

Identity Maintenance And Communicational Barrier For Immigrant Tribe (A Study Case of Kampung Bogor Village in Kepahyang District, Bengkulu)

Alfarabi¹

Lecturer at Universitas Bengkulu

Adiella Yankie Lubis²

Doctoral Student Communication University of Padjadjaran

ABSTRACT

How the identity is maintained by immigrant tribe within a local tribe territorial is the main focus of this research. Cultural background differences in maintaining identity is one of the causal factor in communicational barrier between immigrant tribe and local tribe at Kampung Bogor village in Kepahyang District, Bengkulu. Different perspective arises because of cultural background differences is causing suspicion and jealousy in which hasn't appear yet but still making it as a cause for latent conflict to arise in the form of perception and how they think. This research is using qualitative descriptive approach with participatory observation method, in-depth interview, and focus group discussion to collect the research data. Qualitative approach will make the data of this research to be deeply recover without affecting the natural condition on the field. The result of this research states that latent conflict that arise between two tribes is connected to the tribe identity built by Bogor tribal residence. This identity gives a positive label to the *ingroup* as to have consequence, a negative label to the *outgroup*. The main factor for communicational barrier between tribes are language and *bogornese* perspective on how they place their own kind to fulfill basic needs in life. As for the factor that makes communication do happen between two tribes is *bogornese* kind and polite attitude that choose to avoid conflict with other tribes by succumb to it. This kind and politeness label tend to make *outsiders* to build relation with the *bogornese* and doing so with certain boundaries. Recommendation that is given in this research suggest that either equality views in tribe differential and not negative labeling other tribes are both needed.

Keywords: *Identity, Latent Conflict, Communicational Barrier, Tribe*

Signification

Kampung Bogor Village in Kepahyang District is an area which filled by migrated society, mostly from the west part of Java island. The migration begins when The Dutch Colonial (at that time) is colonizing Indonesia, and then continued by the new order (Soeharto's era). Lately, they migrate based on their own will. The origin as migrated society in Kepahyang becomes a fundamental factor for Bogor Village society to identify their identity.

Kampung Bogor Village society is mainly comes from Bogor District, that's why they have an identity similarity as *Sundanese*. This similarity was the baseline of their identity as to make a difference between them and the local tribes in Kepahyang called *Rejang*. This identity is maintained until now as they are a third generation. Sons and grandsons in Bogor Village prefer to be called a *sundanese* rather than Kepahyang's local society. Doing so, their sons is putting themselves as a new comer in Kepahyang (regardless they are a third generation). This consequence is making Bogor Village an area as a boundary for those who is viewed as a new comer and those who is viewed as local resident. These boundaries are not only acting as administrative boundary but has spread widely to tribal boundary which implies to fundamental values that they use as guidelines.

Kampung Bogor Village residents prefer to call themselves a *Bogornese*. This identity recognizing can be based as their identity as they are viewed as *Sundanese* and with it implies to the area where they choose to live, Kampung Bogor Village. As to the local residents, the *Rejang* tribe is labeled as "*orang dusun*" or Villagers. Even though they came from Java island, *Bogornese* prefer to be called Western Javanese to make differences with the actual Javanese tribe. Though they came from western part of java island, a *sundanese*, *bogornese* doesn't want to be identified as a *sundanese* which lately came from Western Java. They (*bogornese*) still call them (*sundanese*) as a Javanese in which they are labeled as a new comer. Saying so, this

Bogornese identity is only for those who initially migrate to Bogor Village, and their descendants.

The life of Kampung Bogor village's society which they are a new comer whose maintaining their identity at the center of local society is important to be reviewed. This relates to how an identity is build and socialize from generation to generation. Aside from that, identity differences within an area can cause a conflict to arise. As stated by Arkanudin (2006) that a few tribes with different social culture background within one area can make a potential conflict.

