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Foreword

Welcome to the fourth issue of ASEAN Social Work Journal in August 2016. The journal is published by The Indonesian Social Work Consortium (ISWC). It is a networking forum among 10 government and non-government social work organizations, social workers and social work education associations in Indonesia. ISWCwas also established on August 10th, 2011. The main mandate of ISWC is to facilitate strategic initiatives for promoting the roles of social work profession and social work education to enhance the nation's social development policies and welfare services. Social Work in Indonesia has become stronger, including in social work education which there are two universities offering Doctoral level programs.

This journal belongs to us, the ASEAN country members. The birth of this journal is a significant part of the dynamic movement among ASEAN country members. This publication is an implementation of the workplan established at the first ASEAN Social Work Consortium meeting Manila.

We greatly hope that this journal will be able to facilitate productive exchanges of research, practice, knowledge and ideas among social work practitioners, social work educators and students, social policy scholars, government officials and decision makers to explore common challenges and potential partnership in promoting social welfare mainstreaming in the ASEAN region. The spirit of this journal should lean on these fundamentals

On behalf of the Indonesian Social Work Consortium (ISWC), I am thanking all of you for your participation and contribution. The collaboration of ASEAN members is crucial to ensure the development and sustainability of this journal.

Welcome to the third edition of the ASEAN Social Work Journal. This journal belongs to us, the ASEAN country members. The birth of this journal is a significant part of the dynamic movement of the ASEAN country members. They have endorsed the common directions of the association toward the creation of the "ASEAN Community" by 2015. The road map representing the process toward this direction has been clearly outlined in the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community/ASCC Blueprint. Furthermore, the ASCC Blueprint also provides strategic approaches for regional cooperation in several critical areas, including education and social welfare. The blue print also highlights

equitable opportunities for women, children, older persons and people with disabilities.

The implementation of "ASEAN Community" is getting close. We can maximize this journal to strengthen our bond, to highlight our potentials and also to reduce boundaries and weaknesses, so that we –ASEAN country members- will be able to establish strong partnership rather than competitiveness. Through this journal hopefully we would be able to achieve these by sharing our research findings which are relevant to the issue of "ASEAN Community". The spirit of brotherhood must always become a lent for solidarity of ASEAN social work

The journal is published by the Indonesian Social Work Consortium (ISWC).The main mandate of ISWC is to facilitate strategic initiatives for promoting the roles of the social work profession and social work education to improve the nation's social development policies and welfare services. Social Work in Indonesia has become stronger, including in social work education which two universities offer doctoral level programs.

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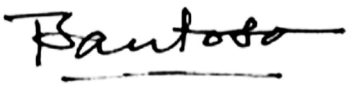


Drs. H. Toto U. Budi Santoso, M.Si
Chairman of the Indonesian Social Work Consortium

Editorial Note

Ayako Sasaki discusses the careerplan of Indonesian EPA care workers in Japan. Her research study explores career plan of Indonesian care workers under the Japan-Indonesia Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) who have worked and used to work in Japan. . This research explores furtherthe lives of the Indonesian care workers there. A semi-structured interview was conducted both in Japan and Indonesia in 2015.The research findings indicate four types of career plans, several future challenges related to sustainable development of care work in both Japan and Indonesia, and also care workers' well-being.

Mohammad Sobary explores politics and the poetics of peasant resistance. He deeply reveals the political expression of the peasantsin Temanggung, Indonesia. The peasant resistance depicts peasants' struggle against the central government policy, which is non-democratic, non-transparent and incongruent with the collective interest of peasants. The policy controlling the negative effects from the consumption of tobacco products—while also single-handedly establishing no-smoking zones—was deemed inconsiderate of the peasants. The protest held by the peasants through political and poetic language could be seen as a form of resistance against the government policy. Furthermore, the poetic beauty of the peasants' resistance was their only weapon against represion.

Rr. Endah Sulistyaningsih, in her paper addresses a kinship-based alternative childcare in which both parents, the mother and father, as primary caregivers work. Asa result, an alternative childcare which prioritises a collaborative childcare between the parents and alternative caregivers namely kin, is important. This type of child care is a common style adopted by Indonesian families in order to support family as the best place for children. Childcare needs knowledge and skills, as well as the efforts to fulfill the needs for child development. In this regard, the element of emotional attachment serves as an important aspect which affects the entire process of childcare and child developoment. This crucial issue should be underlined considering that the impact resulting from improper childcare patterns during childhood will lead to the inability of the children to develop optimally in the next stage.

Teoh Ai Hua and Fuziah Bt Shafie analyze about social work professionalism amid its conflicting discourse and opportunity for the profession and for the Government. Their case is Malaysia. This article

attempts to explore, through literature review, how in Malaysia the appeal of a profession motivates social work community to continue finding ways to enhance it professional standings. It seems that raising practice standards is easier to be understood by the government than raising the professional status of social work (occupational professionalism). A better understanding of the different views of professionalism is not only be helpful for the profession to strategize its efforts in enhancing its professional standings locally, but also be valuable in improving social work services in the region

Tran Van Kham, Luu Minh Van, Hoang Van Luan describe about social relations of young students in contemporary urban life in Vietnam. Their paper refers to the conceptual changes in the value of the social relations among the students during urbanization and urban life integration. Their research aims at identifying the different meanings and forms of the social relations among urban students. This paper is a part of the research project conducted by Hanoi University of Social Sciences and Humanities since 2013, related to the values of the lifestyle of today's students in Vietnam (those who are studying in Hanoi).

Hope you enjoy reading the journal

Regards,
Fentiny Nugroho
Editor-In-Chief

Career Plan of Indonesian EPA Care Workers in Japan

AYAKO SASAKI

Abstract

The study explores career plan of Indonesian care workers under the Japan-Indonesia Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) who have worked and used to work in Japan. The semi-structured interview was conducted both in Japan and Indonesia in 2015. Findings indicate four types of career plans, and several future challenges related to sustainable development of care work in both countries and care workers' well-being.

Keywords: EPA care workers, care workers' career

Introduction: Aging and Mobility of Nurses and Care Workers

Aging is one of the global issues, and older persons who are 60 years old and over comprised 22 % of the population of high-income countries in 2015 (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA), 2015). According to UNDESA (2015), the pace of world population ageing is accelerating, and older persons are expected to account for more than 25% of the populations in Europe and in Northern America, 20% in Oceania, 17% in Asia and in Latin America and the Caribbean, and 6 % in Africa by 2030.

The increasing aging population has lead to the necessity of care all over the world. Here, it has to be noticed that the terms of "care work" and "care worker" in Japan are usually utilized quite differently from the global meaning (Yamada, 2015; Ohno, 2012; Nonaka, 2010) although Japan has common problem with the world; a shortage of people who actually provide care for the population that needs it. In these situations, nurses, care workers, domestic workers, nannies, and even "wives" have migrated to meet the global demands. It has been noted that the shortage of those who provide care has

been prominent especially in high-incomed countries, which has contributed to migration of people from middle-income and low-income countries to high-income countries (UNDESA, 2015).

For example, according to the Ministry of Health, Labor, and Welfare, Japan's aging rate[1] is 26.7 % in 2015 and estimated shortage of care workers will be 377,000 in 2025 (Ministry of Health Labor and Welfare (MHLW), 2015a). Although it seems to be too late to get into the global competition to attract migrant workers to Japan, foreign-born and migrant care workers, including EPA nurses and care workers, are now expected to be one of the remedies to the shortage in Japan.

According to Simohara, who summarized the previous researches (2016), India and the Philippines have long been the major sources of nurse migration, but recently, Indonesia has become also one of the major countries which send nurses as professionals and as care workers (or caregivers or even domestic workers) overseas.

Okushima (2014) indicates that Indonesians share almost 70% of migrant domestic and care workers within East Asian region; particularly in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Malaysia and Singapore. Although the number is very small compared to the ones in those countries, this paper will focus on Indonesian EPA care workers in Japan, examine their background and motivation, and explore their career plan and actual career path in relation to sustainable development of "care work" both in Japan and in Indonesia.

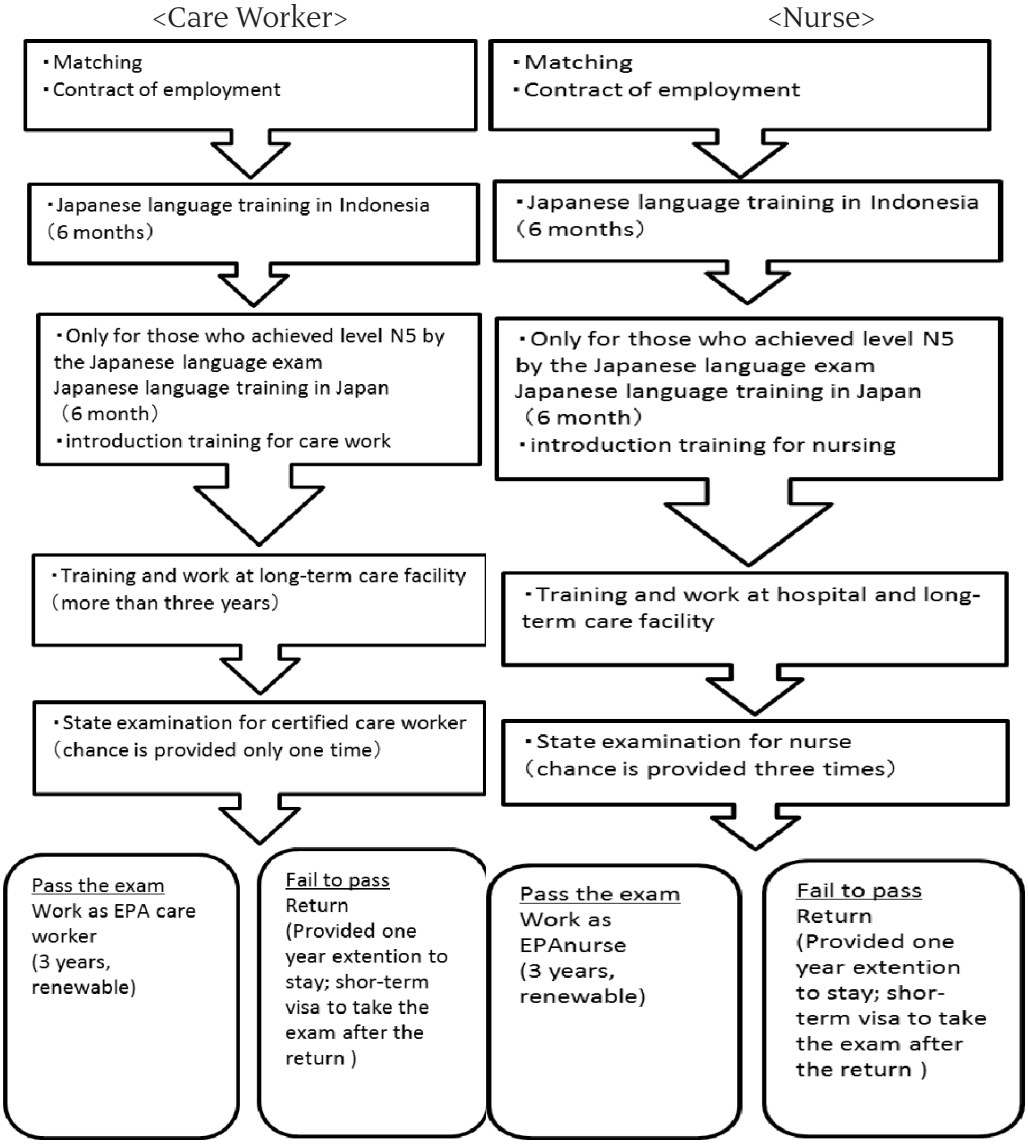
EPA care workers in Japan

According to the World Trade Organization (WTO), "the movement of natural persons is one of the four ways through which services can be supplied internationally" and "it covers natural persons who are either service suppliers (such as independent professionals) or who work for a service supplier and who are present in another WTO member to supply a service"(WTO, 2016). This "movement of natural persons" is one of the schemes of EPA, and as of 2016 after eight years passed since the first Indonesian group came to Japan, the government has accepted more than 2,000 nurses and care workers from Indonesia, the Philippines, and Vietnam on the scheme.

However, as stated before in this paper, the meaning of "care work" and "care worker" in Japan is unique; "care worker" usually means kaigo fukushi shi in Japan, which has to be certified by the state[2]. Ohno (2012) explains that "their main role is to provide support to elderly and/or disabled persons

unable to meet their daily needs independently" (p.542), and "also required to guide elderly, disabled persons and their assistants in caregiving matters" (p.542). There are four routes, including "EPA route", to become a certified care worker in general, and EPA care workers have to have at least three years of working experiences..

Figure 1: Procedures for EPA nurses and care workers



Source: JICWELS (2016) "EPA ni motoduku gaikokujin kangoshi/ kaigohukushishi ukeire pamphlet". p.3. Revised by the author.

as care work staff in Japan before taking the state examination. Therefore, they are called "candidates" before passing the examination [3].

In addition, requirements for applicants to EPA care workers are quite strict: 1) Indonesians who completed diploma level of nursing education (D3) or 2) those who completed university level of nursing education (S1), and 3) those who completed higher than diploma level of education in other fields, such as "Japanese study" and is certified as care worker by the Indonesian government (JICWELS, 2016) In recent years, applicants who fit in the category 3) have been zero in fact, with all of them are under category 1) or 2) (Okushima, 2012). Asato (2016) classifies "people who engage in care" by country within East Asian region where many migrant workers provide care for the population that needs it, such as Hong Kong, Malaysia, Taiwan, South Korea, and Singapore in comparison to Japan. It shows that only Japan requires applicants to have educational background of nursing (D3 or S1) or diploma level of education to work in care-providing service in the destination country.

At the same time, requirements for facilities to accept and employ EPA care workers are also strict to the extent to show the Japanese political stance that the system tries not to exploit EPA care workers as well as not to threaten the Japanese labor market. However, these "strict" rules for applicants and accepting facilities have been on discussion due to less application from the partner countries than expected, difficulty of matching between applicants and facilities, and relatively high retention rate even after EPA care workers after they passed passing the state examination (Okushima, 2012; 2015).

Indonesian Care Workers under the EPA

Until 2015, 966 Indonesian candidates for care workers have entered, and 276 candidates are planned to come to Japan in summer 2016. The average age of them was 22.7 years old in 2014, which is one year younger than the one in 2008 (JICWELS, 2014). Statistics indicate that 10% of the entered Indonesians as care workers each year had dropped out within three years and they did not take the state examination (see Figure 2). The number of those who have passed the state examination to be a certified care worker in Japan until 2015 is 262, which is approximately 60% of the Indonesian candidates' population which already took the state examination for certified care workers until 2015.

Figure 2: Indonesian Nurses and Care workers in Japan under the EPA

Care Workers										
Entered (year/ number)	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016 *planed	Total
	104	189	77	58	72	108	146	212	276	1242
Exam took (year / number)	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	Total
	94	165	71	52	65	N/A				447
Certified	46	82	54	38	42					262
Passing Rate	48.9%	49.7%	76.1%	73.1%	64.6%					58.1%
Nurses										
Entered	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016 *planed	Total
	104	173	39	47	29	48	41	66	61	608
Certified	24	42	14	10	4	4	0	N/A		98
Passing Rate	23.1%	24.3%	35.9%	21.3%	13.8%	8.3%	0.0%	N/A		16.1%

Sources: JICWELS (2016) 'EPA ni motoduku gaikokujin kangoshi/ kaigohukushishi ukeire pamphlet'. p.37-38 Revised by the author.
*"Year" indicates "Fiscal Year". In Japan, it starts at April and ends at March in the next year.

As stated earlier, candidates for a certified care worker have to have at least 3 years of working experience as care work staff to be entitled to take the state examination. The opportunity to take the examination is given one time in a year, in January. Thus, the first-group which came to Japan in 2008 took the examination in January 2012, although the figure indicates fiscal year of 2011, which starting from April 2011 and ending at March 2012 in Japan. Therefore, the eighth-group which came to Japan in 2015 will take the examination in 2018, if they will continue to work as candidates for care workers in Japan under the EPA.

