujukan sendiri media sebagai sistem tertutup dan menekankan bahawa mereka mempunyai logik dan peraturan dalaman mereka sendiri. Dia menyelidik bagaimana rujukan sendiri ini membolehkan media menjana dan mengekalkan realiti yang dibina oleh mereka, bebas daripada pengaruh luar. Luhmann percaya bahawa media beroperasi dalam sistem tertutup mereka tersendiri bersama logik dan peraturan dalaman. Secara ringkas, beliau mendapati bahawa media massa mempunyai sifat rujukan sendiri yang menjadikan mereka sebagai sebuah sistem tertutup. Rujukan sendiri ini membolehkan media membina dan mengekalkan versi realiti mereka, membentuk sistem sosial dan identiti individu. Sifat ini juga membolehkan media beroperasi secara autonomi dan bebas daripada faktor luaran. Mereka mempunyai kuasa untuk menentukan maklumat yang relevan, naratif apa yang ditekankan dan bagaimana peristiwa dan isu dirangka. Dengan beroperasi dalam sistem tertutup, media boleh mengekalkan realiti yang dibina oleh mereka dan juga mengukuhkan realiti tersebut melalui peredaran maklumat dan tafsiran berterusan. Rujukan sendiri ini dapat dicontohi melalui interaksi saluran media, seperti televisyen, akhbar, dan internet, yang mengukuhkan dan mengekalkan realiti yang dibina mereka.

(3) MEDIA MASSA ADALAH AUTOPOIETIK

Teori Luhmann memfokuskan kepada mekanisme sistem media massa dalam mengekalkan pembiakannya tersendiri. Perkara ini diasaskan dan telah dikembangkan berdasarkan tulisan Varela, Maturana dan Uribe (1974) di mana konsep asas teori mereka ialah *autopoiesis* yang bermaksud pengeluaran diri (secara semula jadi). Mereka berpendapat bahawa sistem biologi membiak sendiri dengan menggunakan pengeluaran sel sebagai contoh, untuk memberi penjelasan dan menerangkan bahawa setiap sesuatu 'bahan' itu mempunyai prosesnya tersendiri. Oleh sebab itu, Luhmann merujuk kepada sistem ini sebagai sebuah sistem bersifat autopoietik. David L. Altheide menyokong teori media massa Luhmann sebagai sistem autopoietik. Menurut Altheide, media ialah sistem rujukan sendiri yang menghasilkan realitinya sendiri dengan memilih dan merangka artikel dan peristiwa berita tertentu. Menurut Altheide juga, pendekatan ini menyumbang kepada keupayaan media untuk mengekalkan penutupan operasinya sendiri (Spencer 2003). Peter Ludes (2005) menyiasat dinamik rujukan sendiri media massa dari perspektif Luhmannian. Ludes menekankan potensi media untuk komunikasi dan pemprosesan maklumat, serta peranannya sebagai wadah untuk pemerhatian dan refleksi masyarakat. Kajian Ludes menyokong tanggapan bahawa media massa adalah sistem autopoietik yang mencipta dan mengekalkan realitinya sendiri.

JENIS-JENIS MEDIA

(1) BERITA (*NEWS*)

Berdasarkan pandangan Luhmann, berita boleh dilihat sebagai sebuah subsistem sosial yang besar. Beliau menekankan mengenai kepentingan berita sebagai sebuah alat komunikasi yang digunakan sebagai alat pemerhatian diri masyarakat dan pemeliharaan ketenteraman sosial. Berita menyumbang kepada pembentukan realiti yang dikongsi dan membolehkan masyarakat untuk memahami persekitaran mereka. Dalam karyanya *The Reality of the Mass Media* (1995), Luhmann menjelaskan, "berita beroperasi dalam sistem komunikasi tertutup secara tersendiri, dikawal oleh prinsip kewartawanan dan standard profesional. Ia mempunyai peraturan tersendiri untuk pemilihan, pengeluaran dan penyebaran maklumat." Organisasi berita menyaring sejumlah besar data untuk menentukan perkara yang hendak diterbitkan kepada orang ramai. Proses ini dipengaruhi oleh pelbagai faktor, termasuk dasar atau peraturan editorial, nilai kewartawanan dan pilihan khalayak. Berita memupuk rasa berkongsi pengetahuan dan membantu dalam pembentukan persefahaman bersama dalam kalangan anggota masyarakat. Walau bagaimanapun, Luhmann mengiktiraf had dan masalah sistem ini. Beliau mengakui bahawa kewartawanan pada asasnya adalah selektif dan tidak boleh merangkumi semua aspek realiti sosial. Media berbentuk berita selalunya memudahkan subjek yang sukar, serta memfokuskan kepada peristiwa yang dianggap patut diberitakan dan berpotensi mengabaikan bahagian penting dalam kehidupan bermasyarakat.

