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DRAMA OF AVANGERS IN TIME CAPSULE AS PRACTICE OF POLITIC-CULTURAL REPRESENTATION (Cultural Appropriation or Cultural Appreciation?)

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ABSTRACT

At the inauguration of Time Capsule in Merauke, Mrs. Iriana have carried a Papuan child on her back while stepping on the place where all hopes and dream of Indonesia children kept until 2085 to be opened. She then obtained many compliment from people across the islands of Indonesia. People looked it as a form of empathy for Papuan's problems. Actually, what Mrs. Iriana did was political communication through practice of cultural representation. Her performance on that event was then framed as a cultural appreciation for Papuan culture and also become message for Papuan that she understand and have big empathy for Papuan problem. Yet, as we see in this Paper, I problematize the claim about this frame through theory of Eating the Other from Bellhook. Eating the Other as negative model of dominative culture adopting sub-ordinate culture. By adopting element of sub-ordinate culture, the dominant can gain control to reproduce meaning of cultural codes and political representation at the politic stage. The control is by absorbing the sub-ordinate culture (assimilation) and removal subject of culture sub-ordinate in the public area. In this case, eating the other is operationalized through cultural appropriation as an oppositional form of cultural appreciation. Cultural appropriation can be detected when someone who practice of cultural representation of other's culture does bias of knowledge, values and socio-historical context where this culture come from. By this false practice of cultural representation, someone falls into an imaging merely without any substance. Even, it can be seen as humiliate for people who have that culture. In the other words, this is a bad practical of political representation at the politic stage and this is fatal for political communication as a whole.

Keyword : *Eating the Other, Practice of Cultural Representation, Cultural Appropriation, Political Representation, Mrs. Iriana, Papuan Mothers.*

Background

On November 16, President Jokowi arrived in Merauke to inaugurate Kapsul Waktu, a building complex set up to save the aspirations and hopes of Indonesian children. The capsule itself will open in 2085 later. Because the architect resembles the Avengers headquarters when viewed from above, this building was later better known as the Marvel comic fiction building (“tren sosial,” n.d.). By looking at President Jokowi’s work agenda, his arrival in Merauke is only for transit before heading to Port Moresby to attend the APEC Summit.

What is interesting about this event is how Jokowi and Mrs. Iriana conduct political communication with the people there using the cultural codes of the Papuans (Merauke). When going to the time capsule (which was in the middle of the building), Mrs. Iriana carried a Papuan child dressed in traditional Papuan clothing. While climbing a total of 150 steps and surrounded by Paspamres and Jokowi, Mrs. Iriana seemed to do it with a happy face and occasionally did not hesitate to smile at the people of Merauke who came to the ‘Avengers Headquarters’.

It is interesting that the method carried out by her reaped a lot of flattery and sympathy not only by people in Merauke, but also throughout Indonesia. Although the method of carrying a child on the back shoulder is a common practice for many people (especially mothers) throughout Indonesia, but in the Papuan context this has its own value.

A mother carrying a child on the back shoulder is not common in Papua (only under certain conditions), even though it is commonly done by men. We will only see a Mama Papua carrying a child on her back when she wants to go to the garden or go home from the garden (working). The reason she is carrying a child behind (or being pushed over) is because it is the remaining space in his body when both his hands and Noken (Papuan Traditional Bags) are filled with garden produce (Tubers or Sago), pets (Dogs or Pigs) and working tool. Carrying a child on a back shoulder means an affirmation of tireless (unpaid) work by a Papuan mother to continue to guarantee the availability of food for both her children and her husband. Carrying a child is also a sign of affection for a Mama Papua who does not have to stop (pause) just because she has to work. The values of the spirit of life, hard work, family loyalty and unlimited love are shown by a Mama Papua when she is carrying her child on the back shoulder. One more thing that this phenomenon is rarely witnessed in urban places in Papua, but in the villages and inland of Papua.

This message is what intended to adopt as well as delivered by Mrs. Iriana when she holds a Papuan child on her shoulders. she takes culture (carrying children on his shoulders) that has specific values in Papua and then becomes a tool of political communication with the people who witness it. Mrs. Iriana took the form of a Mama Papua who lives in villages or inland areas who are keep working to ensure that the country’s needs are met. By this way, she identified herself as a Mama Papua, thus took suffering experiences of the Papuan mothers who in the highest percentage, lived in villages and inland areas.