There is no statistics of the number of certified care workers (those who have already passed the examination) who continue to work and the respective length of work period as of 2016 although one is available as of April 2014

(JICWELS, 2014). It indicates approximately 23% of certified care workers have already returned or finished the contract with the facility as of April 2014.

The Ministry of Justice announces the number of foreign residents in Japan by visa status and country every year, and the number under the category of EPA counts 872 Indonesians in December 2015. However, if we look at the total numbers of entry until 2015, and the number of candidates who are "supposed to stay in Japan," "allowed staying in Japan with one year visa extension" and actual certified care workers and nurses, the one that the Ministry of Justice announced would be too small. It is assumed that around 280 nurses and care workers left Japan or changing their visa status in 2015. It would be highly possible to assume that they are not working as care worker more than at least five years in Japan.

Figure 4: EPA workers by visa status and assumed return or changed visa status

Year	EPA workers (by visa status)	Certified		Entered, Supposed to stay and Allowed staying		Year Total ⑤ (①+②+③+④)	Total ⑥ (<previous year's①+②>+⑤)	assumed return (⑥－⑤)
		CW ①	NR ②	CW ③	NR ④			
2012	566	46	90	490	353	979	-	-
2013	609	82	4	480	160	726	862	136
2014	687	54	4	455	184	697	919	222
2015	872	38	0	590	201	829	1109	280

Sources: JICWELS (2016) 'EPA ni motoduku gaikokujin kangoshi/ kaigohukushishi ukeire pamphlet'. p.37-38; Ministry of justice, annual statistics of foreign residents in Japan (2012-2015).

Exploring motivation and working experiences in Japan

One thousand eight hundred and fifty (1850) prospective nurses and young population that has a potential to contribute to healthcare field with nursing knowledge and skills in Indonesia have migrated to work in Japan under the EPA either as nurse or care worker until 2015, but it seems that many of them not only leave Japan but also leave health care field at this point. Based on the situation, this research has been conducted to find out their life and effect of their working experiences on their career plan, as well as actual career path.

1. Methodology

First, the author made a phone call to Japanese facilities which have accepted candidates of Indonesian EPA care workers and asked their permission to send a questionnaire, WHO-QOL 21, and a letter to ask care workers themselves whether or not they are interested in participating the research. However, the author was not able to get enough responses, and changed the research method to snow-ball sampling. With cooperation of Dr. Fentiny Nugroho at university of Indonesia, semi-structured interview had been given to ten Indonesian EPA care workers (including candidates) who work and had worked both in Japan and Indonesia in 2015.

To ensure that the informant's consent to the research is obtained, a letter of informed consent was provided before the interview. The researcher explained the aim of the research, contents of interview, and informant's rights, and he got permission to record the interview using a voice recorder as well as by taking notes. Interview was conducted basically in Japanese, but when it was conducted in Indonesia mainly Indonesian language was used.

In this paper, the author discusses the result of the interview and not of the questionnaire since the sample is too small to analyze in quantitative way at this moment.

2. Findings from the research and discussion

I. Background and Motivation

From the interview, their background and motivation in having applied to the EPA program has been classified into two types; either they wanted to work in foreign country, or they have been interested in Japan itself. Most of the informants have family members or relatives who have had experiences in working abroad. Even some have already had working experience in Japan as "technical intern trainee" under the Technical Intern Training Program (TITP).

TITP is offered by Japanese government and provides "training in technical skills, technology, knowledge from developed countries (hereinafter, referred to as "Skills") in order to train personnel who will become the foundation of economic and industrial development in developing countries" (Japan International Training Cooperation Organization (JITCO), no date)

JITCO states that "the purpose of this program is to transfer Skills to Technical Intern Trainees who will form a basis of economic development in their

Figure 4: Basic information of Informants

	Age	Gender	Marriage status	Education (N=Nurse, O=Others)	Certification in Japan	Arrival year	Return year
A	29	Female	S→M	Diploma /O	Didn't pass	2009	2013
B	31	Female	Married	Diploma / O	Certified CW	2009	2014
C	29	Female	S→M	Diploma / N	Didn't pass	2009	2013
D	25	Female	Single	Diploma / N	N/A	2011	N/A
E	39	Female	Married	Diploma / N	Certified CW	2008	N/A
F	28	Female	Single	Diploma / N	N/A	2012	N/A
G	25	Female	Single	Bachelor / N	N/A	2012	N/A
H	29	Female	S→M	Bachelor /O	Certified CW	2009	2014
I	32	Male	S→M	Bachelor / N	Didn't take	2008	2011
J	30	Male	Engaged	Diploma / N	N/A	2013	N/A

Figure5: Motivation and previous occupation of the informants

Motivation to apply	**Wanted to work abroad**	**7**
	Interested in Japan itself	**3**
Previous occupation	**Nurse related occupation**	**4**
	Technical internship trainee	**2**
	Student	**2**
	Others (Japanese language teacher, taking civil servant exam)	**2**

Respective countries and play an important role in Japan's international cooperation and contribution" (JITCO, no date), it has been criticized that their system has contributed to exploit migrant workers as "trainee," and some case could be called as human trafficking [4]. Although the types of jobs that the trainees can engage are limited to 130 job categories of 71 working areas, and "care work" has not been included, the Japanese government has considered to accept "trainees" in the field of "care work." (Mimata, 2015). Amendments needed in immigration laws have not been finalized yet (Kaigo Fukushishi Yosei Shisetsu Kyokai, 2016), and therefore this scheme has not been actualized yet, however, working as "technical intern trainee" in the field of care work in Japan could become possible in the near future in addition to the EPA scheme and many facilities that expect these trainees.

Figure 6: Numbers by gender and nationality of technical interns

Fiscal Year	Gender		Nationality					
	Male	Female	China	Vietnam	Philippines	Indonesia	Thailand	Others
2012	17,497	26,546	34,794	4,495	1,489	1,556	781	928
2013	16,889	23,521	28,805	6,114	1,749	1,619	1,043	1,080
2014	21,579	25,196	26,635	11,176	2,782	2,282	1,486	2,414
2015	23,077	26,196	21,379	16,932	3,054	2,487	1,791	3,622

Sources: JITCO website (figure1) JITCO Supported Technical Intern Trainees (category 1).

II. Career Plan and Career Path

In analyzing findings from the research, the informants' career plans would be classified into four types regardless of their actual career paths. Also, all the informants express their hope to get married and have a baby in the near future regardless of gender, or to be actually engaged or got married and had a baby (or being pregnant). The findings indicate that it would be very important to take "workers' life and family" into consideration, as most of migrant workers, especially working in the field of care has to face this issue globally for a long time.

a. Using certification and knowledge/skills as care worker

First type is the one which Japanese government is aiming at through the EPA program. This type of career plan is, however, only feasible when they become a certified care worker if they want to continue to work in Japan.

Otherwise, the current immigration regulation does not allow them to continue to work in Japan at this moment although it might become possible for them to work as "trainee", as stated earlier.

Or, if they would like to make use of their knowledge and skills in Indonesia, the labor market for "nurse" matters since "care work" has not yet been recognized as a profession in Indonesia so that they will not be able to apply what they learned in Japan even when they would like to do it back in Indonesia. In addition, great needs exist in home-visiting type of care in Indonesia, not in an institutionalized one that the current EPA care workers have engaged in Japan.

However, the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare in Japan has decided to set a regulation and system to allow EPA certified care workers to work in home-visiting type of care field in the near future (Nihon Keizai newspaper, 20.2. 2016). On the other hand, there are a few positive signs for returned EPA workers in Indonesia. For instance, recently some Japanese companies try to "export" Japanese care work, "kaigo," especially to the East Asian region, including Indonesia. The Japanese government also has implemented a policy to "export of kaigo" from 2017 collaborating with Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) and a company which is funded both by the government and private sector. Target countries would be the Philippines, Indonesia, Vietnam, Thailand, China and South Korea (Nihon Keizai newspaper, 2016.2.20). It is reported that the current plan is employing returned EPA nurses and care workers in a new facility to make initiation of the process run smoothly (Nihon Keizai newspaper, 2016.4.22).

It is not a common case yet, but actually such case has already existed in Indonesia; there is assisted living for elderly which Indonesian company has built and managed with collaboration with Japanese company. And what important is that returned EPA care worker is working there. It does not seem to be affordable for most Indonesian elderly population and may not be acceptable culturally in general in the current Indonesian society. However, their target population in the future would be Indonesian elderly population of certain economic level and Japanese people working in Indonesia, in addition to retirement migrants from Japan (based on interview with staff of the facility, 2015).

b. Using working experience in Japan

Second type is planning to use working experiences in Japan, mostly their knowledge of Japanese language and culture, in different work fields in

Indonesia. This type of plan is possible even when they fail to pass the state examination, and in fact, it seems to be the most feasible plan for them if they have network with Japanese society in Indonesia. Japanese embassy also holds a job fair for returned EPA nurses and care workers in South Jakarta every year, which contributes to matching them with Japanese companies in Indonesia (Jakarta Daily Newspaper, 2013. 11.28; 2015.12.4).

According to Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO)(2016), there are 1,533 Japanese companies as of November, 2015, and 18,463 Japanese currently reside in Indonesia as of October, 2015 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016). Although returned EPA care workers do not work as "care workers" it might be possible for them to use their working experience and knowledge on elderly and healthcare in their work.

c. Seeking other way to stay/work in Japan

The possibility of this plan to be actualized would depend on whether or not they can be married to a Japanese or to someone who has a working permit and stable job in Japan. Another way to remain in Japan is by getting a student visa.

In the case of marrying a Japanese, different type of visa will be issued for the care workers, which allows them to stay and work in a different field even if they are not certified. However, in the research, some of the informants stated that a desirable case for them is to get married to an Indonesian who has a stable job in Japan in addition to having their own certification. This choice would reduce their worries/barriers and offer more comfortable and continuous stay in Japan in terms of avoiding dilemma of religious/cultural difference, overcoming social pressure towards marriage and having a new family, and enjoying economical living standard.

On the other hand, some of the informants in Indonesia stated that they would like to go back to live in Japan with their family members. This "hope" is also supported by different research; Indonesian EPA care workers would like to work but live together with their family members in Japan (Kobe kokusai iryou koryu zaidan, 2012). However, the current statistics indicate that only 83 family members live with the visa that is issued for EPA workers' family in 2015. These family members can work 28 hours a week, but it would be very difficult to find a work which they would like to do in Japan.

Figure 7: Number of visa issued for EPA workers' family

	EPA workers	Family
2012	566	9
2013	609	39
2014	687	58
2015	872	83

Source: Ministry of justice, annual statistics of foreign residents in Japan (2012-2015).

d. Seeking other way to stay/work in Indonesia or other country

It is assumed that many of returned Indonesians fall in this category as "actual career path" even though they had not planned it. However, it does not necessary mean that they have given up working as nurse or care worker in the future. Some of the informants who currently fit to this category have a plan to study nursing at bachelor level in Indonesia. It also seems that many of returned EPA nurses and care workers without Japanese certification think to work again in healthcare field if they can find a position with reasonable working condition as well as using their knowledge and skills in Indonesia or other countries. (Ogasawara, 2015; Jakarta Daily newspaper, 2016.12.4)

Some informants stated a hope that Japanese government would issue a kind of "certification" for EPA care workers as credential of the completion of three years of training and studying "kaigo" in Japan, or at least to prove that they had worked as care workers in Japan; which should be "specific" and different from care worker's experience in other countries. If Japanese care work, "kaigo" is highly evaluated and have a possibility to contribute to meet the needs of other countries, this kind of certification would be very helpful for them to find a better job.

Future challenges

1. Minimizing negative effects on healthcare field in Indonesia

In Indonesia, the government (Ministry of Health) implemented the policy to professionalize healthcare with the motto of "Healthy Indonesia 2010" (Setyowati, 2015), and since 2007, the Ministry of Social Affairs started to consider increasing care facilities and providing a program to educate people

to become care workers to meet the demand from the increasing elderly population in Indonesia (Okushima, 2009). Currently, four types of nurses with different level are working in Indonesia; 1) SPK nurses at high school level, 2) D3 nurses at 3-year nursing academy level, 3) S1 nurses at Bachelor level, comprises of two types, one with 3-year theory and 1 year clinical practice, and the other with D3 students continuing to the bachelor level, and 4) S2 nurses at Master's level. However, Setyowati (2015) points out that there are no national standards for D3, S1 and clinical practice, which would be a barrier to the development of the nursing profession.

Also, Setyowati (2015) stated that Indonesia has begun to provide lecture in English for prospective migrant nurses based on American or Australian curricula since 1998. Their migration has contributed to the rapid growth of nursing schools in Indonesia. Besides exporting nurses as business, some short term professional training has been provided for those who would like to work overseas, and some institution has conducted a professional program with partner educational institution abroad so that students can get a double degree, and work as registered nurses in a country where they study(5). Some research indicates that recently there are many Indonesian nurse students interested in working in Japan on the EPA scheme (Setyowati, 2015) and actually the number of EPA nurses and care workers has increased recently, especially for care workers (see figure 2).

The worst case would be that many Indonesian prospective nurses go to work in Japan as "care workers," come back to Indonesia without certification, and work in a different field which is irrelevant to the healthcare in Indonesia. The negative effects the EPA program on the Indonesian healthcare field has not been evaluated, but it should be explored in future research.

2. The importance of "life" of care workers and their family

Considering relatively small numbers of the current EPA care workers who actually continue to work in Japan, it would not be able to say that this scheme has contribute greatly to the care work field in Japan. Ito (2015) reported that most of the facilities highly evaluate quality of Indonesian EPA candidates for care workers, even of those workers who do not have fromal nursing educational background from Indonesia, and the facilities wishes to employ them more than five years. On the other hand, more than half of the candidates of the second-group which came to Japan in 2009 answered that they would not wish to work more than five years according to the research (Ito, 2015).

Issues would be related to "work-life balance" of care workers, especially related to their marriage, pregnancy (of partner), partner's work, and education for a child. Although more than 60 % of Japanese care workers is over 40 years old, and even 36.6% of Japanese care workers is over 50 years old, the most common reason with highest percentage of leaving work is "marriage, pregnancy, and child rearing" (MHLW, 2015b). It is assumed that most of the younger generation of care workers leaves their work due to the above reason. It seems to be necessary to consider alleviating barriers to make work-life balance of all the care workers possible, in addition to specific issues on EPA care workers (Ogawa, 2014; Sasaki, 2016).

Conclusion

The study explores career plan of Indonesian care workers under the Japan-Indonesia Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) who have worked and used to work in Japan. Findings indicate four types of career plans and several challenges in the future.

Ogawa (2014) pointed out that coming to work in Japan under the EPA is just one of the choices for Indonesians, especially for those who can meet the strict requirements to apply for the EPA and have the ability to pass the state examination. In Japan, "care work" is positioned in social welfare territory in terms of policy, administration, and academics whereas "care work" is placed in medical or nursing territory in other countries in general (Nonaka, 2010). Considering the above difference and other factors such as differences in culture social infrastructure, and income-level of people, it seems to have some barrier that Japanese "kaigo" will be highly evaluated and contribute to meet the global demands; however, if it is realized, EPA care workers will be the ones who could lead in the global market.

"Career" is a concept which is not limited to work but includes life itself, and we do not have to realize "career-up" in the same working area; it is necessary to explore several aspects of well-being of people. Future research should be conducted for more long-term period and will evaluate their experience on their actual career path five years later or even ten years later.