(2) HIBURAN (*ENTERTAINMENT*)

Hiburan juga boleh dilihat sebagai sebuah subsistem bagi kategori budaya yang lebih besar. Ia memenuhi pelbagai fungsi masyarakat, termasuk masa lapang, kelonggaran, lencongan, dan memenuhi permintaan dari segi estetik dan emosi. Individu boleh menikmati dan berehat melalui hiburan yang memberikan pelarian daripada tugas dan tekanan kehidupan biasa. Namun, Luhmann turut menekankan dalam bukunya *The Reality of Mass Media* (1995) bahawa hiburan tidak boleh dilihat sebagai remeh atau tidak penting semata-mata. Beliau berhujah bahawa budaya, termasuk hiburan, memainkan peranan penting dalam mengekalkan integrasi sosial dan memupuk rasa identiti bersama. Amalan budaya dan bentuk hiburan menyumbang

kepada penciptaan pemahaman budaya bersama dan membantu individu mengorientasikan diri mereka dalam masyarakat. Satu kaedah untuk memahami pandangan Luhmann tentang hiburan dengan lebih mendalam adalah dengan mempertimbangkan definisi atau pandangannya dalam seni. Menurut Luhmann, seni ialah sejenis komunikasi yang membenarkan pemerhatian dan refleksi masyarakat. Beliau melihat seni sebagai satu cara untuk masyarakat mengkaji dan memproses kerumitan serta ketidakkonsistenan sendiri. Walaupun seni dan hiburan adalah tidak sinonim, mereka mempunyai beberapa persamaan kerana hiburan selalunya melibatkan ekspresi artistik dan ciptaan.

(3) PENGIKLANAN (*ADVERTISING*)

Pengiklanan boleh difahami sebagai subsistem ekonomi yang beroperasi melalui komunikasi untuk mempromosikan dan menjual barangan atau perkhidmatan. Luhmann mungkin akan melihat pengiklanan sebagai sebahagian daripada pembiakan diri sistem ekonomi yang menyumbang kepada fungsinya dan mengekalkan perbezaan sistem/persekitaran. Luhmann berhujah bahawa masyarakat moden terdiri daripada pelbagai subsistem yang dibezakan dari segi fungsi dengan masing-masing mempunyai fungsi tersendiri. Pengiklanan boleh dilihat sebagai sebahagian daripada fungsi sistem ekonomi untuk mewujudkan permintaan dan memudahkan pertukaran barangan dan perkhidmatan. Melalui penggunaan mesej bersifat persuasif dan rayuan, ia membantu dalam menimbulkan dan membentuk keinginan dan pilihan pengguna. Pengiklanan membantu membina pengetahuan budaya yang dikongsi tentang item, jenama dan corak penggunaan. Luhmann mengakui bahawa pengiklanan bertindak dalam sempadan dan batasan tertentu. Ia dikawal oleh undang-undang, pertimbangan etika, dan piawai masyarakat. Tambahan pula, Luhmann mengakui pengaruh pengiklanan pada pendapat umum dan pembinaan realiti sosial kerana naratif pengiklanan dan strategi persuasif mempengaruhi cara orang melihat dan mentafsir maklumat.

KRITIKAN OLEH PARA SARJANA LAIN TERHADAP TEORI LUHMANN

Teori Luhmann juga menimbulkan kebimbangan dan aduan yang ketara tentang peningkatan populariti media massa sebagai sistem sosial. Menurut pengkritik, teori Luhmann mengabaikan penumpuan kuasa di dalam sistem media massa, terutamanya dari segi pemilikan dan kawalan. Konglomerat media dan kepentingan korporat boleh menjejaskan pemilihan dan penyebaran maklumat, berpotensi mengubah pendapat umum dan menghadkan kepelbagaian sudut pandangan. Menurut Herman dan Chomsky (1988), “media massa berfungsi sebagai sistem untuk menyampaikan mesej dan simbol kepada masyarakat umum, serta sebagai sebuah cara untuk meningkatkan integrasi masyarakat.” Media arus perdana yang dipilih dan pengkritik yang berpendapat boleh membawa gambaran yang berat sebelah, ruang gema, dan penerusan maklumat yang salah. Dinamik kuasa dalam sistem media massa, termasuk pemilikan korporat dan konglomerat media, menimbulkan kebimbangan mengenai penumpuan kuasa dan kemungkinan untuk dimanipulasi. Giray Gerim (2017) juga menyatakan bahawa pembangunan teknologi boleh menggesa teori Luhmann untuk mengubahsuai diri atau pendekatan kepada bidang tertentu mengikut keadaan yang baharu. Menurut Hesmondhalgh (2013: 129), “pembangunan media dilihat terutamanya ditentukan oleh perubahan teknologi.” Kritikan ini menegaskan bahawa, sebagai tambahan kepada peningkatan teknologi, tetapan masyarakat dan institusi harus diperiksa. Selain itu, pengkritik juga berpendapat bahawa teori Luhmann mungkin tidak menjelaskan sepenuhnya konteks budaya dan sosial di mana sistem media massa beroperasi. Mereka berpendapat bahawa kandungan media dipengaruhi oleh norma masyarakat, dinamik kuasa, dan nilai budaya. Fokus utama media massa adalah pada penjelasan kritikal tentang perkataan komunikasi massa. John B. Thompson menegaskan

dalam pemeriksaan kritisnya bahawa media pada masa kini tidak dihasilkan untuk orang ramai tetapi untuk pasaran. Seperti yang dicadangkan oleh Thompson (1995), “kajian komunikasi massa ialah kajian tentang bagaimana individu dan institusi menggunakan struktur, amalan, dan norma yang mengawal pengeluaran dan pengedaran produk budaya.” Kritikan ini menonjolkan kepentingan mengkaji pelbagai perspektif dan mengiktiraf kerumitan yang wujud dalam kajian media massa dan implikasinya kepada masyarakat.