Tribal identity will be implified in an everyday life. Identity differences is also a difference in perspectives. This differences in perspective will cause a conflict to rise. A conflict within communication studies is a process of communication that doesn't run well. Knowing a conflict between tribes will give a picture of what seems to be the driving factors as well as the barriers in communication between tribes, thus a way of doing canalization from that conflict could be found.

Problem Statement

- a. How a tribal identity is maintained by *bogornese* in the middle of *Rejang* as a local tribe?
- b. What is the driving factor and the barriers of communication between migrant and a local tribe in *Kepahyang* District.

Research aim

- a. To know the identity defense mechanism for *Bogornese* in the middle of *Rejang* local tribe.
- b. To know the driving factor as well as communicational barriers between migrant and local tribes in *Kepahyang* district.

Adaptation and Latent Conflict within intercultural meeting.

Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia (The Unitary Republic of Indonesia) is built and sustained upon the awareness of the diversity of ethnic, cultural, language, and religion (Wahid in Oentoro, 2010: 166). Naturally Indonesia is a nation of diversity (Hamengkubuwono X, 2008). The plurality of Indonesia is actually recovered from the diversity of religion, ethnicity, culture and ideology on the people of Indonesia herself.

The adaptation process is a mechanism in adjusting to the new environment. In this condition the individual performing the process of mimicry in order to be accepted by the environment and at the same time trying to maintain their identity. Thus, in these conditions the individual perform a process of ambivalence. They become a part of the dominant identity by doing an impersonation, on the other hand they maintain cultural identity in confined spaces. This strategy is widely used as a means of self-defense in immigrant communities as they enter a new environment.

The using of mimicry and ambivalence approach to explain latent conflict in immigrant tribes to the local tribe in *Kepahyang* district is very strategic. The approach borrows the concept of Homi K Bhabha (read Sutrisno and Putranto, 2004) can depict community life activities of the research subjects. The concept of mimicry means using a dominant cultural symbols by a non-dominant communities. Using dominant symbol is an attempt to be accepted and considered as part of the dominant culture. The forms of mimicry can be seen in a variety of everyday activities. The easiest form is using the dominant language from another non-dominant individuals.

Meanwhile ambivalence is the sustainability of the mimicry process. A condition in which the dilemmatic individuals within a dominant culture spawned strategies in and outside of the community. On one hand there is a desire to continue maintaining its identity by using the original culture. On the other hand there is a desire to be accepted within the dominant culture, where one of the strategies used is mimicry. Alternating process performed by the individual is called ambivalence.

However, the process of mimicry and ambivalence can also be viewed as a means of resistance to the dominant culture. The situation can be described as a form of saying yes to

something up in the face, but refused when in behind. Borrowing the concept Goffman (read Arieani in Mulyana and Solatun, 2007) this situation is referred to as dramaturgical situation.

Identity and Communicational Barrier.

Identity is not fixed, it is dynamic and can be changed as needed. The process of change of identity is not something special. We often do in everyday life. Demands of different types of environments makes us show different identities according to the situation we face. We unwittingly mess with identities to make ends meet. This identity change process creates situational identity (Mulyana and Rahmat, 2005). Doing so, it identity even touched the situational interests. This condition eventually gave birth to the politics of identity as a strategy in social interaction.

Nevertheless transactional process sometimes does not occur effectively. Identity that has been thickened sometimes deny the existence of a distinct identity around them. The presumption that their ethnic is the best is one of the factors inhibiting inter-tribe communication to go well. It is necessary to be open in understanding the view of inter-tribe relations. Unwillingness to open up in the inter-tribe relations cause stereotypes to emerge and become a day-to-day perspective. Such conditions may impede inter-tribe communication that exist in the region.

Conflict and Conflict Management.

Conflict is a difference of interests met in the situation of the same space and time. A concept of interest that meets require an exit that provides a solution to the conflict. In practice, the conflict does not have to appear on the surface, but is present in perception. The situation is called a latent conflict (further reading: Suminar, Tjahjono and Sauni, 2004). Conflicts that arise require canalization from spreading into horizontal and vertical conflicts in society.