Notes

1. Aging rate is the ratio of people who is 65 years old and over of the total population.
2. Non-certified care workers also work in Japan but they are called "helpers" or "care work staff."
3. The state examination for a certified care worker is held once a year in January, and if they fail to pass it, they have to wait for a year until January the following year. EPA care workers can extend their stay for one year to work and take the examination in the following year by meeting some requirements. If they go back to Indonesia, they have a chance to take examination in Japan with short-term visa.
4. "Trafficking in Person's Report" published annually by the U.S. Department of States has pointed out that many trainees experience slavery-like condition under this trainees program.
5. Setyowati also stated that "this program is quite expensive with long preparation in resources and infrastructure", and more short-term training program for nurses is provided as private business; and training for caregivers is provided by the Indonesia Manpower Department (2015, p.7)

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The Politics and the Poetics of Peasant Resistance (Political Expression of the Peasant of Temanggung)

Mohammad Sobary

ABSTRACT

The Politics and the Poetics of Peasant Resistance depicts peasants' struggle against the central government policy, which is non-democratic, non-transparent and incongruent with the collective interest of peasants. The policy controlling the negative effects from the consumption of tobacco products—while also single-handedly establishing no-smoking zones—was deemed inconsiderate of the peasants. The protest held by the peasants through political and poetic language could be seen as a form of resistance against the government policy. Furthermore, the poetic beauty of the peasants' resistance was their only weapon against repression.

Key words: peasant resistance, poetic resistance, peasant movement in rural Java

The Background

An important event happened in the Temanggung Regency, Central Java, on Thursday, April 26, 2012, which coincided with "Kamis Kliwon" (according to the Javanese calendar) and was also the fourth day of Jumādá al-Ulá 1433 Hijri (according to the Islamic calendar). On that day, ten thousand people gathered to smoke the Indonesian "Kretek" cigarettes in Maron, Sidoarjo District, Temanggung Regency. As the peasants exhaled their "Kretek" cigarettes, smoke puffs gently blended into the mist that ran from the peak of Mount Sumbing. Separated only by 15 kilometers, the peak of Mount Sumbing looked like it was within one's grasp. The spectacular view of Mount Sumbing was becoming more vivid as the sun rose and the mist escaped into the dark valleys.

The peasants gathered to celebrate the declaration of "Laskar Kretek" or "Kretek Warrior", a vast and esteemed movement in the district. Banners and posters, representing their revolutionary spirit, were placed at several spots which were visible to people passing through public spaces. There was also a banner placed in front of a stage, explaining all the details about that morning's event, accompanied with the text: "Deklarasi Laskar Kretek (Declaration of the Kretek Warrior)". On the left side of the stage, there was a bigger banner which illustrated the peasants' attitude towards the government policy: "Revolusi Jawabannya Jika RPP Anti Tembakau Dilaksanakan (Revolution Would Be The Answer If The Anti-Tobacco Law Was to Be Passed)". There was a poster backstage of a man shouting statements of revolution.

Approaching the opening ceremony, which commenced at ten o'clock, the field was almost full with people who sympathised and decided to join the declaration. Although the event began with an opening prayer at ten, more and more people were still making their way into the field, filled with enthusiasm to join. The prayer was held by the local elder, a "kyai" and the spiritual leader they called Simbah, despite still being in his 40's[1] The Simbah then arranged an ambrosia offering while burning some incense. Then Simbah prayed and casted some spells. His eyes were then facing towards the sky–beyond our mortal realm. Afterwards, Simbah explained the symbolic meaning behind the offerings.[2] His words were clear even though the music on stage was very loud:

> " 'Tumpeng' symbolizes the mountain, which means pleading for the safety of the mountain. The rice symbolizes the mother earth, which also means pleading for the safety of our mother earth. 'Golong' can be interpreted as 'manggolonging tekad' and 'manggolonging karsa', which means the firmness of our determination and intention. It also means that may our good determination and intention be fulfilled. 'Golong' also represents a stone, which means that we may ask for the safety of the stone. 'Ingkung' made from 'Tulak' chicken, symbolizes 'nulak bebaya' (keep away the danger or bad omen). Basically, we ask for our safety and well-being, safety for us–the mortal being of Kretek Warrior–the people, safety for the vegetation–the plants, trees, etc.–and safety for the tobacco crops. May all beings live well and safely."

1 *Simbah* or Mbah is a javanese word to address elders. Usually determined by age differences or social-religious status.

2 See Giri, W. (2010). *Sajen dan ritual orang Jawa*. Yogyakarta: Narasi. P. 24.

("Tumpeng itu simbol gunung, artinya kita memohon slamet gununge, nasi putih itu bumi, kita memohon 'slamet bumine,' golong itu 'manggolonging tekat,' 'manggolonging karsa,' maka kita memohon 'dikabulke tekate, dikabulke kekarepane.' Tapi golong juga mewakili batu, maka kita mohon 'slamet watune' (selamat batunya). Ingkung dari ayam tulak itu tanda 'nulak bebaya' (menolak bahaya). Pada intinya kita memohon 'slamet,' termasuk 'slamet menungsane' (selamat manusianya), 'slamet wit-witane' (selamat pepohonannya), 'slamet mbakone' (selamat tembakaunya), 'slamet sekabehe,' (selamat segalanya)."

The declaration meant a lot for the peasants. Those acts showed that the power relationship between the government and the people contained an atmosphere of mistrust that empowered the peasants' protest and resistance against the government policy on tobacco. The policy was aimed to mitigate the negative effects of tobacco products, as well as to support several prohibitions for the tobacco industry as mentioned in the Draft of Government Regulation of 2009 or "Rencana Peraturan Pemerintah (RPP) tahun 2009" which referred to the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC). Previously, Law No. 36—also called as the Law on Health year 2009 or UU Kesehatan 2009—which contained the same prohibitions and rules already triggered another resistance before the aforementioned resistance by the peasants.

The resistance had occured repeatedly—at least since the passing of President Habibie's Presidential Decree in 1999, then followed again by the resistance and charges against the Jakarta's Regional Regulation via the Constitutional Court in 2007. Since then, the resistance by tobacco farmers was never-ending, marked by an even bigger resistance against the 2009 Draft Government Regulation. Their goal was simple: To prevent the draft from being legalized as an official Government Regulation. This effort eventually failed in 2012, when the Draft Government Law was officially published as Government Law (Peraturan Pemerintah) No. 109 of 2012, which was considered as a fatal blow for tobacco growers. They believed that the established law would indirectly affect them, although the law was only targeting the big tobacco industry.

This is the story behind the concerns of tobacco growers, which motivated them to round up a protest and organise a resistance against the government policy. This is an important phenomenon that needs to be explored further with the aim of gaining proper knowledge from the complexity of the peasants' resistance.

The Problem

Tobacco farms provide life and the only source of occupation for the peasants. The established foundation of the economic and cultural order in the area had become integral to the agricultural life in Javanese villages for centuries. Now, that very foundation is being challenged by the power of global capitals and market, which influences policy-making processes.

Without a doubt, the established order and the comforts these tobacco growers enjoyed were not something "given"; instead, they were achieved through hard work and maximum effort against social dynamics over time. Unfortunately, the result of their hard work and efforts were challenged by the Government Regulation No. 109 of 2012, which blatantly copied the articles of FCTC. The integration of FCTC into government regulations was a sign of foreign powers being forced into this country out of self-interest.

The relationship pattern between tobacco growers and the central government had shown us the difficult political situation that arose in Indonesia. For the former, this is a threat they need to confront. The threat also instigates the tobacco growers to choose a "heroic action"—to stand up against the government policy. The relationship between these tobacco growers and the government had formed a hostile situation, and to resist seemed to be the best answer for the former. The peasants' resistance is the main focus of this research.

The Aim

This research intends to obtain data on the complexities of the peasants' resistance movement by carefully observing the backgrounds and following their ideological expression, ideas, thought, feelings, manners and their whole actions. In other words, this research was also an effort to understand the complex world of peasants through understanding the explicit and implicit symbolic meanings of their resistance. This leads us to focus on finding the story behind their arts, which come in the form of stageplays, ballads, dances, spells and offerings at their traditional rites, their prayers during the ancestral pilgrimage, political demonstrations and also the declaration of "Kretek Warrior".

Furthermore, it is also believed that there is a bureaucratic goal within these efforts, which contains philosophical elements to give alternative thoughts for the government. It also reminds the government that the orientation of every policy should be in line with the public's interest. In this

regard, the policy should place the peasants as the focal point of legislation drafting.

The Location

This study takes place in Temanggung, central Jawa, that has already been popular as the country of three mountains: the Mount of Sumbing, the Mout of Sindoro and the Munt of Perahu, that has absolutely been making the people, the tobacco growers, proud of this 'prestigious' title. Naturally, it is these three mountains that generously bring the cold temperature that contribute greatly to the peasant to grow and to produce a high class tobacco all over the country. Since many centuries ago the peasant has been enjoying the natural gift in the form of fertile land and cold whether that is considered ideal for planting tobacco. Also since many centuries ago the peasants have depended their life on tobacco as a local and the only commercial product that give them the sense of pride as a relatively economically cukup, enough. This is why they strongly resist the government policy that is not only unaccommodative to their politico-cutural and economic interests but also absolutely against the sustainability of their life and the future generations.

This study started in 2010 and ended up in 2012, with a special note that in 2010 I was more or less only 5 months on the field, and more or less 4 months in 2011, and 2 or 3 months in 2012. In time of writing the field finding, started in 2013 there was another short field visit to check the data accuracy to make the writing readable and fit with the new poltical-economic context that change and developed rapidly. But more importantly to re check the accuracy of the data collected in the previous periods.

Methodology

As mentioned earlier, the aim of the research is to analyze the complexity of the peasants' political resistance through their ideological consciousness and their poetic expression. Their poetic expression was expressed through, most importantly, spells, prayers, ballads, dances, rites and offerings in their agricultural tradition, which is enriched by local wisdoms and aesthetic meanings. The spells were demonstrated through their traditional rituals and the dances and ballads were displayed on the stage, while prayers were made during the ancestral pilgrimage.

There is also another aspect of this resistance, which is framed and developed

within this tradition. In other words, the peasants' resistance was framed within the tradition and was blessed with wisdom and the aestethic of arts. These aspects lie within the realm of values and subtle meanings, which are not expressed explicitly and could not be understood directly. It is important to stress here that the politics and the poetics resistance being studied here are 'located' in the world of meaning; an element of qualitative research category that demands qualitative approach. The method called "grounded research" was therefore chosen to be implemented in this study because this method gives an opportunity to start studying field phenomena from the very beginning, digging the data slowly but very carefully through an approach commonly understood as "participation observation". Thus, the researcher enjoyed a luxury momentum to join the peasant daily activities to look at and observe what the peasant do and its meaning. Interpretative method was also utilized to complement and cover what the grounded method could not cultivate. It is hoped that by using these methods the study could cover up and undertand those phenomena entirely.

Artful Science and Political Expressions

The quotations of Lombard and Ananta Toer below came from R.A. Kartini. Lombard and Ananta Toer quoted the thoughts of the Princess of Java while she was philosophizing the same world: Java.

> "The deeper I feel the soul of my nation, the further I recognize it greatly. Our race is full of artists and poets, and for those who can sense the beauty of poetry would never do any harm. Love, dedication, trust: All of these transform into a poetry in the life of Javanese people." (R.A. Kartini in Lombard, 1996: 235)

> (*"Semakin jauh saya menghayati jiwa bangsa saya, semakin saya menganggapnya hebat. Ras kami kaya akan seniman dan penyair, dan barang siapa merasakan puisi tidak mungkin berbuat kebatilan. Cinta, pengabdian, kepercayaan, semuanya berubah menjadi puisi dalam hidup orang jawa")* (R.A. Kartini dalam Lombard, 1996: 235)

> "Our mind is a poetry, but our action is art! But how can there be an art without any poetry? Everything good, noble, and sacred–in short, everything that is beautiful in this life–is poetry!" (Kartini in Toer, 2003: 179).

("Pikiran adalah puisi, pelaksanaannya seni! Tapi mana bisa ada seni tanpa puisi? Segala yang baik, yang luhur, yang keramat, pendeknya segala yang indah di dalam hidup ini, adalah puisi!") (Kartini dalam Toer, 2003: 179)

Both of the above quotes were the frame and also the spirit and the reasoning for this research, at least for two reasons. First, poetry depicts a serious and deep understanding about Javanese people, about love, trust and dedication. For Javanese people, expressing those feelings into poetry could become a purpose in their lives. Second, poetry plays an important role in the development of anthropological analysis, especially since the artistic expression has become a new orientation within etnographical style of writing.

Hence, "the beauty and the tragedy of the world are textually empowered by the artful science and subjective understanding of the author" (Benson, 1993: xi). This would be able to bring himself into an assuring way to create what is "artful" in Brady's thought into life.

The warm acceptance of "artful science" by the scientific world, along with statements of the Javanese Princess quoted by Lombard and Toer, have became a strong basis to construct poetic and esthetic ethnographic literatures. Toer's statements above also gives us a convincing context in order to explain the peasants' resistance, which is enriched in terms of poetic expression; therefore, it shouldn't matter anymore whether any particular poetic expression was so powerful and dominant inside every moment of the tobacco growers' resistance. Their spells, ballads, poetry, prayers and rituals were a display of their spirits in poetic expression.

This was not shocking since the Indonesian revolution towards its independence struggle also started with a correspondence by mail. As Shiraishi said: "...in this view, the movements were started by the letters of RA Kartini and...." (Shiraishi, 2001: xi-xii). Other than that, new development about ethnography writings as artful science has given a good reason to mention this artful academic work that is hoped to be useful for other disciplines, as well as inter-disciplinary cases.

The World of Poetry

It is compulsory to make clear that poetry is a serious thing. Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana once said that poetry is not born just because someone stares at the moon, but instead it is an effort or a struggle to survive against the harsh

world. His piece, "Sudah Dibajak" was created due to his wife's death in 1933. One of the lines taken from the piece:

... I feel Thy plow wrenching
slicing this sad heart
Poignant melancholy soul laments
Sending chills, down to my bones

....(Alisjahbana, 1984:13).

(Aku merasa bajakMu menyayat
Sedih seni mengiris kalbu
Pedih pilu jiwa mengaduh
Gemetar menggigil tulang seluruh)

....For Alisjahbana, poetry was defined as "a feeling that we sense about life without anything that is coincidental and unreal" (Alisjahbana, 1984: 17). Another poet, Sitor Situmorang, defended Alisjahbana's standpoint by saying that his (Alisjahbana) poems were born from sadness and sorrow. Situmorang wrote a poem called "Dari Hal Mimpi dan Sajak" — "From Dreams and Poem"— in which he wrote a note: "For Takdir Alisjahbana." He once said, "There is only one truth: There is no poem created out of sorrow". It seems that it is enough to shed some light to understand that every piece of poetry comes from a rather serious aspects of life. However, let us see another poem using a similar theme to Alisjahbana's, "Tak Sepadan" by Chairil Anwar.

.... I crawled a blind wall
Not a single door is open
So it's good for us to put out
this blazing bonfire
Because you would be fine
while I'm burned to the bones
....(Anwar, 1986:10)

(Aku merangkaki dinding buta
Tak satu juga pintu terbuka
Jadi baik juga kita padami
Unggunan api ini
Karena kau tak 'kan apa-apa

Aku terpanggang tinggal rangka)
....
...

A poem at this level could affect deeply towards someone's psychological condition. Not only it could instill frustration, but also despair and loss of hope. Chairil's pain was expressed by his poems. More than this, we also acknowledge that poetry also advocates the literature world's responsibility towards humanity, truth and justice. It is also the reflection of literature products on the political life of people.

Keith Foulcher—in his book which discusses the era of new Indonesian poets or "Zaman Pujangga Baru"—linked two different areas, literatures and politics, and especially those related to nationalism. Literature as the means of channeling and flourishing the Indonesian sense of nationalism throughout the whole country which happened solely because the acceptance of the literature world into the national struggle. We are being reminded of the Youth Congress in 1926 that remarks the spirit of unity of all ethnic-cultural movements as the united voice of Indonesian youths (Foulcher, 1991;10).