The question is whether Mrs. Iriana is sensitive to the fundamental problems that are faced daily by Papuan mothers in the villages / hinterlands? This is critical question, because if she fails to understand it but then practice it as a confirmation that she understands, then the political drama will only be seen as a form of imaging without any substance. In other words, this is a form of cultural representation practice in political communication that falls

into cultural appropriation as it was criticized by Bell Hook when she spoke in the context of *Eating the Others*.

Method of Deconstruction

Method of deconstruction is a method to analyze texts that is deemed as a taken for granted or naturalized concept and practices. Similiar to semiotics, it is interested in uncovering the binaries that underpin the language and culture we use to make sense of reality. Semiotics works to expose the values embedded in relatively apparent binaries, such as Bond versus the Villain (Bennett and Woollacott, 1987), that interlace cultural texts. Somewhat differently, deconstruction aims to destabilize binaries by unravelling the way in which binaries render the other side of the equation invisible and natural. An example would be Said's (1995[1978]) analysis of the way in which nineteenth-century discourses on 'the Orient', as irrational, despotic and erotic, first and foremost, work to construct the selfidentity of 'the Occident' as rational, democratic, and puritan – a benchmark against which all peoples should be measured (Sauko, 2003, pp. 135–136).

In case of this paper, the first step to do is use semiotic to excavate cultural codes that is embedded in Papuan culture and how it is practiced by Mrs. Iriana. By semiotic analysis we would know the message of political communication through cultural practices on the political stage of Mrs. Iriana to the people. Furthermore, we also would know the derivation between the values or the meaning of cultural codes and the practice its self that was performed by Mrs. This derivation was stabilized by media framing because of the political power of Mrs. Iriana herself as the first lady. This stabilization then destabilized by deconstruct the univocality of the cultural practice and the meaning of cultural codes. This method unclose any interpretations about cultural practice (which is political practice) and so open up the diversity of meaning making without losing of its context.

Theoretical Review

The concept of Eating The Other 'Bell Hook

Eating the Other is a concept offered by Bellhook to see the sustainability of white imperialism towards non-white nations. She termed it the Imperialism White Supremacist Capitalist Patriarchy. This concept is also a continuation of Said's postcolonialism thinking about Orientalism where Said mentioned that Western superiority was sustained by the East. In order to form a hierarchical structure of binary opposition, the East must be distinguished (Othering). It is this political policy that makes the East inferior, irrational, backward, poor, ignorant, lazy and all opposition built to sustain Western superiority (Hook, Bell, 1992, p. 30).

This post-colonialism era, white supremacy continued with the way Bellhook called *Eating the Other*. She gave the metaphor of the non-white people as a spices which was added to the food of the white people to taste delicious when eaten. According to Bellhook, this is the way the white people maintain their dominance and hegemony after colonialism. What is eaten is a non-white culture so that even if it exists and is different, it still does not endanger the hegemonic position of the white people. Furthermore, by departing from her Metaphor, Bellhook also believes that this metaphor shows that Othering is not just for

purification, but also that this is an expression of the whims of the white people towards the culture of the non-white nation. This desire was also driven by what Bellhook called the Crisis of Identity in the white nation itself. This crisis itself can be seen as a saturation of their own culture so that in such a situation it could potentially lead to the stagnation of white cultural development. For this reason, by eating the culture of non-white nations (in the context of the United States is adopting Black Culture), the culture of white people is no longer bland, but rich in taste (Hook.Bell, 1992, pp. 30–31).

The question then is whether adopting a non-white culture will potentially endanger their traditional 'culture' (identity) so that it will change the representation of their cultural faces? Bellhook believes that this will not happen because what is done in the Eating the Other process is an act of Cultural Appropriation. This term is often used in confusion with the Cultural Appreciation term.