Because, basically, any individual or group has its own interests, the potential for conflict in social interaction is very large. However, the potential for this conflict can be minimized through conflict management. One form of conflict management is through the adjustment of interests during social interactions. Although at certain moments it can reduce the conflict, but the situation does not actually solve the conflict itself. The situation actually gave birth to a latent conflict that lasted for different interests.

Research Approach.

This study used a qualitative approach to examine problems in the field. A qualitative approach sees a social reality as it is and place the subject in a state of natural setting (Sugiyono, 2011). Subjects in this study were society group of *Rejang* and *Sundanese* people in Kepahyang District at Bengkulu Province. Selection of informants of this research is based on criteria established by the researcher. The manufacture of these important criteria to recruit research subjects in order to obtain data that can answer the problem of research. The technique of participant observation and in-depth interview is a source of primary data research. In addition to understanding the attitudes and behavior of the informants also used the FGD (Focus Group Discussion) technique (Kriyantono, 2008) as a complement to primary data. In the process of qualitative research data analysis, the plot goes like cycle (Bungin, 2008). To ascertain whether the data obtained can be accounted for then this research use time and source triangulation techniques.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

Tribal Identity and Identity differences Perspective.

Identity in a particular point of view is the difference between one group against another to make restrictions on who is regarded as an internal part of the group and who is not. But the distinguishing identity is also not just go in terms of cultural differences, but further because it touches the side of the distinguishing values that make one group feel better than the other group. This picture is one example of a phrase that was captured by the informant in an interview conducted by the researcher.

“orang bogor mahgak macem-macem, suka damai, pokoknya mahdiikutin ajaapa maunya orang (maksudnya adalah orang di luar orang Bogor), kalau ada masalah mahbiasanya

orang pendatang” (hasil penelitian Juli 2013 dengan bapak Hr sesepuh masyarakat DesaKampung Bogor).

“*bogornese* doesn’t do complicated things, piece loving. The point is we follow what other people wants (refers to people outside *bogornese* tribe), when complications arise usually comes from outsider (newcomer)” (research findings on July 2013 with Mr. H R, tribe elder of Kampung Bogor Village)

HR’s statement of the *bogornese* typical person who does not like conflict is in common with other informants such as CR and ER. This statement is a confirmation of the characteristics of the *Bogornese* is understood by informants, as well as providing a label to the outside of *Bogornese* tribe that negative connotation. Thus the concept of identity is understood by migrant communities illustrate that included their communities are individuals who are not looking for trouble, at the same time that depiction stated that the problem is often looking for those who are outside of their community. Based on observation, the interaction of ethnic happened in the village of Kampung Bogor, those who were called migrants are individuals or tribal group of Rejang, Pasemah (some say the Lintang tribe), Javanese, and Sundanese whose newly arrived from West Java (this category appears due to bogor informants are a different people with Sundanese from West Java). Making of identity by giving them the distinction between ingroup and outgroup includes by providing positive and negative labels on behavior affects to the distance in inter-tribe interaction. This concept will lead to local tribe prejudice in the event of an incident. These stereotypes also hamper inter-tribe relations.

Aside from that tribal identity is also constructed by the main immigrant communities through community work. *Bogornese* identifies themselves with rice farmers. This concept they built with the word “Sundanese people cannot get away from the water”. If farming was attached to the identity of Sundanese, growers, especially coffee were identified with the villagers and the newcomers. Although at first glance there is no problem to work related to ethnic, but how to understand *bogornese* perception on the job will provide an overview of existing latent conflict in the region. The perspective of the job is a tribal identity that distinguishes between ethnic migrants and local tribes within location of the research and its surroundings. Rice farmers work identified with hard work and perseverance in the process. While the planters is a casual job. Thus the Bogor interpret better job than the job held around their ethnicity.

Identity Defense Mechanism.