In the rich literature world, there are usually, at least, five poetry categories that can be identified: First, Javanese Poetry, taken from Surakartan poems; second, poems that were published during the era of Indonesia's struggle for independence and are mainly the works of Chairil Anwar; third, poems about resistance during the Indonesian Old Order which comprise of works by Tirana and Benteng, as well as Taufiq Ismail; fourth, works from Wiji Thukul as resistance against the Indonesian New Order; and fifth, poems by the tobacco growers which were mentioned as the focus of this paper. As previously mentioned, the fifth era was the main focus of this study; however, we should mention one work from Wiji Thukul since it was a popular piece among activists and Indonesian college students and played a significant role in the Indonesian political life.

Warning
(Peringatan)

If the people leave
in the middle of the ruler's speech
We have to be careful
It might mean that they have lost hope

(Jika rakyat pergi
Ketika penguasa pidato
Kita harus hati-hati
Barangkali mereka putus asa)

If the people hide
and whisper
as they discuss their problems
The ruler needs to heed and learn to listen

(Kalau rakyat sembunyi
Dan berbisik-bisik
Ketika membicarakan masalahnya sendiri
Penguasa harus waspada dan belajar mendengar)

if the people don't dare to complain
then things are dangerous
and if the rulers' talk
may not be rejected
truth must surely be under threat

(Bila rakyat tidak berani mengeluh
Itu artinya sudah gawat
Dan bila omongan penguasa tidak boleh Dibantah
Kebenaran pasti terancam)

and if suggestions are refused without consideration
voices silenced, criticisms banned without reason
accused of subversion and disturbing security
then there is only one word: resist!

(Apabila usul ditolak tanpa ditimbang
suara dibungkam kritik dilarang tanpa alasan
dituduh subversif dan mengganggu keamanan
maka hanya ada satu kata: lawan!)

(Thukul, 2004: 77)

It should never be forgotten that the poetic expressions do not always refer to several conventional poems and rhymes. Poetic expression as a channel to oppose has already been a well-known means of resistance for centuries, if the tradition of "pepe" in front of the Javanese Keraton is taken into consideration. Consequently, the resistance of tobacco growers in Temanggung Regency was a continuation of the traditional Javanese means of resistance.

The Peasant Political Resistance

There is the need to discuss here the peasant political resistance, primarily why this form of resistance was demonstrated by the peasant of Temanggung, central Java. As already been discussed at the beginning of this article, the life of the peasant and their world, the peasantry, was in a serious danger due to the government policy that has also been mentioned above. As we have already been aware that government policy is seen as a political issue. It is therefore correct to mention here that the peasant reaction to the political issue can be called political reaction, but in this context we call it political resistance. This political movement, as it will soon be clear, takes the form of poetics resistance. As it will be clear in the next section, poetics expressions in political context has already been deep rooted in Javanese culture. What the peasant of Temanggung demonstrate in their day to day politics this time can be seen as the consistent continuation of the old political tradition.

The Poetics of Peasant Resistance

Before discussing further the poetic of peasants resistance, I would mention here that it was engaged in local, traditional mechanism. Within the local tradition, there lies a particular way to conduct customary rites that is complemented by sacred offerings and spells. There is also ancestral pilgrimage with their devoted prayers. In another aspect, there is also the poetic expression exhibited through stages such as ballads and traditional dances. There are noteworthy theatrical traditional dances called *"tundhung kolo bendu"* and *"Turonggo Bekso*," where dancers use a mockup horse as a prop to illustrate a war.

From the action of the peasants, we could at least note ten events worthy to be analyzed further: First, Kidung—the song—of Pangkur Suro Greget; second, mantra—the spell cited during the traditional ritual; third, the prayers delivered during the ancestral pilgrimage; fourth, the *Tumpeng*

Tulang and *Ingkung Ayam Putih Mulus*—the food served during the ritual; fifth, the colourful flowers in the offerings for local spirits and ancestors; sixth, the flowers and incense burning in other offerings; the seventh, the incense burnt to accompany the offerings; eighth, the prayer to denounce the ruler of the earth and tell their sins to the Heavenly Ruler; ninth, the traditional dance "*Turonggo Bekso*"; tenth, the gatherings or the assembly of ten thousand people.

We would only focus on reviewing six poetic expressions, namely 1) Kidung—the song—of "Pangkur Suro Greget", 2). Mantra—the spells casted—of the ritual, 3). The prayer, 4) The food served in the rites, 5). The colorful flowers in one offering, and 6). The flowers and incense burning in other offerings. It should be noted before that there is a form of authority in the local customs, led by *"simbah"* and *"kyai"* (religious leader). The artists who skillfully performed the song—a hymn, as it became something sacred—already explained its symbolic meaning as the hymn of resistance beforehand. As they did that, they distributed some kind of text to the audience, explaining the meaning of the hymn. So clearly, the hymn performed was not only served as an amusing form of art, but also for the sake of political resistance. The mantra recited in this rite, was not a spell that call for some kind of religious-mystic "power" for the benefit of nature, but rather a spell cited for resistance purpose. In the tradition of ancestral pilgrimage, usually there is a long prayer, fervent and deep, but the prayer cited is only an expression of peasant resistance.

Likewise, the coned rice *(tumpeng tulak)* is believed to be a charm and the chicken dish made from a virgin white rooster (*ingkung)* is meant to symbolize the resistance. *"Tumpeng Tulak"* is only an ordinary coned rice dish, with the peak colored black. *"Tulak"* means "to reject all danger or evil", and in the context of the tobbaco growers' resistance, it includes the central government policy. The local leaders—believed to be experts in the traditional customs—as well as some ordinary people, explained the symbolic meanings to me. Here is our quick explanation: 1) Kidung was not sung for the sake of art, but for the resistance, 2). The Mantra—the spell cited—in the ritual, was not meant for the rite itself, but to gather the mass, 3). Prayers in the ancestral pilgrimage, were not meant for spiritual interests, but to symbolize the resistance, 4). The food served during the ritual—the coned rice of "tumpeng tulak" and the chicken dish *ingkung*—were not meant to be "sajen" (offerings to spirits), but rather a symbol of resistance, 5). The colorful flowers made for the offerings were not meant to complement the ritual, but for the symbolic purpose of resistance,

and 6). In another form of offerings, flowers and burned incense represented the interests of resistance. Again, this explanation was obtained during the field research, with the help of several custom "leaders" who understand the meaning of the symbols in the ritual.

Based on the Oxford Dictionary definition, Turner explained, "...a symbol is a thing regarded by general consent as naturally typifying or representing, or recalling something by possession of analogous qualities or by association in fact or in thought" (Turner, 1982: 19). What I have done in the field, i.e. to hear and record the explanation of the symbolic meanings earlier–without adding any interpretation–only followed the example of Turner, who also listened to and recorded the interpretations from the local people. After the field research, he stated, "...as a result, I obtained much exegetic materials" (Turner, 1982: 19) It should be emphasized that so far the symbolic meanings of all phenomena were explained by the local leaders, particularly the indigenous leader, and the artists who created the dance, stage play and the hymn. It is also important to discuss the hymn of "Pangkur Surogreget" here. Pangkur is a Javanese traditional music genre, while the tittle, Surogreget, means "brave" (sura) and "anger" (greget).

> "In the beginning it was not so clear / It's impossible to challenge the nature / Look what I'll do / I'll face you / You're an insane person / You don't know the reality / Tobacco always fulfills our needs" (author's interpretative translation)
>
> *("Lekase angoyo woro. Nantang alam mongso siro kuwawi. Ulatono kedaningsun. Arso mangurah siro. Siro iku manungso kang wuru. Tan weruh mring kasunyatan. Soto itu ngurakapi.")*
>
> If all of the symbolic meanings above were described by the customary and cultural leaders, for example, the poetic expression in the form of colorful flowers, the interpretation should be made with the interpretative approach already mentioned before. In other words, I would be making an interpretation regarding the development of poetic expression. We could recall Chairil Anwar's poem—entitled "Useless"—which also embodies the essence of colorful flowers in his creation.

"Thou comest at the end of the day/ Carrying a garland/ Red roses and white jasmine/ Blood and chaste,"

("Penghabisan kali itu kau datang/Membawa kembang berkarang/Mawar merah dan melati putih/ Darah dan suci,") (Anwar, 1986: 11)

The flowers in Chairil Anwar's thoughts transcended into poetry. The flowers as an offering from the peasants became a poetic expression in their resistance. The flowers' symbolic meaning became distinct when they were combined with the burning incense. Thus, another interpretation becomes necessary here.

The incense fume was billowing thin, very soft, very white, soaring into the infinite sky. We found that this poetic expression was not equivalent to Anwar's poem. We could only find its suitable meaning within a particular mantra taken from ancient Javanese literature.

Before drawing a conclusion, a comparison between James C. Scott's finding in his book and what we found in this study should be made. The political resistance and the poetic expression framed by tradition became a trademark of the peasants in Temanggung. Meanwhile, we found a sharp distinction between Selo Soemardjan and Scott's ideas. Selo Soemardjan noted that the struggle of the weak is always channeled to another party, and sabotage is always a dominant method (Soemardjan, 2009:455-456). Meanwhile, from Weapons of the Weak, the struggle of the peasants expressed a "Passive Non-Compliance", "Subtle Sabotage", "Evasion" and "Deception" (Scott, 1985:31). This means that the peasants' struggle in Scott's world is indirect and implicit, which Scott called "offstage". The peasants in this study fought very openly ("onstage") with dignity, by using an artistic mechanism: poetry. In other words, the peasants' struggle in this study can be named as a form of political resistance framed by tradition, comprising two spirits of life: the wisdom and the *aesthetic of art*. Here, in the case of peasant resistance of Temanggung, the battlefield is not "*offstage*", or in Scott's own words, it is called "*at the level of consciousness*" (Scott, 1985;41)—but as already been mentioned above, it is called an "onstage discourse".

In his book Domination and The Arts of Resistance Hidden Transcripts, Scott called the peasants' struggle as "infra-politic", implying the politics of a wise "subgroup", better explained by an Ethiopian proverb: "When the great lord passes, the wise peasant bows deeply, and silently farts". As a "subgroup"

they are afraid for "farting" publicly, not because of ethical judgements but because security reasons. Farting in the Ethiopian culture seems to be a sign of resistance or rejection of the minority and marginalized people, and their struggle would always be deemed "offstage". In this study, the peasants were regarded as an independent or an autonomous group; They are, for sure not a particular "subgroup". In his older book that has been translated into Indonesian, Perlawanan Petani, Scott mentioned that the peasant resistance was coloured with 'pretending' characteristics, such as pretending to comply and pretending not to know, as a way for the peasants to fight back; however, the poetic resistance of Tumenggung peasants was the opposite from the peasants that Scott mentioned. Scott's peasant resistance was more prosaic while Tumenggung's was more poetic. The peasants seemed to be immensed and took pleasure in their struggle during the resistance. Clifford Geertz stated in Deep Play: Note on the Balinese Cockfight. "... It only looks as if cocks are fighting there. Actually, it is the men..." (Geertz, 1973:417). It is clear that here, Scott was talking about class struggle, while this study talks about power relations. The structure was different, but the basic philosophy and the aim were always the same.

Conclusion

" Rama and the troops of monkeys attacked Alengka
Not only to rescue Shita who was captured by Rahwana
But to accomplish a monumental mission in this universe
Which is to enforce a righteous order for all humanity"

("Rama dan pasukan kera menyerang Alengka
bukan terutama untuk merebut kembali Shinta yang
diculik Rahwana, melainkan untuk misi jagat raya yang
lebih besar:menata keadilan, dan tegaknya kemanusiaan")

The struggle of the peasants to reclaim their rights and seek for justice should also be seen as a reminder for the government to assign the people as the "king". The resistance itself demonstrated that the people are the true "king" in Indonesian political context, the notion of the king in this regard is a metaphoric expression due to the fact that in democratic political sphere, the people are the real owner of the country. All forms of public services have to be fully dedicated to this king. As mentioned in the beginning of this section

"Rama and the troops of monkeys fight against Rahwana not only to free Shita, but also to accomplish a monumental mission in this universe."

The struggle of the peasant aim more or less at accomplishing the same mission, not just to free themselves from the undemocratic government policy but also to suggest the government to govern the country in a democratic just and to demonstrate a humanistic governance. The poetic resistance framed by tradition means the truth and its wisdom were absolute. It needs to be justified that they are not "tyrants" if they are to be put as a "king". They had fought gallantly with such fascination through several concepts such as aesthetic of art within their ballads, spells and prayers as well as their symbolic rituals. The resistance was not selfishly done for their own interest; instead, it happened because they wanted a discourse where they could have a win-win solution without any involved parties losing their dignity.

So far, we could not find out whether the government thought that the voice of the peasants were worth paying attention to, aside from their own. We also noted that, until now, what the central government called policy was more like an arrangement for the peasants' death rather than to better their lives. Unsurprisingly, it has been more than 20 years since the life of these peasants was filled with patient resistance in an unfinished war against the government. For them, war is not a form of violence, but gentleness. They demonstrated the gentleness of the aesthetic of art. They went to battle with their ballads as their weapon. They went to battle by casting their mighty spells. They also went to battle by arranging their sacred traditional rites and also presented many offerings for the spiritual world which supports the belief that worldly materials are also divine by nature.

This is their resistance. Our findings contradicted the thoughts of Selo Sumardjan and James C. Scott, although there is no need for those to be discussed again. There is one thing worth mentioning here: The class struggle in Scott's theory and the power relations in this study were found to be the opposite to what the theory suggests. One form of resistance was conducted with a hypocritical character—permissiveness, fakeness, etc—while others completely held their resistance with sincerity; to some extent, one of them is prosaic and the others poetic.

The poetic resistance is not a novel cultural expression in Javanese culture. It is the continuation of what have already become part of old Javanese political tradition, As quoted by Lombart, Ibu Kartini--- popularly known as Javanese Princess--- says that in Javanese culture everything changed into poetry. Love

changed into poetry, faith or belief changed into poetry and struggle in life also changed into poetry. What the peasant of Temanggung is now doing also represents that everything is poetry. The peasant resistance is started from poetry and ended up with poetry. The peasant struggle or resistance, in other words, is undoubtedly the representation of aesthetic of arts.

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ATTACHMENT PATTERN IN A KINSHIP-BASED ALTERNATIVE CHILDCARE: REVIEW OF CHILDREN WITH WORKING MOTHERS IN SOUTH BEKASI SUBDISTRICT, BEKASI CITY, WEST JAVA

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Abstract

This research addresses a kinship-based alternative childcare in which both parents, the mother and father, as primary caregivers work, so that an alternative childcare which prioritises a collaborative childcare between the parents and alternative caregivers namely kin is necessary. This sort of chilcare is a common style adopted by Indonesian families in order to support family as the best place for children. Childcare needs knowledge and skills as well as the efforts to fulfill the needs of child development in which the element of emotional attachment serves as an important aspect which affects the entire process of childcare. This matter should be underlined considering that the impact resulting from improper childcare patterns during childhood will lead to the inability of the children to develop optimally in the next stage.

Keywords: Children, Family, Alternative Childcare, Attachment.

Introduction

The future of the nation lies in the hands of our children in this present time. However, ironically, we are dealing with complex child issues.

News on mass media every day shows more images to us revealing that many children are still suffering. WHO (2006) in a guidance titled Preventing Child Maltreatment: A Guide To Taking Action And Generating Evidence stated that "Many children are subjected to psychological or emotional abuse as well as neglect, though the true extent of these problems are not known." This statement outlines that children on any parts of the earth are vulnerable to various kinds of issues. Such vulnerabilty should serve as the entrance point to build the efforts to protect children from the harms which threaten them. Vulnerability lurks in any directions even in the place which we consider as the safest place for children.