Discussion

Cultural Appropriation & Cultural Appreciation

Cultural Appropriation is a term that refers to the adoption of several minority cultural elements by a dominant culture whose use is biased towards knowledge, values and the socio-cultural context of minority cultures. This biased minority culture adoption practice ultimately makes it meaningless (AIHFS, 2017, pp. 3–4).

In the context of cultural appropriation, the objects and cultural traditions of Minority (made for) are seen by dominant culture as something exotic and desirable. This is what constitutes resources that will later be extracted and then commodified as cultural commodities by the dominant group. Cultural appropriation can also be seen as a form of assimilation because once the marginal culture is adopted by the dominant culture it merges into one with that culture. In practice, this condition will intentionally or unintentionally lead to the removal of the owner's cultural subject in public representation spaces (AIHFS, 2017, p. 33). It is not surprising that Cultural Appropriation is a form of remedial as well as the will to incite minority cultures without (with little) political will to correct the imbalance of cultural relations due to the imbalance of power relations in the social structure of society. Thus, Cultural Appropriation operates in a lame social structure where the dominant culture takes some minority cultural elements and makes it their culture (*Assimilation*) and at the same time removes the identity of the owner of the culture. This is what makes cultural appropriation often seen as the practice of the dominant power to continue to maintain the imbalance of cultural, social, economic and political relations in order to continue to dominate the sub-ordinate (minority) group. In other words, cultural appropriation in this case is a manifestation of eating the other according to Bellhook.

Whereas Cultural Appreciation is the opposite. In this context, the introduction of other cultures must be based on the basis of self-reflection as part of an effort to understand it. In addition, context is the most emphasized thing. Appreciation of a different culture must be seen also with sensitivity to various socio-historical aspects of different cultures. Cultural Appreciation base is self reflection and contextual without dominating motives for assimilation (eating the other) as in the context of Cultural Appropriation (AIHFS, 2017, p. 33).

Both cultural appropriation and cultural appreciation are actually practices of representing culture or certain cultural experiences by foreigners (outsiders / people who do not own the culture) to insider culture. Indeed there is debate at the philosophical level in looking at the practice of cultural representation. Both of these practices depart from the essentialist assumption of culture where culture is considered to have originality and practices that cannot be changed in its material or modified in its values. Originality as the main point relates to cultural appropriation, because it relates to the linearity of values, knowledge and the socio-historical context of the culture appropriated. This practice of representation that is biased in value and knowledge and socio-historical context is what Bellhook says falls in the Cultural Appropriation.

Cultural appropriation as a bad form of cultural representation stems from the etymology of the word itself where appropriation comes from the Latin 'Appropriare' which means "to make one's own," a combination of "ad, meaning 'to,' with the notion of 'rendering to , 'and proprius,' own or personal. In other words, in the practice of cultural appropriation there is a motive for mastering because it has the desire to have personally. Furthermore, in Foucaultian's view of social discourse as a system of public regulation which was then applied by Said in his monumental work 'Orientalism', the production of cultural meanings took place through appropriation of the 'other' (appropriation the other). This appropriation then goes on to representation (with the removal of the subject of the culture owner) to fulfill the desires and consolidation of the power of the dominant group. In other words, cultural appropriation cannot simply be seen as a form of appreciation of culture through the practice of mere cultural representation, but this is a model that is often used to perpetuate cultural inequality so that the dominant group can control the production of cultural meanings and political representation of minority groups in public area(V, 2002, pp. 2–3).

This view received sharp criticism from existentialist philosophy that questioned the originality of a culture. Existentialism views culture as something that is moving, dynamic and has no beginning and starting point. From this point of view, we can understand that there is no such thing as bias in value or knowledge in the practice of cultural representation. On the contrary, there are only modifications and dynamics of the development of the adaptation of the culture.

Nevertheless, the existentialism view is not enough to explain the phenomenon of rejection of minority groups whose culture is adopted by dominant culture. This factor departs from empirical facts about the imbalance of power relations which marginalizes the position of the sub-ordinate cultural group. With inequality in the social, economic, political and even cultural fields, their culture was adopted, commodified by the dominant group for profit purposes. While they themselves experience cultural assimilation with little or no benefit from the commodification of the culture(Mathes, Hatala, 2016). For this reason, Young, as articulated by Erich Mathhel, explained that cultural appropriation does not rely on essentialism or cultural existentialism, but on socio-political moral factors.