KESIMPULAN

Peranan media dalam penyebaran maklumat membawa kepada penubuhan pengetahuan bersama dan hubungan sosial. Individu boleh menggunakan media massa sebagai rujukan bersama dan dijadikan sebagai satu set pengetahuan dalam perbualan serta interaksi dengan orang lain. Menurut Luhmann, fungsi umum media adalah untuk menyediakan masyarakat dengan ‘memori’ yang boleh diakses secara universal. Fungsi memori media massa tidak membayangkan sebarang bentuk ‘peringatan’ sosial berskala besar. Sebaliknya, ia melibatkan pembangunan berterusan huraian yang luas tentang realiti sosial. Menurut Luhmann juga, sistem sosial adalah autopoietik yang bermaksud ia merujuk kepada diri sendiri dan berdikari. Dengan sentiasa mencipta dan bertukar-tukar pengetahuan dalam lingkungannya, media massa, sebagai sistem sosial, mempamerkan sifat autopoietik ini. Beliau menghujahkan bahawa, “sistem ini sentiasa ‘menyuap’ pengeluarannya sendiri, iaitu, pengetahuan tentang fakta-fakta tertentu, kembali ke dalam sistem pada sisi negatif kod, sebagai bukan maklumat; dan dengan berbuat demikian, ia memaksa dirinya untuk menyediakan maklumat baharu.”

Perlu dinyatakan bahawa teori-teori Luhmann telah memberi kesan dan mencetuskan banyak perdebatan dan kajian ilmiah mengenai fungsi media massa dalam masyarakat. Kecondongan media, penetapan agenda, pembingkaihan, dan kesan media terhadap pembentukan pendapat umum semuanya telah dikaji oleh penyelidik. Kesimpulannya, karya Luhmann, *“The Reality of Mass Media”*, meneroka bagaimana media massa membina realitinya sendiri, yang berasingan daripada realiti objektif, dan pengaruh mendalam yang dimilikinya dalam membentuk masyarakat. Buku ini mendalami pembinaan realiti oleh media dan sifat rujukan sendiri media sebagai sistem tertutup. Kajian Luhmann telah merangsang penyelidikan dan perbincangan yang meluas mengenai topik tersebut. Teori sistem sosial yang diwujudkan oleh Luhmann juga dapat digunakan untuk mengkaji kemunculan dan pertumbuhan pesat media massa sebagai sistem sosial. Pandangan terobos Luhmann menawarkan pandangan penting tentang punca daya tarikan dan kaitan media massa yang semakin meningkat sebagai sistem sosial yang berbeza dan berpengaruh. Paradigma sosiologi dari pandangan kaca mata Luhmann memberikan pandangan berguna tentang dinamik dan fungsi media massa di seluruh masyarakat, menekankan kemunculannya sebagai sistem sosial yang unik dan signifikan. Menggunakan teori ahli sosiologi terkenal Luhmann, kajian ini menyiasat peningkatan populariti media massa sebagai sebuah sistem sosial.

Kesan yang diberikan oleh media terhadap masyarakat tidak dapat dipisahkan dengan popularitinya. Ia telah berkembang menjadi salah satu sumber utama untuk mendapatkan maklumat, hiburan serta memberikan impak kepada budaya. Potensi media untuk membentuk pendapat umum, menyebarkan maklumat, dan mewujudkan identiti kolektif mempunyai kesan yang meluas kepada dinamik sosial, politik dan budaya. Memandangkan masyarakat semakin bergantung kepada media massa untuk mendapatkan maklumat, naratif lazim yang disampaikan melalui saluran ini boleh mengubah perspektif dan pendapat mereka. Teori Luhmann menawarkan rangka kerja yang berguna untuk memahami peningkatan populariti media massa sebagai sistem sosial. Ia menekankan sifat autopoietik media massa, peranannya



sebagai sistem pemilihan, dan rangkaian komunikasinya yang kompleks. Walaupun kesan media massa terhadap masyarakat tidak boleh dipertikaikan, adalah penting untuk menilai kesannya dan menganalisis isu dan kritikan yang berkaitan dengan pengembangannya. Kita mungkin merundingkan kerumitan media massa sebagai sistem sosial yang berbeza dan terlibat dengannya dengan lebih sengaja dalam dunia komunikasi dan maklumat yang semakin saling berkaitan jika kita memahaminya sebagai sistem sosial yang berbeza.

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