Many cases show images to us that parents and family serve as the keys to free children from various issues although they may also serve as the sources of issues for children. This matter may result from negligence and ignorance that children receive from their parents at home. In conformance with such matter, Miller dan Perrin (2007) said that *" Although it is true that most typically the family is a safe place of substance and care, it is equally true that most child maltreatment occurs within families"*

Based on such matter, it can be underlined that we cannot ignore the facts that it is true that family may serve as the source of problem solving as well as issues. This matter should be given very serious attention. It is crucial to identify the symptoms since these symptoms may direct children to the situation which is more complicated, dangerous, or even threatening their lives. The treatment in this matter is not only criminal, but also rehabilitative to the victims and their families. The most important and primary thing is the efforts to prevent the reoccurrence of such issues which create more scars inside the hearts of our children or the efforts to protect children from horrible matters. To be sensitive to any symptoms identified in children becomes the responsibility of the parents and their alternative caregivers considering that children at the ages of toddler are still very dependent on the adults around them.

Based on the collection of initial data conducted in several administrative villages within South Bekasi subdistrict in 2014, cases of impaired development of children due to lack of attention from their parents were found as they were busy with their work such as failure to give immunization, disordered patterns of eating and sleeping, poor social skills, poor instillment of religious values and moral ethics, children becoming the victims of bullying, and other various behavioral changes such as overly sensitive, quick-tempered, and spoiled

other than various mischieves which have begun from younger ages with bolder types of mischief. Information gathered from the initial data collection gave other examples of child mischief such as stealing in class at the age of 6 years old, writing on school wall and surrounding neighborhood at the age of 7 years old, beating playmates at the ages of 4-5 years old, uttering dirty words, and disobeying parents or older people at the ages of toddler as well as keeping pornographic pictures on mobile phones at the age 7 years old. It can be imagined if such damages have surfaced at early ages in a considerable number and are not handled immediately, an image of an unreliable generation to continue building this nation will emerge.

As we know, children are curious figures as stated by Piaget (Schickedanz, et.al., 1982): *"Children are active learners"*. It means that children have curiosity which is quite immense in which the role of parents and caregivers around them to be able to give responses which are quite satisfactory is needed as reaffirmed by Piaget (Schickedanz, et.al., 1982): "*Children seek stimulation*". In this matter, children will always seek things which are interesting to them and try to continue studying them. Therefore, parents and their alternative caregivers must prepare enough media for children to fulfill their need of stimulation, so that children will develop with creative mind and behavior. To prepare the media which are condusive to this needs enough knowledge and sensitivity, so that they are suitable for the development stages and needs of the children.

In consistent with this matter, children at the ages of 4-5 years old taken as the focus of this research were in a development stage where they became explorers and started to learn how to socialize, so that caregivers had to prepare safe exploration areas for children. Serious attention is needed considering the matters outlined earlier that many accidents happening to children take place inside their own houses.

Schickedanz, et.al.(1982), stated that *"Understanding children involves knowing what children mean by what they say. Adults who understand this understanding communicate well with the children"*.

The statement explains that communication with children is a simple thing as children only express what they want. Therefore, it takes optimal capability to listen and observe to be able to understand children, so that we can fulfill their needs to their expectation.

We should understand that children are very dependent on their fanily. In this matter, their happiness really depends on how their family provides

suitable options for them and builds relation condusive to their development. It can be enhanced through the ability to build attachment between children and their family (Fialho,2006) as the following statement: *"Attachment...does not just 'happen' naturally,but becomes about as parents deliberately teach their children [through modelling, social facilitation, and direct instruction to love themand to understand human relationships"*. Carla Sofia Fialho explained that the ability of family to rear and educate their children in a friendly and harmonious atmosphere takes hard efforts considering that parents must also have the ability to give good examples to their children and facilitate them to acknowledge their social environment which is entirely performed with love.

Affirming the previous statement, John Bowlby (in Zevalkink, 1997) explained that *"the concept of attachment referring to the strong affectional bond that ties a child to its caregiver"*. Furthermore, Bowlby (in Zevalkink, 1997 page 2) said that "*The development of an attachment relationship between the child and its caregiver to be extremely important for the mental health of child."*.

Both statements from John Bowlby above give clearer explanation that children and their caregiver must build strong emotional attachment because what is built by their caregiver and what is felt by the children at early ages really affect their mental health in the future. It implies that caregivers namely family or those with children must provide security and comfort for children, so that good mental health will mold them to have good personality.

Papalia and Feldman (2012) stated that*: "Human beings are social beings. Right from the start they develop within a social and historical context. For an infant, the immediate context normally is the family, but the family in turn is subject to the wider and ever-changing influences of neighborhood, community and society"*. Papalia in this matter affirmed that each person receives primary care from family. He/she will receive influence from his/her family and then from his/her wider surroundings. If we realize that family is the primary and initial medium for children, family must be prepared to be the main pillar and fortress for children to develop optimally.

In this research, family referred to here consists of parents namely biological mother, father, and sibling(s) and then of extended family/kin who are linked by blood or marriage (extended family) who live separately from the children's permanent home. Family referred to here is the family who are involved in the process of collaborative childcare.

From the observation conducted during the intial data collection in South Bekasi subdistrict, there were many mothers having part-time or permanent

jobs and even mothers who worked far from their homes and could only return to their homes after a certain duration. Working for them was essential as the needs of their families could not be fulfilled only by their working husbands. When they worked, their children were entrusted to their families/kins. Some of the parents who entrusted the care of their children to their kins perceived that the option they took was the simplest, most efficient, and most reliable one. It had happened for a long time and the issues could be discussed and tolerated in a kinship manner. However, from another perspective, parents took the option as there was no other option. According to them, there were some impacts surfaced after sometime, whether bad impacts or bad communication pattern between them.

In agreement with the statement, Boetto (2010) said that *"Kinship placement is one option when children require out-of-home care"*. It shows that children still become the main consideration when their parents must leave them at home for some reasons, one of them is working. Children during the period must remain under their care and treatment in which one of them is by entrusting them to their extended families or kins (*kinship family*).

In this research, *kinship care* referred to is kinship-based childcare which means that children are nurtured by their extended families who are considered most understanding and known by the children. In details, *kinship care* in this research is temporary in which the care of the children is only entrusted for 6-8 hours per day. Based on the initial data collection in South Bekasi subdistrict in 2013, *kinship care* referred to in this research consisted of grandmother and grandfather and aunt and uncle who lived separately from the homes of the children although the distance was relatively not too far, so that children would be taken to when their parents worked and picked up when their parents returned homes from work every day.

Based on the researches and surveys having been conducted, the research conducted in this research leads to a research which had never been conducted which is by analyzing the situation in which children are nurtured by two parties concurrently namely their biological parents and extended family/kin for a temporary duration in a separate home as their parents have to work during daytime. In this research, the attachment pattern between the children and their parents and extended family/kin as their alternative caregivers will be illustrated. This research also shows matters which must be improved in order to continue this form of childcare namely *kinship care* without disrupting the development of the children. It is deemed important

considering that alternative childcare is one of the options for families who cannot spend their time with their children due to work, so that it is necessary to learn the matter which may support the continuity of this alternative childcare optimally.

Conceptual Framework

This research was underlaid by the phenomenon in which families with working mothers face the option to maintain their focus on childcare despite their work. Based on the data from Central Statistics Agency of Bekasi city in 2012, the number of women working in formal sectors in 2010 in Bekasi were 6,598 people out of 10,943 people who worked in informal sectors. Detailed data needed for this research was not available whether in Central Statistics Agency or in subdistrict and administrative village offices, so that it had to be obtained manually. Based on the process of data collection, information was gathered that the number of women working in informal sectors were 4,562 people with marital status, 521 people with children aged 4-5 years old spread over Bekasi city area. Interesting data was found in South Bekasi subdistrict that the number of working mothers with children aged 4-5 years old who entrusted their children to their extended families such as their mothers, parents in law, younger siblings, and aunts at the year were 46 people.

In agreement with that, Berrick (1998) said that kinship-based alternative childcare could promote the welfare of children. This mechanism was considered able to protect children and support their families. However, the fact is that based on the data from *KPAI* of Bekasi city, during the period January to September 2013, out of 60 cases, the victims of child abuse were dominated by girls compared to boys. The number of sexual abuse to children reached 60 cases with 80 percent of the cases committed by their own parents and close kins such families. The cases surfaced, according to the Head of Subdivision of Public Relations of Bekasi Resort Police *AKP* Bambang Wahyudi, was caused by a number of reasons. Some of them were economic issues, low education level, and family's knowledge of domestic abuse cases.

Moreover, based on the initial data collection in this research, it was found that various types of issues of children entrusted by their parents to their kins were, among others, emotional attachment between children and their parents and alternative caregivers namely kins which gave impact of discomfort on children, gap in fulfilling the needs of the children during kinship

care which caused various issues such as eating pattern and sleep disorders, increase in the frequency of watching TV, children turning rebellious, spoiled, lazy, overly sensitive, and cranky.

Children, in this matter, have great dependency on their families. The happiness of children depends on how their families provide suitable options for children and build relation condusive to the development of children. It can be enhanced through the ability to build attachment between children and their families or their alternative caregivers.

Therefore, although this kinship-based alternative childcare is still taken as the first option, review on alternative childcare, which prioritizes kinship-based childcare, remains necessary to analyse the condition of the children in such childcare and how to anticipate the occurrences of bad things in the development process of the children. The main causes of such issues may vary. One of them is because the alternative caregivers namely kins have not had the ability to give proper childcare as expected. They are chosen because there are not other options. It means that although this kinship-based childcare has been common in our neighborhood, in order to prevent negligence, violence, and exploitation it needs many aspects which can support the assurance of the existence of the best environment for children which is basically to create a friendly situation for children, so that they can develop optimally.

In this research, the analysis of childcare was seen from two sides namely conventional (with their parents) and alternative (with kins) in which childcare is given collaboratively in separate places. The problem is that the children cared for are continually given the same childcare. They are given two different types of childcare at the same time whether the caregivers (parents and kins), environment, or childcare patterns, so that it is possible that various issues will emerge to their alternative caregivers namely kins, parents, and even the children.

Children referred to in this research are children at the ages of 4-5 years old which according to Erick Erickson is the early period (milestone) for children. This period is chosen based on consideration that children at early ages are full of imagination. They also like playing and begin to learn to have initiatives. It means that children start to have positive responses towards challenges from out of their world, learn to be responsible, and learn new skills. The options during this goldren ages are focused on analyzing the impacts of such childcare on children and how to make children stick to their developmental tasks although they are given childcare which is temporarily shifted to kinship-based alternative childcare.

Based on the background of this research in which kinship-based alternative childcare still becomes an option taken by the working mothers in South Bekasi subdistrict, the fact is that the option brings various issues. Therefore, in this section, the theories which root out how the issues emerging from kinship-based alternative childcare give impacts on the development stages of children will be studied.

There are two theories serving as the conceptual framework in this research namely Attachment Theory which depth will be associated with the process of childcare, impacts on the development of children, and implementation of this theory in the efforts to prevent the occurrence of issues in the process of childcare and Social Ecology Theory which will be associated with the parties directly involved in such childcare whether the caregivers or children as the social environment of the children and the implementation of this theory in preparing or enhancing the capacity of the parents or caregivers namely kins in nurturing children.

Hetherington and Parke (1987) affirmed that family is a socialization agent. Family is regarded as the main source for children to make a contact or interaction. Relationship built by children and their families will molded their characters, their expectation and responses to the social interaction which will be given in the future. Moreover, Hetherington and Parke (1987) also added that parents in this matter act as the teachers in which the things that they teach to their children at early ages will become the root for children to relate themselves to their families, including shaping the attitude and behavior of the children. In connection with it, Hetherington and Parke (1987) said that parents are models or role models to their children. Children will imitate what they see from their parents including several habits which their parents usually do.

Jacquelyn McCroskey William Meezan (1998) said that *"As any parent knows, raising children is a challenging and sometimes overwhelming responsibility. Most parents tap a broad range of informal and formal supports for help in fulfilling their responsibilities, looking to family, friends, and neighbors, as well as to child care, health, education, and social service providers".*

This statement supports the phenomenon emerging in community as one of the impacts of monetary crisis namely the increasing number of needs which cannot be fulfilled because the price of goods is getting more expensive. In order to fulfill such needs, one of the ways is by increasing the income of families creating a phenomenon in which it is not only the fathers who usually

work, but also the mothers. Working mothers have double roles namely as both career women and housewives. One of the negative impacts of working mothers is that they cannot give full attention to their children when their children are in rapid development while mothers and fathers have important roles in nurturing their children. Therefore, the right childcare is necessary for children to develop optimally.

Based on the results of observation conducted in the initial data collection, it was inferred that domestic assistant or babysitter becomes the right option, but as it is not easy to find one plus expensive fee for the service, alternative option which is considered safe emotionally, socially, and financially is needed to temporarily shift childcare to their families/kins which becomes the best option.

In line with such matter, in this research, alternative childcare analysed is Kinship Care. According to Charlene Ingram (1996) *kinship care* is not a new thing. It has been common in community in which the ones who will support childcare are the ones who still have relation to the family who may play a significant role in the physical growth and emotional development of the children. The results of observation also illustrate that those working mothers do not only entrust the care of their children once, but it has been done since their first child. Despite various issues emerging, they think that the issues can be handled as long as there is a joint agreement.

Attachment is an emotional bond developed by children through their interaction with people who have a special meaning to their lives in this matter are usually parents. (Mc Cartney and Dearing, 2002). *Attachment Theory* sees that the development of children really depends on the experiences that they have during childhood with their caregivers which are certainly very various in terms of the caregivers or the childcare patterns.

Attachment Theory (in Zevalkink, 1997) developed by John Bowlby which explains that *" the concept of attachment reffering to the strong affectional bond that ties a child to its caregiver"*. Furthermore, Bowlby (in Zevalkink, 1997) also stated that "*The development of an attachment relationship between the child and its caregiver to be extremely important for the mental health of child."* According to Thompson (in Zevalkink, 1997), adaptation experienced by the caregivers affects the adaption process of the children as follows:

> *" A parent who cannot or will not provide adequate nurturance, owing to scarce environmental resources, exhaustion, or the allocation of parental*

resources to other activities of offspring, provide the child with information that is critical to determining how to improve her or his own chances of survival, either by seeking more strenuously to obtain needed investment from the parent, or by going elsewhere or in other ways"

From the explanation, it is acknowledged that this theory sees that the attachment between the children and their caregivers depends on the quality of the childcare given to the children which is how the caregivers consisting of parents and kins intensively give responses to the needs and expectation of the children, so that they can feel comfortable and safe.

Brofenbrenner (2005) said that *"In short, children both adapt to and influence the interactions that take place around them"*. It means that children in this matter will be influenced and able to influence any interaction with them.

In overall, this research will direct how parents, kinship-based alternative caregivers, and social environment influence the development stages of children. It is based on a statement that the development of children is influenced by their caregivers consisting of parents or alternative caregivers. Apart from that, the environment of the children in general is considered giving impacts on the development of children. Although in reality it does not always seem like it. Bronfenbrenner's Social Ecology Model (in Bowes and Hayes, 1999) explained that life reflects the influences of the system existing in the environment, such as illustrated by the following figure:

Figure 2. 1. Bronfenbrenner's Social Ecology Model
Source: Diane Papalia et al, 2012, The Experiencing Human Development

The theory can be described more in the children's lives. Urie Bronfenbrenner developed this theory and affirmed that every experience that children have and their environment gives impacts on the development stages of children. There are aspects or levels in the environment which influence the development of children. In microsystem, Bronfenbrenner (in Bowes and Hayes, 1999) said that *"the microsystem consist of the face-to-face settings with which children are involved"*. Hereon, it can be seen that direct environment of children is the first environment which serves as the key and foundation of growth and development of the next life. It is not only physical growth, but also social, emotional, and spiritual development. Direct environment which directly influences children is the environment of their families namely both parents, brothers and sisters, or anyone at home who they meet every day and interact with intensively. This environment intensively gives impacts on the development of children. In addition, children at early stages start to learn to adapt personally and socially which will eventually have a strong impact on their personality and process of self identity quest.