Furthermore, in Young's view, cultural appropriation can be seen subjectively from the point of view of certain norms and can be viewed objectively from a certain esthetic perspective. He then proposed several main factors to consider whether a cultural

representation practice could be considered a cultural appropriation or not. They are (Young, 2000, pp. 301–302) :

- a. Material Appropriation
- b. Non-Material Appropriation
- c. Stylistic Appropriation
- d. Motive Appropriation
- e. Subject Appropriation

Material Appropriation relates to the transfer of certain cultural objects from certain members of the culture to other members of the culture. Furthermore, Non-Material Appropriation relates to the reproduction of works of art (such as saga, musical compositions and traditional dramas) that are carried out by groups from different cultures. Meanwhile, Stylistic Appropriation is related to the adoption of certain cultural elements which are then used to make styles in artwork. While Motive Appropriation relates to the motives contained in a particular cultural art work. In motive appropriation, someone just adopts the motives or spirit of the artwork without adopting the style. Finally, Subject Appropriation is simply understood as an act of representing a subject or a certain aspect of another person's culture (Young, 2000).

Furthermore, the practice of representing culture in a political context is political representation itself. It's about how cultural representations are displayed on the political stage. Political imagery displayed through cultural robes The aim is always to have political communication on the image of certain political entities such as countries or interest groups. However, how do we understand the representation itself?

Political Representation & Political Communication

According to the Oxford dictionary, representation has two meanings namely Talking About (Speaking about) and Standing for (Stand for). The first definition explains the position of the repressor as the third party describing the representation. An example is when someone talks about the X. Other people know the X from the narrator who narrates the subject X. While the second definition refers to the second party that represents which is represented (changing position) or it is a symbol of what it represents.

Furthermore, using the semiotic Saussure and Discursive Foucault approach, Stuart Hall provides three types of approaches to understanding a representation. The basis of this approach is the language that forms meaning. They are a Reflective approach, an Intentionality approach, and a Constructivist approach. Reflective approach means understanding the meaning that has been attached to or existing on a particular object. While the Intentionality approach is an approach to get meaning from the meaning maker (writer, painter and songwriter). While the constructive approach is an approach that understands meaning constructed by discursive language (Hall, 1976, pp. 15–16). This means that the formation of meaning is no longer attached to the object of representation or depends on the repressor but is formed by the person who sees the object and how he/she understands it based on knowledge and discourse in society. This understanding is in line with the discourse analysis approach about language as a representation medium where representation refers to the language used in a text or speaking to give meaning to the group and social practice

and their social conditions. In this context, political communication through the practice of cultural representation as 'language' is a vital factor to consider.

From a discourse analysis approach that is based on meaning construction through language, political communication is not understood conventionally as a form of monological action / direction in the sender-message-receiver where the message and meaning are tied to the communicator. This model as part of reflective and intentionality approachment. This old view has been largely abandoned because it rejects the assumption that the recipient of the message is passive. For this reason a new view which then appears to schematize the flow of communication is more contextual. The flow is production, circulation, distribution / consumption, reproduction. The important thing in this communication chain is that in the consumption phase before distribution and reproduction there is an articulation process. This phase makes reproduction of meaning not always in accordance with what the messenger means. Here, the recipient of the message is active in shaping the meaning of the message. The ability of message recipients who can actively articulate the meaning of messages freely / differently because the interpretation of the text depends on the stock and cultural knowledge of social codes in a particular society. In this view, meaning is an unstable domain of contestation, and not a definite language product that has stopped.

So, if we connect the practice of cultural representation as a biased practice of political representation, we can understand Young's view that such practices fall on the cultural appropriation because the meaning of practice is the construction of discursive language. This is no longer a matter of subjectivity or objectivity from the standpoint of morality and aesthetics, but rather how discursively the meaning of cultural representation on the political stage is constructed. Furthermore, because it is an arena of contestation discourse, there is a dynamic between the dominant forces and the sub-ordinates who struggle to compete for the meaning of cultural representation practices. In other words, the responses of the owners of minority cultures (read: sub-ordinate) that were adopted were factors that could not be annulled whether a cultural representation practice could be regarded as a cultural appreciation or cultural appropriation. If there is a feeling of dissatisfaction or criticism of the way a person adopts a cultural element, then it can be considered a cultural appropriation. If there are no complaints about this action, then it can be considered as a cultural appreciation.