Sundanese tribe that is located in Bogor Village at Kepahyang District survive and not melting in the culture of the local community due to cultural borderzone that they have. With the tribe members only concentrated in one area in the Kepahyang district, then the *bogornese* build a culture defense system that is not extreme yet effective in keeping their identity. The first mechanism is the label that they built for themselves in relation to other tribal groups. In the internal side among *Sundanese* tribe they mention their identity as *bogornese*. The word itself (*bogornese*) has a layered meanings, the first meaning is the closeness of their identity with Sundanese ethnic, while the second meaning that even more profound is their attachment to an area called Bogor Village. The second meaning is run alternately on when interacting with other tribes even at fellow Sundanese ethnic who came later.

The first meaning of *bogornese* ethnic identity as a Sundanese used to notify their differences with other ethnic groups. In the first tier is the Bogor position themselves as aliens and ride on the territory of others. They use this status when connected to their origins. Identification with Sundanese ethnic that they know, came from West Java made them think of themselves as foreigners in the land of *Rejang*. Thus the local ethnic that they perceive as the host is the *Rejang* tribe. The first layer is typically used when interacting with an ethnic outside the Bogor village. Awareness of their status as newcomers have consequences on *bogornese* to avoid problems and more succumb to when dealing with the local ethnic, including land issues. As for *Rejang* tribe that they perceive as the host, the *Bogornese* has their own label for them as they call them the villagers. However, use of the word “Villagers” only applies to *Rejang* tribe who live in the village and had a gardening job. Said the villager themselves in understanding

the *Bogornese* closer to say in the village that has the connotation of those who have no higher education, lower economic status and living in the countryside.

Furthermore, the meaning of the second tier of *Bogornese* is said that they attach to the identity of the region, in this case is the village of Kampung Bogor. Kampung Bogor village is not just an administration area for the *bogornese*, there is a close relationship between them and the region. Bogor village is their second ancestral land, where their identity is built. Almost all *bogornese* who claims to be *Sundanese* had never set foot in West Java. They have *Sundanese* ethnic identity only from Kampung Bogor village, so their *sunda-ness* are only Bogor village *sunda* (not as the original *Java-sundanese*). This unique status is fully realized by the people of Kampung Bogor. They also set limits to those who came later from the *Sundanese* of West Java. They realize that *sundanese* in Bogor village is different from the *Sundanese* of West Java. Kampung Bogor village is a separate *Sunda* they understood not only as a residence but also as the birthplace. Therefore Kampung Bogor also be interpreted as an inheritance because they "Sunda" identity comes from the land. Without Kampung Bogor Village area then there is no identity of *Sundanese* Kampung Bogor. This condition is understood as a community that is tied to the region and build its identity with the region. The awareness makes *bogornese* implement cultural defense mechanism so that their identity is not lost. If the village is connected with the area of Kampung Bogor, *bogornese* then would perceive them as local people, and anyone who entered the territory of the village of Bogor are immigrants. This perception is used in every ethnic and even in Rejang ethnic, which they consider to be the host in the District of Kepahyang.

Kampung Bogor is considered as the local area for *Bogornese*, those who enter the region must understand customs that exist in the area. One of the mechanisms that people employ in the region is language. The use of *Sundanese* language by *bogornese* in everyday life is an effort in maintaining and show their identity. Language is a local identity at the same ethnic identity which is shown to those who enter the territory of the Kampung Bogor. Language also provide comfort as they feel like having an area where they can indicate their ethnic identity. Thus language is also used as a medium for receiving recognition in the overseas region. This process does not only take place on fellow *bogornese* but also took place in other ethnic groups who live in Kampung Bogor or entering the village. There is a process of 'coercion' to migrants for understanding *Sundanese* while in Kampung Bogor. although the *Bogornese* can understand Indonesian, the *Sundanese* remains as the main language in the Bogor village.