The statement can be described more that when children face two different types of chilcare at the same period in different places for a quite long duration, the responses given by them will also be different. It will really depend on how parents and kinship-based alternative caregivers teach things which help children adapt well.

Based in the theory, this research will observe things occurring in the environment of children and the impacts on the development of children.

Based on the table above, it is expected that the roles of their families and social environment including these alternative caregivers can be visible and measurable, so that it is hoped that this research can build kinship-based alternative childcare which is "*child friendly*", which does not only serve as the place to "put" children, but also simultaneously opens the opportunity for children to develop and creat, so that a better future for them can be built.

Purposes of the Reseach

The purposes of this research are to illustrate and analyse the attachment pattern between children, parents, and kinship-based alterntive caregivers.

Method of the Reseach

The method of this research is used to analyse comprehensively the emerging issues which are caused by kinship care, how parents do their "homework" to fill in the rooms needed by children without losing the opportunity to work, and how to enhance the roles of families as these alternative caregivers to be able to perform their fuctions properly and how children can continue completing their developmental tasks although they are in a temporary shifted childcare (kinship-based alternative childcare). Therefore, the approach used in this research is qualitative approach.

Case study is the type of research used in this research. Case study is chosen as it is considered able to collect data in details about the theme addressed (Gilbert, 2008). The theme of this research is daily routine activities in childcare which is commonly used. It is conducted to dig the case studied more comprehensively.

The location chosen for this research is South Bekasi subdistrict, Bekasi City, West Java. This location is chosen through the following considerations 1) The number of working mothers is quite high namely the number of women working in formal sectors reaching 6,598 people out of 10,943 people working in formal sectors spread in 12 subdistricts, one of them is South Bekasi Subdistrict. 2) Heterogeneity of the community of South Bekasi is still influenced by kinship system which is quite high, so that there are still many families who entrust their alternative childcare, kinship care. 3) The influence from the environment which is quite open gives various impacts on children. The accessibility and completeness of transportation facilities and infrastructures and the incoming technology which is relatively more rapidly place children in a vulnerable situation.

Various news and stories of the phenomenon of mistreatment to children in Bekasi city has induced personal interest in conducting this research. South Bekasi subdistrict is a region with the community of mothers who work part-time and entrust their children when working to their close families/kins such as their parents (grandfather/grandmother) and brother/sister (uncle/aunt). The complexity of this situation is getting more serious as they live in city with many issues. Working for these mothers is a necessity, not an option.

The location where they put their children is about 1-3 km from their homes, so they take their children first to their families/kins before working and pick their children up after working. Some of them have prepared meal for their children while staying with their families or money for the needs of their children there.

Based on the abovementioned matters, there are 3 groups of correspondents in this research as follows:

1. Parents with working mothers who cannot look after their children for a few hours a day and have to entrust their children to their families/ kins who live in separate homes every day. The group of correspondents consists of parents who entrust their children for more than 5 hours a day and comprises 21 people consisting of 18 mothers and 3 fathers.
2. Kins who look after the children from families with working mothers temporarily. These kins consist of grandmother/grandfather and uncle/ aunt. These kins live in separate homes with their children or without their children. This group of correspondents consists of 18 people.
3. Children as the main subjects who have mothers who work and entrust their children to their kins temporarily while working. The children in this research are 4-5 years old and the number are 20 children.

The number of total correspondents are 59 people consisting of 21 parents, 18 alternative caregivers, and 20 children. In this research, the method for sampling used is *theoretical sampling* with which it was expected to be able to cover all correspondents needed. This type of sampling chosen is *nonprobability sampling*.

The technique to determine the correspondents based on the type of sampling chosen is by using *purposive sampling*. With this technique to determine the correspondents, it means that the correspondents are chosen based on the criteria which have been set namely parents who entrust their children for 5 hours a day and their kins live separately from the parents of the children. Based on such matter, there are 59 correspondents chosen consisting of 21 parents, 18 alternative caregivers, and 20 children.

The technique to collect the data used in this research is deep interview, observation, literature study, and documentation as well as secondary data collection. Participatory observation becomes a part of this research as it deems necessary to gather information more intensively and sustainable, so that implicit data can be obtained through deep interview.

Based on the classification of the role of participatory observation in this research, *participant as observer* is chosen. The activity performed in this participatory observation is involving themselves in various activities. The advantages of this participatory observation are to obtain sustainable information regarding the development of children, the issues, and measures

taken to handle them in which this kind of information often cannot be obtained through deep interview and documentary study.

The technique of data analysis which will be used in this research follows the analysis stages described by Ellen (in Neuman, 2006), consists of *sorting and classification*, *open coding*, *axial coding, selective coding*, and the last stage is called *interpretation and elaboration.* The four stages will be conducted to convert the *recorded data* and physical data gathered through experiences into data which have been selected and processed in the final report. Ellen (in Neuman, 2006) illustrated the analysis stages of the data as a part of the complete process of data processing namely raw data and experiences of the researcher (1) *recorded data* and physical data gathered through experiences (2) selected data and processed data in the final report (3**).**

Results of the Research

The *attachment* pattern between parents and children and between alternative caregivers and children is an image delivered in this research. It is deemed necessary considering that attachment pattern cannot be separated from childcare process and all its impacts on the development of the children. The concept of attachment which will be used shows that this research measures the fulfillment of children's needs and their development needs as well as the importance of this attachment pattern in creating a friendly chilcare for children, so that it can enhance the development of the children optimally. In this research, attachment is seen as the main ingredient in the development process of the children which significantly influences their self confidence, comfort of heart, and peace of mind. In connection with such matter, the illustration about the attachment pattern between parents and their children and the attachment pattern between alternative caregivers and the children are important things to be analysed in this chapter.

Based on field observation, the findings associated with interaction, response, closeness, emotional attachment between the parents or alternative caregivers with the children are various and unique. From this attachment pattern, it can also be identified the level of comfort of the children in interacting with their surroundings. It is in line with the statement from Mc Cartney and Dearing (2002) that *attachment* is a strong emotional bond developed by children through their interaction with their parents who have a special meaning in their lives. It usually means parents in a broader term

namely alternative caregivers.

Emotional attachment is an interaction involving sincere care which is mutual in nature and has a sustainable and long-lasting element.

Based on the process of this research, an important statement can be made that nurturing children is a noble work, no matter who does it. It is based on the importance to ensure the growth and development of children since they were born to becoming children with great quality.

We cannot perfunctorily nurture children at their early ages. Our biggest investment is to mold qualified children in the future by fulfilling their needs consistent with the development stages. Whatever the method, children must remain in childcare which prioritise the fulfillment of the needs properly and propotionallay.

In this research, children can build attachment not only with their parents, but also with their alternative caregivers. Children with working parents do not lose their childcare rights. In this situation, children have to experience childcare from caregivers other than their parents, so that children also feels attachment with their alternative caregivers.

Through this research, *attachment* is not something built naturally, but this emotional attachment must be built, fertilised, and developed continually, so that the atmosphere and attachment will color every step taken in nusrturing and fulfilling the needs of the development of children. It is necessary to underline considering that the fact in the field described through this research gives us the image which will make us aware of the matters in childcare.

Based on the quality of relationship between children and their caregivers, children will develop mental construction or internal working model concerning themselves and other people which will be the mechanism to assess the acceptance of environment. Children who feel confident of the acceptance of environment will develop secure attachment with their attached figures and develop trust with their mothers and environment. It will bring prositive impacts on the process of their development.

Several researches proved that children who have secure attachment will show good social competence during childhood (Both dkk in Parker, Rubin, Price, and DeRosier, 1995) and become more popular among their friends at pre-school (La Freniere and Sroufe in Parker dkk, 1995). These children are also more able to build intense friendship, harmonious interaction, active response, and are not dominant (Parke and Waters in Parker dkk,1995). While Grosman and Grosman (in Sutcliffe, 2002) finds that children with secure attachment

quality are able to handle difficult tasks and do not give up easily.

On the contrary, unpleasant childcare will make children mistrustful and develop insecure attachment. Insecure attachment can make children experience various issues called *attachment disorder*. It has been mentioned above that this attachment disorder occurs because children fail to build secure attachment with their attached figures. It will make children experience issues in their social relationship. Several researches show that children with attachment disorder have parents who also experienced the same issues in their childhood. It becomes a vicious circle if there is no change made.

Children who are confident of the acceptance of environment will develop secure attachment with their attached figures and develop trust with their mothers and environment. It will bring positive impacts in their developmental process. According to Bowlby (in Scarr, Weiberg and Levin, 1986) the subjects of the development of attachment in this research are children aged 4-5 years old who are in the partnership phase in which children start to understand how other people have different expectation and needs which they begin to take them into account. Linguistic ability helps children negotiate with their mothers or attached figures. Attachment makes children more mature in their social relationship. Bowlby named it *goal corrected partnerships*, which makes children more able to socialize with their peer and strangers.

Based on the matters in this research, an indicator to assess this attachment pattern is developed in which the pattern to express love and freedom to express discomfort which children feel is included. It is deemed necessary considering attachment is an emotional attachment which moves dynamically along the ages of children.

A*ttachment* pattern found illustrates the attachment pattern between children and their parents and or their alternative caregivers and the impact of vulnerability on the development of children.

Based on field observation, in this research, the typology of attachment between children, parents, and alternative caregivers is as follows:

1. Warm and Comfortable

The first type is warm and comfortable. This type is the type of attachment which is expected in which children and their parents as well as their kinship-based alternative caregivers are able to develop two-way emotional attachment and give very positive impacts on the development of children as well as serving as the medium of the parents and alternative caregivers to nurture children and fulfill their developmental needs.

This ideal condition is found in the field although only insignificant. It shows that this condition exists and can be built and developed in the kinship care. It is possible as the option to choose kins as alternative caregivers is an important step in which parents consider the needs of children and their comfort with their kinship-based alternative caregivers and the attachment between children and their kinship-based alternative caregivers.

2. Relaxed

This condition is found in the field with a bigger portion in which the habit found in this group of correspondents does not develop expressive and verbal attachment between children, parents, and kins. Children feel relaxed although they are too attached to their caregivers. Children still feel comfortable in performing daily activities. However, it is possible that the attachment between children, parents, and kinship-based alternative caregivers will always be develop inoptimally. They have each other understood what they feel without expressing it. In this type, parents and kinship caregivers basically understand the need of attachment and children also feel that they need it. This situation is a situation which can be rebuilt and redeveloped, so that ideal attachment can be built.

However, there is still a form of vulnerability existing in this typology that children actually need attachment as their extra energy to adapt more easily to their environment. Children will be slower in adaptation while their parents or alternative caregivers become more difficult to anticipate negative things which may occur to children and difficult to solve the issues of the children because the children are not open enough.

3. Restless

The attachment which is not comfortable enough has less portion. It is caused by mere casuistic condition in which children feel that their parents or kinship-based alternative caregivers give too much attention, so that children feel little uncomfortable to do activities as they always feel observed, prohibited although the intention and purpose are good according to their parents or alternative caregivers.

This condition is a condition which can be fixed thorugh a more intensive communication between children, parents, and kinship-based alternative caregivers, so that they can understand each other in order to create comfortable attachment.

This restless typology is caused by a mere casuistic condition in which children feel that their parents or alternative caregivers give too much attention, so that children feel a little uncomfortable to do activities since they always feel observed, prohibited although the intention and purpose are good according to their parents or alternative caregivers.

The vulnerability emerging in this typology is that children look hesitant in behaving, unfree to express their feeling or tell what they experience which make their parents and alternative caregivers difficult to anticipate negative things which may occur to children and difficult to solve the issues of the children since the children are not open enough.

Basically, this typology contains *anxiety* because children feel that their needs are not fulfilled due to the negligence or insentivity of the caregivers, so that children will often grow with lack of self confidence and mistrust to other people as well as becoming introvert. It opens an opportunity for the parents and alternative caregivers to consciously try to build attachment as the main ingredient in the process of childcare.

4. Cold and Uncomfortable

Cold and uncomfortable type is the most unideal type and contains vulnerability towards the failure to fulfill the needs of the development of children which is quite high. The results of field observation show that this condition occurs in the existing group of correspondents. It requires special attention considering that children at the ages of 4-5 years old are very easily molded, easily imitate and give advantage as they are able to communicate. In this matter, enough knowledge and skills are needed by their parents and alternative caregivers in order to build attachment and comfort in the daily lives of the children.

Unpleasant parents or caregivers will make children unconfident and develop insecure attachment which in this research is called *less comfortable* (Sroufe in Cicchetty and Linch, 1995). It becomes a warning to make a change as it will give bad impact on the children in the future.

Recommendation

The main focus in this research is to give illustration that the best place for childcare is inside family. Children have the rights to be reared in the family who love them sincerely and fulfill their rights and needs according to

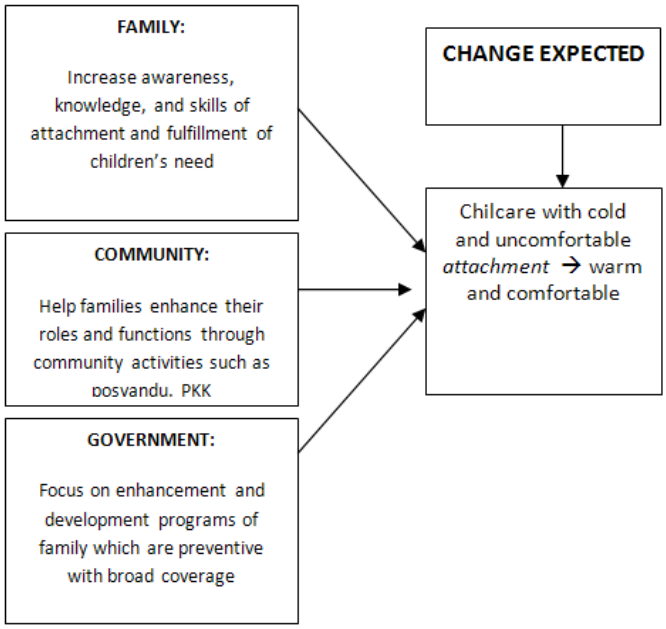
their development stages. In order to support this main focus, this research is directed to the aspects associated with kinship-based alternative childcare. The purpose of this research is to give illustration and analysis of the attachment pattern between children, parents, and kinship-based alternative caregivers.

Considering that kinship-based alternative childcare gives an important meaning that the best place for children is to be in their family and in connection with various constraints encountered by the correspondents in the field, efforts to strengthen family are needed in order to increase the capacity of family to nurture children whether biological children or children entrusted temporarily in kinship-based alternative childcare with the typology of childcare found in this research.

The key and expectation of this research are the existence of change in childcare behavior which is initiated by high awareness and commitment in the importance of early investment in children. In this matter, each party must participate actively in promoting the role of family by providing family with various knowledge, abilities, and skills in integral, planned, coordinated, and continual manners. The relevant parties in this matter are community and government. Community also holds an important role because families are among community and activities in community are considered easy and close to be performed.

Based on the findings in the field, family as the main target are demanded to consciously have commitment to add their knowledge and skills on attachment and fulfillment of children's needs. The increase of awareness is the first step in determining the next step. Moreover, community as a place where these families exist, are expecte to be dynamic media or vessel to help families enhance their roles and functions through community activities such as posyandu, PKK, etc. The activities in community hold important roles consideting that families are expected to be able to access these activities more closely and easily. Apart from community, government nationally is expected to prioritise the program focusing on family enhancement and development with preventive and promotive natures and broad coverage and range. The important thing in all of these programs is the sustainability and synergy of the programs, so that the main purpose which is childcare pattern change to ideal childcare can be realized systematically and integrally.

It can be outlined as follow:



This research is expected to be able to give encouragement effects for behavioral change of the family in childcare. In connection with it, in terms of awareness increase of the importance of childcare in family, especially kinship care as an option of some families in rearing their children, it is expected that central government in this matter the Social Ministry of the Republic of Indonesia creates family enhancement through childcare as the mainstream program to prevent children issues which are required to be followed up, so that various issues can be prevented and existing issues can be reduced the complexity. One of them is by preparing various materials for family enhancement to be spread, taught, and developed and by reaching out all classes of community.