For example, a world fashion event involving the Dolce & Gabana in Shanghai last year. In the promotional video, there is an Asian model who is struggling to eat Italian food with Chinese chopsticks. This video then received strong protests from users of Weibo social media accounts because they were considered racist towards Chinese people. According to them, the narrative that was built shows that the Asian model is representing a low-cultural society while using chopsticks (eating utensils considered outdated) to eat Italian food (which is thought to be the world's food icon) ("dituduh-rasis-peragaan-busana-dolce-gabbana-batal," n.d.). It appears that the Dolce & Gabana as a dominant class in the East-West discourse did cultural appropriation by using Asian women and chopsticks to show and affirm the superiority of Western culture. Although the organizers and fashion house of Dolce & Gabana dismissed this accusation, the contestation for the construction of meanings about cultural representation practices by Asian models that ate Italian food using Chopsticks was won by Weibo netizens, most of whom were Chinese.

In the context of a multi-cultural country such as Indonesia, for example, this practice is vital to show national political identity which, although diverse in ethnicity, culture and language, still has a single representation on the international political stage. The problem is that certain cultural representations (in this case minority cultures such as Papua) do not always reflect sensitivity to the values, knowledge and socio-historical situation of the community where the culture grows and develops. Sometimes there are distances even in certain cases not substantive and only images are shown. In the end, this action falls on the image only when what is displayed is far different from the actual reality. This example can be seen in several television and film programs that represent (construct) certain ethnic identities and cultures (eg Papua) in Indonesia. Although sometimes the intentions are sincere and kind, not all people who (feel) have an identity or culture can accept how they are represented through the media.

The next example is the Government's cultural diplomacy in the South Pacific. Cultural diplomacy in the South Pacific is a practice of cultural / political representation in the South-South framework. Cultural diplomacy in the South Pacific as a soft power approach is a very important agenda considering that this region is a major supporter of the Papuan Self-Independence movement from Indonesia. This diplomacy aims to provide information about the Government of Indonesia's affirmative policy towards Papua such as the provision of Special Autonomy and Acceleration of Development through Infrastructure projects. In addition, in this cultural diplomacy also, the Indonesian government provided technical assistance to the countries in the South Pacific region including giving permission to them to visit Papua (Tampubolon, 2015). To legitimize this event, usually students from Papua who are studying overseas (such as in New Zealand and Australia) would get involved. Furthermore, they are also often asked to bring Papuan cultural arts to the event. This is an effort to minimize the distance between what is imaged and the reality that occurs in Papua ("diplomasi-budaya-tantowi-yahya-menjelajah-indonesia-di-kota-wellington," n.d.). Both the organizing committee and the media then frame events and produce narratives as if they were a cultural appreciation-based political representation within the framework of cultural diplomacy. From this example we can see cultural diplomacy as a stage for Papuan political representation through the practices of cultural representation. Cultural diplomacy using a description approach to the progress of Papua and cultural art performances by Papuan students is a strategy for speaking about or stand for in the context of political representation. This is the highest achievement that can be justified to represent the reality of Papua to the South Pacific community.

So, we can see the red thread between eating the other through cultural appropriation on the one hand and the formation of political identity through the practice of cultural representation on the other. Assimilation of culture and political representation becomes a performative instrument for operating this action. The impact is that it is increasingly difficult to find referential representations due to the derivation of images that are far from reality. The subject of minority culture owners is removed from the political stage, while the culture itself is displayed in the dominant cultural identity display window. The most important goal is to further emphasize the hierarchical structure of social relations which continues to perpetuate the dominance of the dominant culture of the sub-ordinate culture.

Thus, if we look at political communication by using culture as a medium, a thorough and in-depth understanding of the value and socio-historical context becomes the main benchmark. How a person adopts a minority culture sensitively towards the owner's culture's socio-political issues is a good way to show that he/she is not caught up in the act of Cultural Appreciation.