The second mechanism arises from the work of *Bogornese* that most of them choose to farm fields. The phrase that "*Sundanese* people cannot get away from the water" is not only meant as a job option. This concept is also closely related to the "territory of the *Bogornese*". A small area and the only one that can be considered the birthplace of making work choices relate to land, has a deep meaning. Options to become farmers is not only expertise but rather to maintain the area. As long as the farm work is done by the *Bogornese*, *sunda* territorial of Bogor village will remain intact. There is a tendency when agricultural land is already occupied by someone else then the Bogor region will be threatened. Therefore, rice farming jobs must be maintained for generations. Paddy fields and water flowing becomes the identity of the *bogornese*, the absence of these two elements would threaten their identity. Different from the identity of the first layer where the *bogornese* many succumb when dealing with other tribal groups, then in the second tier of the identity of *bogornese*, they do resist. At the time of outsiders entering the area of Bogor village and do something against their rules such as theft and interference, then the *bogornese* together will take the fight. *Bogornese*'s unity is recognized not only by the *Bogornese* themselves, but also by others.

"memang *kuakuinian*, orang Kampung Bogor nih kompak-kompak, *apola* kalau masuk di daerah *dio*, *dionih* diam, diam, tapi kalau orang *mijakpalak*, melawan", (Kd, Tokoh Masyarakat Pasar Kepahiang).

"i admit, the people of kampung bogor is very unite, when they came in (outsiders) we will stand still, but as they set foot on our heads, we will fight back", (KD, Elder of Kepahiang Market Society)

From that statement a depiction can be illustrated on how the position taken by the *bogornese* as they receive a disruption in their area. This collective consciousness makes Kampung Bogor relatively safe in the face of interference.

The third mechanism developed by *bogornese* to keep their identity is through marriage. After the region and culture, which is used as an element of ethnic identity guarantor, the *Bogornese* is the authenticity of their community members. Awareness of their distinct ethnic identity is different with Sundanese originating from West Java, made assurances to their existence depends on their Sundanese-ness of Kampung Bogor. Therefore heredity plays an important role in the lives of *Bogornese* in kampung Bogor region. Only those who meet a set of criteria can inherit the title as a *Bogornese*. To keep their offspring still regarded as *bogornese* then the one that is done is to determine the selection of a mate for their child. Although there is no strict prohibition, but the *bogornese* more advisable to choose their pair from a fellow *bogornese*. This will make their offspring automatically gets the title as a *Bogornese*. However, in practice there are still some *bogornese* who choose a spouse from outside the *Bogornese* tribe. In this situation there are different views from *bogornese*. If a male *bogornese* married to an outsider, the offspring still attached as the *Bogornese*. This relates to the tradition of *Bogornese* that puts men as heir offspring (patrilineal). However, if a female *bogornese* married to an outsider, then their children will not receive recognition as a *Bogornese*. In addition, if women Bogor married to an outsider, usually they will follow her husband to live outside the kampung Bogor. In contrast to the Bogor men who actually took his wife to live in kampung Bogor. The situation plus the Sunda-ization of immigrants in Kampung Bogor make their offspring more readily accepted as *Bogornese*. This condition can be attributed to the Bogor relationship with the land. Since men are the main actors in agriculture, the sustainability of agricultural land is also very depend on men who are expected to continue the tradition of the job. Therefore, although a *bogornese* men married an outsider, but when they lived in kampung Bogor, the acceptance of them is more easily implemented. That kind of marriage mechanisms makes marriage among *bogornese* more favorable. Therefore makes them closer in bond. This condition is also the factor that makes the identity of *bogornese* is maintained until today.

Latent Conflict Within Built Identity.

In developing the ethnic identity *bogornese* position themselves as people who is peace loving and avoiding conflict. This placement is understood that the *Bogornese* in case of problems arises those who come from outside their community is to be blamed. As to the ones who break their peace is pinned on immigrants present in their area. This situation is the embryo of a latent conflict between immigrant tribe with local tribe in the area. This perspective will create an ethnical problems that will find confirmation because it has a basis in the evaluation.