Considering the urgency and limitation of various matters, government in this matter the Social Ministry of the Republic of Indonesia and regional government should equally collaborate with institutions/organization of child awareness whether national or international to hand in hand accelerate the movement and widen the coverage which give the opportunity to families to immediately be aware of and change their childcare pattern and create qualified children through significant investment which is conducted collaboratively.

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Social Work Professionalism Amid Its Conflicting Discourse and Opportunity for the Profession and for the Government. The Case of Malaysia and Its Implication for the ASEAN Region

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Abstract

Although social work is recognized internationally as both an academic discipline and a profession, the struggle of attaining professional status continues to be a never-ending task for the profession in many countries. Social work may have exhibited the essential professional characteristics yet it has not enjoyed a similar recognition as a profession from the public and the government. Furthermore, the role of the government in setting policy and granting legitimacy is critical in impelling the direction of the profession and its practices. Utilizing the concept of professionalism as a discourse of occupational change and control, this article attempts to explore, through literature review, how in Malaysia the appeal of a profession motivates social work community to continue finding ways to enhance it professional standings. In addition, two different forms of professionalism—occupational professionalism and organizational professionalism—will be used to examine how the profession and the government may have a different view of professionalism, and thus may differ in their

approaches to addressing the issues and the needs of professionalism. It seems that raising practice standards (organizational professionalism) is easier to be understood by the government than raising the professional status of social work (occupational professionalism). A better understanding of the different views of professionalism will not only be helpful for the profession to strategize its efforts in enhancing its professional standings locally, but also be valuable in improving social work services in the region through ASEAN Strategic Framework for Social Welfare and Development 2011-2015 and ASEAN Social Work Consortium and the like, where the stakeholders incorporate the profession, the academia, and the government.

Introduction

Although social work is recognized as both an academic discipline and a profession internationally, the struggle of attaining professional status continues to be a never-ending task for the profession in many countries (Dulmus & Sowers, 2012; Kunneman, 2005). In the West, particularly in the US and the UK, efforts have been made in different times to demonstrate that social work has progressed as a profession (Dulmus & Sowers, 2012; Greenwood, 1957; Ginsberg, 2005; Hugman, 1991; Popple, 1985; Staub-Bernasconi, 2009), or to a lesser extent, a semi-profession (Etzioni, 1969; Toren, 1972). Different scholars have also attempted to justify social work as a profession in different names and forms, for example as caring profession (Hugman, 1991); social welfare profession (Healy, 2009); authority-based profession (Gambrill, 2001); and human rights profession (Healy, 2008).

Problem Statement

In addition, tensions between social work and the government are not new in Western countries. They have been seen as a government's move to de-professionalize social work by letting non-social work professionals define key roles and requirements for training and process (Dominelli, 1996) and shifting professional work to specific managerial tasks that do not require professional qualification (Healy, 2009).

Nevertheless, the role of the government in setting policy and granting legitimacy is critical in impelling the direction of the profession and its practices (Evetts, 2013). Svensson and Astrom (2013), for example, highlight that the professionalization of social workers in Sweden has been highly

influenced and governed by the government. The government assigns specific tasks to social workers in the field of social regulation through legislation, thus the profession "are not only recognized by the state, they are formed by the state" (p.12).

Furthermore, today's modern welfare states said to combine both bureaucratic and professional control as professionalism in the public sectors were never really "pure" since settings such as welfare and housing are contested domains, and social work encounters ambiguity in both technical and ethic aspects (Noordegraaf, 2007). Thus, the two main theoretical framework of either the trait (or attributes) approach (see Greenwood, 1957; Wilensky, 1964) or the power (or control) approach (see Freidson, 1970 & 1986; Johnson, 1972), when used separately, may no longer sufficient in understanding the professionalism challenge of social work in current time.

Theoretical framework

Consequently, Evetts (2013) asserts that "it is necessary to try to understand how professionalism as normative value system and ideology is now being increasingly used as a discourse in modern organizations and other institutions and places of work as a mechanism to facilitate and promote occupational change" (p.788). She argued for analyzing the ideology of professionalism and the appeal of professionalism, shifting away from the analysis of profession and professionalization.

Evetts (2013) theorizes that there are two main ways in which professionalism is applied and used to benefit different groups. The first she terms "occupational professionalism" which incorporates professional values, collegial support, and authority, practitioner trust by both employers and clients, discretion and occupational control of the work which depend on a common and lengthy system of education and training, and guided by professional ethics monitored by professional associations. Occupational professionalism operates when the appeal to professionalism is made and used by the occupational groups (from within).

The second form of professionalism is termed "organizational professionalism" which integrates discourse of control used increasingly by managers in a work place, hierarchical structures of authority and decision making, standardization of work procedures, and external forms of regulation and accountability measures such as target-setting and performance review.

Organizational professionalism operates when the appeal to professionalism is being imposed "from above" by employers and managers to promote change and impose regulation of the practice.

Utilizing the concept of professionalism as a discourse of occupational change and control, this article attempts to explore how in Malaysia the appeal of a profession motivates social work community continues to find ways to enhance it professional standings. In addition, occupational professionalism (a discourse constructed within professional groups) and organizational professionalism (a discourse of control used by managers in work organizations) will be used to illustrate how the profession and the government can have a different view of professionalism, and thus may differ in their approaches to addressing the issues and needs of professionalism.

As this article is part of the author's on-going Ph.D. study based on literature reviews and also personal involvement in the professionalization project since 2009, the findings here are still inconclusive but trying to give some preliminary observations into how Evetts's thesis of occupational professionalism and organizational professionalism can be used to analyze the dynamics of social work professionalization in Malaysia, as well as its implication for current social work development in the region.

Social work in Malaysia

There is a close link between social work and social welfare in Malaysia as it was the British who introduced social welfare services and programs during the colonial period (Fuziah & Ismail, 2013; Sinnasamy, 2007). Social welfare cadets from Malaya at the time received their social work education in England, Australia, and many were later trained at the University of Singapore, formerly known as the University of Malaya. Subsequently, these pioneers were instrumental in charting the early development of welfare programs in the country (MASW, 2003; Fuziah & Ismail, 2013). The term "social welfare officer" which was used during the colonial time continues until today at the DSW (Fuziah & Ismail, 2013). All the laws related to social welfare services like Child Act 2001, Domestic Violence Act 1994, Persons with Disabilities Act 2008, Destitute Persons Act 1977, etc. put "social welfare officer" as the authorized personnel.

The Malaysian Association of Social Workers (MASW) was established in 1973. In 1975 the first local social work education program started at

Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM) (MASW, 2003; Fuziah & Ismail, 2013) and was the only program in the country for next two decades. The development of social work education at the universities intensified in the 1990s following the announcement of Vision 2020 as well as the establishing of new public universities in the 1980s and 1990s (Teoh, 2014). Today there are six public universities that offer social work degree. The increment of social work programs also led to the establishment of the National Joint Consultative Council on Social Work Education (NJCCSWE) in 2000. The objective of this grouping is to provide support to less experienced social work program to ensure quality and standardization of social work education in the country (Fuziah & Ismail, 2013).

Although social work education has managed to establish itself at the tertiary level, social work as a profession still faces a lot of challenges in the country (Ismail, 2011). For example, MASW and NJCCSWE have no jurisdiction to be an accrediting body for social work education, nor have any control over setting the employment criteria of qualified social workers in both the public and the nongovernmental sector (Teoh, 2014).

The National Competency Standards Project

The breakthrough came in 2004 when MASW and DSW embarked on a project to develop the national competency standards for social work practice with the assistance of Dr. Pauline Meemeduma, a social work consultant from Australia (Lee, 2011; Teoh, 2014). The draft national competency standards for social work practice was completed in 2005 and presented to the Minister of Women, Family and Community Development. It was later included in the 9th Malaysia Plan in 2006. From 2006 to 2008, under the guidance of Dr. Pauline and the funding from DSW, MASW conducted series of training on the Professional Accountable Practice (PAP) Model to social welfare officers, social welfare assistants as well as NGOs workers as an introductory practice framework of the competency standards (Lee, 2011; Teoh, 2014).

At the same time, after series of dialogue and discussion with various stakeholders, MASW realizes that the key to advance the social work profession in the country is through legislation. Working closely with DSW and other stakeholders including UNICEF Malaysia, a memorandum consisting six measures to enhance the social work profession which include establishing the National Social Work Competency Standards, enacting a Social Workers Bill,

establishing a national social work regulatory body, recruitment of qualified social workers, standardization of social work education and development of social work courses was submitted to the Cabinet through the Ministry of Women, Family and Community Development (Teoh, 2014). On 23 April 2010, the government approved the six measures (Proposed, 2010) and subsequently the Technical Committee to Improve Social Work Professionalism in Malaysia chaired by the Director General of Social Welfare was set up to work on these measures.

To date, while the Social Workers Bill is still work in progress (with it the establishment of a regulatory body), the recruitment of qualified social work graduates into social work positions have been given due attention by DSW and the Ministry of Health, and the National Policy and Educational Standards for Social Work Education which was presented to the Ministry of Higher Education in 2007 has also received the attention of the Malaysia Qualifying Agency (MQA) as reference for approving new social work program. However, both the recruitment and education criteria are still not mandatory pending the enactment of the Social Workers Act. Nonetheless, the training of competency standards in social work practice for social welfare officers is being implemented while the first phase of the pilot project for improving child protection has been completed early 2015, and subsequent training for child protection officers nationwide is ongoing.

Findings

First of all, the expansion of social work education in the country was not so much the drive "from within" the profession, but more "from above". Although the professional association (MASW) and social work education started in the 1970s, it took another 20 years for the second and third schools of social work to be established, mainly as a response to government's Vision 2020 of establishing a caring society. The objective of generating skilled manpower by the management of universities at that point was perhaps more of meeting organizational aspiration (organizational professionalism) than raising the professional standing of social work (occupational professionalism).

Second, the increment of social work graduates was not met with more employment of qualified social workers into public social services although many qualified social workers held key positions in DSW as the recruitment is done through the Public Service Commission. It was through the competency

standards project that MASW was commissioned to conduct a study on the qualification of social workers in the country in 2003 (MASW, 2004). When the study revealed that less than 10 percent of social workers in both public and non-government sectors have qualifications in social work, only then it managed to draw DSW and the Ministry's attention to address the capacity of its workforce (organizational professionalism), but not on how to enhance the profession (occupational professionalism).

Subsequently, it was also through the competency standards project that highlighted the gaps in competent social work practice and child protection work (occupational professionalism as the profession perceives competent practice as protection of the clients) that attracted the government to act as it meets the needs and objectives of service delivery (organizational professionalism). It took approximately five years after the start of the competency project that the profession (through its members holding key positions in DSW) to convince the Ministry to consider having a legislation to regulate social workers and its practice. That translated into a six-point memorandum that the Ministry forwarded to the Cabinet for approval in 2010.

Five years after the approval of the six-point memorandum, the Social Workers Bill is still pending as one state has rejected the idea. That has put the Bill on hold as the Ministry wants to ensure all states agree to it before further actions being taken. While the practitioners and academics look at the Bill as an essential to establish social work as a profession (occupational professionalism), the government is more concerned about the practicality and enforceability of the law once it is passed (organizational professionalism). However, that interval doesn't affect the training of the competency standards in social work practice to the social welfare officers. A group of practitioners and academics were trained as trainers and they were tasked to prepare lesson plans and teaching materials from 2011 to 2013.

The training of competency standards for social welfare officers started in 2014, and currently a group of them who are social work graduates and have gone through the competency training are being trained as trainers as well. Also, for the first time, supervision training was conducted in 2014 for senior social welfare officers as part of the plan of the competency standards project. Simultaneously, through the funding from UNICEF, MASW was commissioned to conduct series of competency standards training for children NGO workers.

Discussions

Evetts's thesis of occupational professionalism and organizational professionalism has shown some interesting indicators on how the professionalization and professionalism of social work in Malaysia particularly after 1990. From the examples above, it appears that raising practice standards as a way of improving service delivery (organizational professionalism) is easier to be understood and accepted by the authority than raising the professional status of social work (occupational professionalism). At the same time, while the aspiration and appeal to professionalism are somewhat different between the profession and the government, both parties found a common aim in raising the competency standards of social workers in the country which sparked the efforts in enhancing social work professionalism.

The Malaysia experience, to an extent, supports literature that highlighted government's significant influence and impact on shaping the profession (Evetts, 2003, 2013; Svensson and Astrom, 2013) and that the government may have different views on professionalism (Noordegraaf, 2007). Nevertheless, without a law that mentioned about social work, the professional body and academics have had difficulties in convincing the authority to give due recognition to the needs of the profession. In this regard, instead of being in a conflict situation, a better understanding of the different views of professionalism will be helpful for the profession to strategize its efforts to enhance better professional standings. It also pushes the profession to the forefront, working more closely with the authority in addressing service needs and gaps, and to gain the confident and trust of the public on the importance of social work.

In addition, Evetts's concept on professionalism can also be applicable to the current development of social welfare and social work in ASEAN. Since its inception in 1967, ASEAN has always been a regional platform mainly for and led by leaders and senior officers from its member states. It was after the idea of ASEAN Community that was endorsed by the leaders in 2003, and agreed in 2007 to establish the ASEAN Community by 2015, plus the ASEAN Charter came into force in 2008 that paved the way for several community building blueprints, one of which is the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC) Blueprint (ASEAN Secretariat, 2009 & 2012).

The ASCC Blueprint has specifically called for the establishment of an ASEAN Network of social workers by 2013, and an ASEAN Consortium of Social Welfare Practitioners, Educators and Schools of Social Work. In the 5th ASEAN

Senior Officials Meeting on Social Welfare and Development (SOMSWD), the resolution on the establishment of the ASEAN Consortium of Social Welfare Practitioners, Educators and Schools of Social Work (later referred as the ASEAN Social Work Consortium (ASWC)) was endorsed. In March 2011, the first ASWC Conference was held in Manila, Philippines. In August 2015, Thailand hosted the ASWC Conference in Phuket to follow up on ASWC Work Plan 2014-2015 and beyond, and also working on three areas: training courses, code of ethics and minimum standards on social work education for ASEAN.

In addition, one should never overlook how programs such as the ASEAN Work Program on Social Welfare, Family and Population (2003-2006), the ASEAN Strategic Framework and Plan of Action for Social Welfare, Family and Children (2007-2010), and the ASEAN Strategic Framework on Social Welfare and Development (2011-2015) have opened the doors for the participations of social work practitioners outside the government sector although they are still by and large government-led initiatives. Yet it demonstrates the concerns on services for vulnerable people like the older persons, children, and disabled persons has led to the discourse of capacity building of manpower in particular for social workers (organizational professionalism for the government and occupational professionalism for the profession). That enables social work practitioners in the government sector, the profession (through representatives from respective professional associations) and the social work educators to collaborate on both fronts—enhancing social welfare services and professionalism of social workers and social welfare practitioners.

Nevertheless, not all related ASEAN documents will make a mention of social work or social workers all the time. A good example is the latest ASCC Blueprint 2025 (ASEAN Secretariat, 2016) has no mention whatsoever on social worker but its deliberation on people engagement, inclusive community, sustainability, resilient, promoting human rights, social services, and social protection for various marginalized people are areas of concern and fields of practice for many social workers. It is, therefore, vital for the social work profession to keep up the pace with the global development like the United Nation Sustainable Development Goals and the Social Protection Floor, as well as to participate more actively through relevant government agencies and civil society organizations in regional meetings and forums to promote the significance of the profession.

Conclusions

The concept of professionalism as a discourse for occupational change in modern organizations by Evetts (2003, 2013) has provided a useful framework for understanding the development of social work professionalism in Malaysia. This article has managed to illustrate that different views on professionalism may not necessary be an obstacle to the profession in advancing its professional status. It is through the understanding of what the other stakeholders' view on professionalism that all relevant parties can work out suitable programs that can enhance the professionalism for the profession and the organizations.