From this concept we can see whether what Iriana did was a form of cultural appropriation or cultural appreciation by departing from the understanding of her on the value and context of the sosio-historical Mama Papua (especially those living in the villages and inland areas of Papua).

The Socio-Historical Context of Papua

Papua is an area of Indonesia which has been politically problematic since its integration. The 1969 referendum which was unfair by international legal conventions left the Papuan community with discontent. Even long before the 1969 Act of Free Choice, the dominant discourse of the Papuan people was that Papua was an independent country since 1961. It was this difference in interpretation of political history that was at the root of the problem which gave birth to a series of endless violence to this day.

Military Operations, systematic and legal land grabbing (through political power and regulation) for the purposes of transmigration, agriculture, oil palm plantations, timber and mining industries and marginalization of Papuan cultural to the high mortality rate of Papuans (compared to Papua New Guinea which now number more than 10 million people) are some of the central issues that are the fruit of the roots of the historical conflict of Papua's politics with Indonesia. In fact, to date, the demographic composition in Papua has placed Papua in a minority position ("memutihkan-orang-papua," n.d.) ("data bps penduduk asli jadi minoritas di 5 wilayah papua," n.d.). Democracy that is based on the number of votes makes the Papuans have drastically shrunk their strength in political contestation. Special Autonomy is now seen only as a shield to protect the powerlessness of Papuans by social, cultural and political conditions that no longer benefit them.

Interestingly, Papua is the region that occupies the first step as the winning pocket of Jokowi as President in 2014. The Papuans expect Jokowi to solve problems that are considered fundamental. Some of them are equal dialogue with Papuans to retrace Papua's political history and the settlement of human rights cases since Indonesian military operations in 1963 until now. Unfortunately, a few months after Jokowi became President, there was a Mass Massacre in Paniai by the Police Apparatus against ordinary people whose victims were children ("indonesias unresolved police killings papua," n.d.) ("papua poverty shootings justice paniai," n.d.). Not only that, in the era of Jokowi Government the capture of Papuan activists and people was mostly carried out and it attracted international attention ("kondisi ham papua era Jokowi," n.d.). In addition, the opening of the Brigade Mobile (Brimob) and army headquarters also continued in areas that were considered 'red'. For all these sensitive problems, Jokowi came to Papua by offering infrastructure development programs. He launched the opening of the trans Papua road and built the railroad and sea highway. With infrastructure development, Jokowi hopes to be able to trigger economic growth that will lift the economic life of Papuans. This is what Papuan leaders regret as well as Papuan activists

because, Jokowi considers the Papuan issue to be limited to economic problems that can be solved with mere infrastructure.

Furthermore, in the context of Mama Papua, there is one narrative that often escapes national mass media coverage and academic discussions. The narrative is that Papuan mothers are the main pillars of the family economy (especially in villages and inland areas). Then where are the gentlemen? Some work partly unemployment or odd jobs. But both have similarities, namely that both if they get money, they will spend more on consuming alcohol. In the midst of these deficient economic conditions, Papuan mothers must 'enter' the gardens to cultivate the land, pick the crops, bring them to the market and sell them. That is not how much they use to fulfill their daily food needs, send their children to school and not infrequently give money to their husbands. This is common in villages and not a few in urban areas.

Gardens in the Papuan context are 'Forests' in the Government's view. The transformation of 'Forests' into a new center for transmigration and oil palm and agricultural plantations has displaced the 'plantation' owned by Papuan mothers which in itself destroyed the traditional economic resources. This is what until now is difficult to understand or deliberately ignored by the central government in developing Papua holistically. The reality is that infrastructure development has not had much positive influence on the economy of Papuan mothers. This has not been added to the difficulty of access to health services in the villages. In conditions of illness and the double workload of a mother, she must keep herself healthy so that her children continue to eat. Not to mention if there is a child or husband who is sick. This condition will be more burdensome to the workload. Especially if a mom is pregnant and still works with the portion she usually does. These situations are often associated with high rates of Papuan maternal and infant mortality in villages and inland areas ("tingginya kematian ibu an anak di Papua," n.d.).