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Social Relations of Young Students in Contemporary Urban Life in Vietnam: Meanings, Forms, and Possible Changes

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Abstract

Research on the value or the value orientation of social relations has become an interested subject in the interdisciplinary approach to social research. The study on the transformation of the social relationships of young people is deemed significant in establishing methods of intervention and interaction toward a better society. This work refers to the conceptual changes in the value of the social relations of and by the students during urbanization and urban life integration. It aims at identifying the different meanings and forms of the social relations among urban students. This paper is a part of the research project performed by Hanoi University of Social Sciences and Humanities since 2013, concerning the value of the lifestyle of today's students in Vietnam (those studying in Hanoi).

Keywords: Social Changes, Urbanization, Value, Lifestyle, Student, Vietnam

Introduction

The research on the value and value orientation, particularly on the value of social relations of young people are clearly identifiable in those contemporary works on lifestyle and youth studies (World Value Survey, 2001; Trusted 2002;

Nayak 2003; Marsiglio 2008). Research findings on value orientation of students, youth attitudes, and social relationship of young people from the perspectives of sociology, psychology, anthropology, law, and other social science disciplines have brought benefits to the creation of sustainable social development in the future (Zwordiak-Myers 2007). Thus, understanding the young people's current social relationship plays an important role in examining the societal life in the short future (Brake 1990). In light of such researches, a set of new perspectives and methods on calculating the scales of the value orientation and lifestyle were born, encouraging more students to participate (Hoelson & Stead 1998; Best 2007; Murphy, Ackermann & Handgraaf 2011). It means that owing to the student participation in the research process, the value orientations and social relations in their daily experiences are socially constructed and presented in different contexts. Such perspectives are known as the theoretical background of social constructionism for researching the youth in general and for their views on values and social relationship in particular (Kham 2013).

Recent researches in Vietnam—not so varied and plentiful in existence—focused more on the ideological and value education for the young people (Trần Kiều et al 2001); on value orientation of young people at different educational stages and levels (high school students or university students) or from various family conditions (those students from rural area and those from urban area) (Vũ Hào Quang 2000; Phùng Bích Thuỷ 2005; Phạm Tất Thắng 2009; Đào Thị Lan Hương 2010; Lâm Thị Sang 2012; Vũ Thị Phương Lê 2012), on the community cohesion in the urbanization process (Kham 2015), or on the different aspects of the lifestyle of young students in Vietnam (TƯ Hội Sinh viên Việt Nam 2007, Lê Văn Hảo 2004). We found those aforementioned researches have covered a comprehensive aspect, but almost always, conducted through general approach, bringing up general voice rather than a specific voice of students. In additions, we've been lacking in research on value changes of students in the globalization and urbanization, as well as in the social and economic integration since the Doi Moi (economic reform) in Vietnam. So, to fill such a gap, this paper, as a part of the Research Project on "Current situation and trend on value orientation of university students in Vietnam, Supported by Vietnam National University-Hanoi", aims at identifying the changes of values on the social relationship of students in the urban life of Hanoi. The relationship of students is conceptualized mainly on the individual affairs in educational contexts.

Research methods

As a part of the research project funded by Vietnam National University-Hanoi titled "Changes of values in the student life: A study in Hanoi, Vietnam" (2013-2016), this paper applies interdisciplinary theoretical perspectives to give a comprehensive analysis of value changes of a student's current urban lifestyle. Researching social relations is an aspect of this project. And the research is driven by social constructionism with further focuses on the meaning of social problems, which are acknowledged, understood, and analyzed by such actors in their daily life experiences (Kham, 2013). So, it is required to understand ways to formulate social relations by students through their daily experience contexts, from their awareness, their knowledge, and their daily interactions and practices. The research topic is based on the daily experiences, using the students' own voice about their attitude, knowledge, and practices on value orientations in various life contexts, focusing mainly on the studying context. As results, the student values on the social relationship are constructed, and the meanings of social relationships are generated throughout their daily interactions with other students. So, the symbolic interactionism is applied as a theoretical approach, while other theoretical perspectives are incorporated to examine their living conditions which have made impacts on the changes of their lifestyle.

The paper applies the following research methods:

a. Document analysis: this method is carried out by reviewing recent works of literature covering the value and lifestyle among students, aiming at analyzing the existed policy documents on the value and moral education for students in Vietnam in the early twentieth century. This method contributes to the qualitative data, literature review, and theories for the research;
b. Sociological methods: this method serves as the main tools for surveying the presentations of values on the contemporary lifestyle of students in Vietnam. This method is comprised of observation and survey to identify the student baseline issues related to value in lifestyle. It contributes to the quantitative data of the research, which is useful for presenting an overview picture of the research topic. Sample and participants are selected randomly, but only from among universities in Hanoi with equal distribution of gender, institutions, the level of study and age groups.

Table 1: Research sample

Main indicators	n = 410
Gender	N=400
□ Male	35.8% (143)
□ Female	64.2% (257)
Religious background	N=410
□ No answers	10.7% (44)
□ None	84.2% (345)
□ Buddhism	2.2% (9)
□ Christians	2.9% (12)
Studying levels	N=322
□ First year	12.8% (41)
□ Second year	19.6% (63)
□ Third year	26.2% (84)
□ Fourth year	23.1% (75)
□ Graduated/employee	18.3% (59)
Age-groups	N=410
□ Under 23	40.5% (166)
□ Above 23	59.5% (244)
□ Youngest age	18
□ Oldest age	29

Findings

This paper analyses the meanings and construction of social relationship in the students' daily life from five different aspects: (a) meanings of social relationship/friendship, (b) current status of friend-making, (c) views on identities of friendship relations, (d) social trust of social relationship, and (e) overview statements on social relationship.

1. Meanings of social relationship/friendship

The first focus of this paper relates to how students understand the meanings of social relationship which is a background for initial awareness about the relationship prior to analyzing the impacted factors, influenced factors, or inter-assessment on the friendship and social relationships. This assessment is developed and designed by observing seven indicators:

Table 2: Meanings of friendship (%)

Indicators	*%*	*Male*	*Female*
Making a reputation	4.8	5.6	4.3
Avoiding loneliness	20.3	18.2	21.5
Becoming the true protector	25.1	23.1	26.2
Being mutual economic support	25.3	34.3	20.3
Reliance on in case of need	29.1	35.0	25.8
Learning mutual supports	77.4	76.9	77.7
Sharing happiness and boredom	88.7	83.9	91.4

The students highly appreciate the role of friendship as a means of sharing difficulties, boredom, and happiness both in their daily life and in their academic life. They regard "mutual support" and "sharing happiness and boredom" higher than they do "mutual economic support". "Making a reputation" is not highly valued by the students, with only 4.8% students think it to be meaningful. A recent research shows that social capital, social network, social interaction, and social relationship are recognized as a form of human resources which compel individuals to develop mutual supports. It is a valuable resource for contemporary systematic approach and for community development.

Meanwhile, the statistic value of these indicators according to Cronbach's Alpha[1] is 0.570, meaning that these indicators are significant and applicable to further analysis.

Taking genders into account, we find that female students concern more about feelings, loving, sharing, and supporting, while male students favor making a reputation, reliance, and mutual economic supports.

2. Inclination to friend-making

Moving forward from findings in the previous section, this paper also presents indicators of a contemporary tendency toward making friends. This

1 Cronbach's alpha is a measure of internal consistent that is, how closely related a set of items is as a group. It is considered to be a measure of scale reliability. A "high" value for alpha does not imply that the measure is uni-dimensional. If, in addition to measuring internal consistency, you wish to provide evidence that the scale in question is uni-dimensional, additional analyses can be performed. Exploratory factor analysis is one method of checking dimensionality.

tendency covers all forms of friend-making among high school students. However, this paper only focuses on the friend-making during their urban life as students:

Table 3: Inclinations to friend-making among students (%)

Indicators	*%*	*Male*	*Female*	*Under graduate*	*Graduate*
Fewer friends	56.2	47.6	61.1	57.4	45.8
More friends	15.2	20.3	12.5	14.1	27.1
Hesitate in making friends	33.7	39.9	30.7	39.9	30.7
Friendship is not the same as in the high school	52.0	46.9	54.9	55.9	44.1

The table above shows how friend-making patterns are related to educational level. As much as 56.1% of the students have "fewer friends" in the university than they did in high school, and 52.0% of them say "friendship is not the same as in the high school". Up to one-third of students are "hesitating on making friends" in the new educational settings. So it is obvious that in university, students tend to form a more specific team and groups based on their common interests or backgrounds, such as characteristics (common preference) or geographical variable (from the same hometown).

Regarding the statement "fewer friends", female students exhibit a higher rate (61.4%) against their opposite gender (47.6%). Meanwhile, undergraduates also show a higher percentage than graduate students do. With Chi-square's value of 0.006 between the two genders for "fewer friends" statement, it is confirmed that the relationship between variables is close. The students tend to have fewer friends now than they did a decade ago.

3. Important degree of friendship characteristics

Ten characteristics are given in this research, as presented in table 4. "Loyalty" and "mutual respect" are highly valued characteristics among students, nearly reaches the mean value of 5 or "very important". Meanwhile, responses to "personality harmony", "sharing", "outspoken" score only around the important level, and the mean value of "making concessions", "taking care of", "material supports" are measured at around and above the average level. However, students do not appreciate greatly "generosity", as its mean value is the lowest among ten given indicators. The mean value also differs among the

gender and age groups as follows:

Table 4: Friendship characteristics (mean value[2])

Characteristics	*Total*	*Male*	*Female*	*Under 23 years old*	*From 23 years old*
Personality harmony	4.17	4.02	4.26	4.30	3.98
Loyality	4.49	4.34	4.58	4.56	4.39
Mutual respects	4.39	4.26	4.47	4.46	4.28
Having concessions	3.69	3.66	3.72	3.70	3.67
Outspoken	3.98	3.97	4.00	3.99	3.96
Mutual material supports	3.18	3.27	3.11	3.13	3.25
Sharing	4.08	3.90	4.17	4.13	4.00
Having a championship	3.24	3.93	3.16	3.22	3.27
Taking care of	3.63	3.47	3.72	3.69	3.55
Generous	2.87	2.92	2.84	2.86	2.87

The female students tend to regard almost all indicators higher than male ones do, with the exception of mutual material supports, generosity, and possessing a championship. Meanwhile, those students in the older group demonstrate their tendency toward generosity, championship, and mutual material supports. These indicators are well designed in this research, resulting a significant degree of Cronbach's Alpha of 0.625, meaning it is eligible to have the exploratory factor analysis – EFA in SPSS. The outcomes from EFA show that there are two separate groups of these indicators as shown in table 5:

Table 5: EFA of friendship characteristics

Indicators/factor loadings	*Group 1*	*Group 2*
Loyal	.856	
Mutual respects	.843	
Personality harmony	.682	
Sharing	.594	

2 Mean value is measured by the 5 Likert scales, the meaning of each scale is calculated based on the formula as (5-1)/5 = 0.8. So, the mean value from 1 to 1.80: not very important, from 1.81 to 2.60: not important, from 2.61 to 3.40: average, from 3.41 to 4.20: important, and above 4.21: very important.

Having concessions	.593	
Outspoken	.563	
Generous		.810
Having champions		.780
Mutual material support		.760
Taking care of		.553
Mean	*4.1453*	*3.2511*
KMO	*.831*	
Average Variance Extracted	*56.5%*	
Barlett Test Significant	*0.000*	

Group 1 comprises characters related to loyalty, harmony, share-out, concessions, and outspokenness, while the second group has four other indicators of material support. The further analysis of mean value for each group also shows a higher meaning of group 1. The male students score a higher mean value for group 2 compared to female students, and the opposite happens to group 1. It is found that gender difference plays a significant role when it comes to making friends.

4. Student responses to the trustworthiness of social relationship

This question is posed to evaluate the students' trustworthiness in a social relationship in contemporary life: Are the students trustful to the current social relationship? Researching trust/belief has become an important research topic for sociological researchers. Besides, trustworthiness is an important factor for individuals in making both social network and social capital.

Table 6: Trustworthiness in social relationships/friendship of students (%)

In general, do you agree that almost all people are believable?	*%*	*Male*	*Female*	*Under 23 years old*	*From 23 years old*
Almost people are believable and trustful	25.7	33.3	21.8	21.9	34.0
To be careful of	63.0	59.3	68.2	67.6	60.0
Do not know	13.5	13.9	10.4	9.0	12.8

Two-third of students do not completely believe in the social relationship. Female students, and those under 23, tend to be more careful in communicating and making contact compared with their male counterparts and those 23 years old or more.

Another question raised in this research is "Are you being treated with a good attitude or being abused in your social relationship?"

Table 7: Evaluation about trustworthiness on friendship and social relationship (%)

Are you being treated with good attitude or being abused in your social relationship?	%
They abused me	32.2
They treated with good attitudes	39.8
Do not know	29.5

Along with such relationships, this research also identifies the wide range of indicators around the risks and opportunities of being abused or well-treated. Responses by students show no contrast between these indicators. It confirms their hesitation in responding to these indicators.

5. Evaluation of social relationship

Broadening the meanings of social relationship, this paper identifies the general indicators of student responses to the human relationship in daily life. The initial findings are presented in the following table:

Table 8: General evaluation on social relationship (%)

Your point of view about social relationship?	%
In order to have good human relationship, it is important to understand other interests	59.0
In order to have a good relationship, it is important to present his/her own interests	23.8
Do not know	19.0

To create the best background for a sustainable and cohesive relationship, this research also points out the students' opinion on their relationship's

background. Their responses also show that individual relationship is built more on the basis of mutual interests/understanding (59%) than on the basis of individual interests (23.8%).

This paper also examines the young students' opinion on befriending various types of neighbors:

Table 9: Selecting friends in the community life (%)

Which people that you don't want them to be your friend/neighbor?	%
Criminals	54.2
Religious	43.0
Immigrants	39.4
People with HIV	57.2
Drug abusers	57.4
Lesbian/gays	57.4
People with disabilities	44.3

This paper shows that the likelihood of immigrants becoming neighbors is higher than that of drug abusers, lesbians/gays, or people with HIV. And these latter groups are even less desirable than people with disabilities and people from other religious backgrounds.

Discussions

This paper focuses on the evaluation of meanings and forms of social relationships in the whole context of a student's lifestyle in contemporary urban life. In light of the five sections presented above, we now have some implications and further explanations as follows:

Social relationship is highly valued by students—far higher than mere economic value—and plays an important part in their life. A social relationship among students is known as social capital.

Students, in general, see loyalty, mutual respect, and personality harmony as having a great value. Female students pay more attention to factors relating to loyalty and respect; while male students show favor to material factors. Students under 23 years old appreciate the significance of both character groups. It means that age group or life experiences in urban life bring a great

impact on friend-making in contemporary life.

Students tend to establish a friendship on the basis of mutual interests, similar economic condition, and outspokenness rather than on the basis of individual interests. Other personal characters are also highly evaluated and appreciated.

Despite having a wider relationship, many students tend to build more relations based on the mutual interests and they express their carefulness in making a social contact. That is how many aspects of making and sustaining a social relationship help to transform the power of social relationship into a social capital.

Conclusions

This paper only focuses on the identification of the main aspects related to the meaning of social relationship and friendship among students in the urban life in Vietnam, which have been affected by urbanization and globalization. Social relationship is shaped from various backgrounds and characteristics, and there is a clear tendency among the students to establish a relationship on the basis of their mutual interests and conditions. The students regard social relationship and friendship as high in value, giving positive feedbacks and responses to the basic characteristics of social relations. Now, with the emergence of online social media and virtual friends, selecting friends has become more pragmatic. These latest implications and signs are crucial for policy analysts, educators, and social organizers since they must orient young students in Vietnam to get a comprehensive set of social values.

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