The next narrative is that when the State shows its arrogance when it captures Papuan activists or people (most of whom still have a mother), does he think about how worried their female parents will be at home? Moreover, the reality is not only arrests, but also kidnappings, 'disciplinary' using violence to the point of death, does the State consider their mothers waiting at home? Did the Country ever think that maybe the child who was arrested, tortured and killed was the first child, his only child or the main support of the family? This narrative may have escaped national media coverage, but it has become a struggle for Papuan mothers. The rise of Papuan women activists who voiced the suffering of Papuan Mothers gave a big question to the government, Does the State value the womb of a Papuan mother who gave birth in a limited situation and became gambling moments between life and death?

Carrying Papuans on the Back: Cultural Appropriation or Cultural Appreciation?

Carrying Papuan children on Ms. Irian's shoulder is political communication through the practice of cultural representation. This practice is carried out by conveying messages in the form of certain cultural codes that are well understood by the people in Papua. It is not surprising that every Central Government official who visits Papua will do the same because they know very well that this cultural practice is a form of empathy for Papuan problems.

This was done by Mrs. Iriana so that she reaped a lot of flattery and sympathy from the Indonesian people who at least followed her from social media.

However, by looking at the socio-historical context as described above, what Iriana did was caught up in the practice of cultural appropriation. If using the Young classification, then Mrs. Iriana conducts all appropriation models starting from material appropriation to subject appropriation. We can understand this because the meaning intended in cultural political communication is conveyed by Mrs. Iriana and the meaning that is perceived by Papuan mothers who live in different villages and inland areas. Maybe Mrs. Iriana wanted to show that she was doing a cultural appreciation, but she slipped into the trap of cultural appropriation because what was represented no longer had a reference to the realities faced by Papuan mothers everyday.

Conclusion

Is this sensitivity of the socio-historical context understood by Mrs. Iriana when she carried a Papuan child on her back when there was not even a single human rights case that Jokowi could solve? By using Papuan batik and carrying Papuan children in a very 'Papua' way, has he also felt how the suffering of Papuan mothers in the era of his husband became President? Moreover, he and Jokowi have come to Papua (especially to Merauke) several times, but none of Jokowi's most substantive policies have touched Papuans (especially Papuan mothers). Even the market development of Papuan mothers in several cities in Papua is not a government policy, but an initiative of activists in Papua which was later adopted by the government.

The fact is that Merauke is the region with the highest deforestation area in Papua for the conversion of forests for agriculture, oil palm plantations and transmigration. The transition of land in Merauke since Papua was integrated into Indonesia is linear with the shrinking population of the local community of Merauke (Read: Marind Community). They are not only a minority in the population, but also a minority in human resources. In addition, they also experienced an identity crisis due to the breakdown of historical ties with traditional-cultural spaces which are now shifting functions. In the midst of this situation, Papuan mothers (especially those in Merauke) became the group that suffered the most.

From here, we can say that what Iriana did was unfortunately not a cultural appreciation even though her intention was like that. He is not sensitive to the socio-political context of the Papuan mothers who are being represented. Especially from the beginning to the drama of the launching of 'Avengers' Headquarters there was no Papuan mama who was given the opportunity to be there and covered by the media. If Mrs. Iriana wants to do Cultural Appreciation by carrying Papuan children behind her shoulder, it would be nice to prepare a 'surprise' for Papuan mothers as a gift and a form of appreciation. This surprise could be in the form of programs specifically targeting Papuan mothers in the context of empowering their household economies. In this way, he can overcome the slight distance with the Papuan mothers he represents so that it does not fall on imaging alone.

What Iriana did in the end was merely to take on the image of hard work, loyalty and affection and suffering from 'mama Papua alone', but the sensitivity to 'context' did not appear in real action. The media also eliminated the subject 'mama Papua' in the drama's

narrative so that Mrs. Iriana became a one woman show that became the sole representation of moms who worked hard, full of loyalty and love children. Thus, Ms. Iriana's political communication in the event fell on the cultural appropriation because she (intentionally) lost her sense of empathy and might only think (with Jokowi) of how to make an 'interesting' story (ironically full of empathy) to be told at the APEC summit Port Moresby.

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