In addition, the concept of agricultural land for the *bogornese* is different from other tribal groups. If other tribal groups saw the land as an economic factor *bogornese* then saw the land as an inheritance that support their identity. Agricultural land is proof of their existence in overseas. So that problems related to land is essential to the *Bogornese*. The existence of other tribal groups in the region of the Bogor village threaten their existence. The entry of other ethnic groups to live and earn a living in agriculture gives anxiety that their presence would be evicted. It is added to the situation in which the lien process also took place in the Bogor village. Land mortgaging to outsiders of *bogornese* making it increasingly becoming a concern. These conditions make the *bogornese* have prejudice to those who manage the land. And the last is the selection applied by the *Bogornese* in choosing a partner makes possible the assimilation is limited. The consequences are the acceptance of candidates from outside the Bogor village to be reduced. Situations that are built makes an inter-tribe interaction (local tribe and immigrants) in Bogor village meets obstacles. *Bogornese* effort in maintaining their identity makes an inter-tribe interaction is limited. Although in practice the *bogornese* is avoiding conflict, but their perspective on immigrants makes the acceptance of immigrant tribes did not fully running. These conditions make other tribe's perspective on *bogornese* also became crystallized. Perspective that causing this stereotype is a form of latent conflict in the region of Bogor village and its surroundings.

Driving Factors and Barriers in Intertribal Communication.

One that inhibits inter-tribe communication in Bogor village and the surrounding region is language. *Bogornese* tendency who only mastered *Sundanese* and Indonesian language makes an inter-tribe communication does not work perfectly. In the field, the *Bogornese* who have lived in the district of Kephayang for years mostly does not speak the language Rejang. It was added that the *Bogornese* also does not make an effort to master the Rejang language as the language of communication in everyday life. They mainly rely on *sundanese* mixed with Indonesian language. As a result many of the messages are miss-interpreted within inter-tribe immigrants and the local tribe. This ignorance is also because of the use of Indonesian in everyday conversation is not common to use in communicating. So what happens is when inter-tribe interaction in the Bogor village, is that the newcomer force themselves to use *Sundanese*, Indonesian and the local language mixed together. This communication does not run optimally and leave some words that cannot be understood by both parties. In addition, the *bogornese* cultural and perspective differences make social contact with immigrant tribes to be limited on certain things.

Aside from that, the driving factor to inter-tribe communication in the Bogor village is of awareness of the *Bogornese* as a foreigner as to avoid conflict. Ongoing communication is based on economic need and an awareness of life in other tribe's land. So the hospitality is encouraging newcomers to interact with *bogornese*, although with certain limits. Immigrant tribes also feel how *bogornese* does not fully open to the immigrant tribes. Disclosure of the *bogornese* to immigrants make newcomers dealing comfortably within the limits which they may be accepted by the *bogornese*.

SUMMARY

Based on the results of field research, the characteristics of the latent conflict between migrants and local tribe in Desa Bogor Village can be summarized as follows:

1. Mechanisms entrants in this case ethnic Sundanese Kampung Desa Bogor in maintaining its identity is done through mentioning themselves as *Bogornese*, maintaining the village land and within-tribal marriage.
2. latent conflicts that arise in inter-tribal meetings are in the form of perspective. Although avoiding disputes with local ethnic, *Bogornese* views local ethnic as negative.
3. Language become the factor that inhibiting inter-tribal communication. *Bogornese* who prefer to use mixed Indonesian *Sundanese* language in communicating with the outside of their tribe makes inter-tribes relationships only run on the surface. Communication inhibiting factors also caused by the way *bogornese* put their neighbors (fellow *bogornese*) in meeting the needs of life so that interaction with other tribes runs on a limited basis.
4. The driving factor is the attitude of the *Bogornese* communication-friendly and avoiding disputes with other tribes. Tribal consciousness as newcomers makes *bogornese* not meddlesome to others and many succumb when problems with outsiders arises. Friendly impression makes people outside the tribe bonds with *bogornese* although within certain limits.

RECOMENDATION

Observing the results of research in the field then there are some that can be suggested by researchers for improvement in inter-tribal relations, namely:

1. It takes the perspective that sees the difference is equivalent by not giving a negative label on other tribal groups. These conditions need to be considered because the perspective is an embryo for the emergence of inter-tribe conflict.
2. Necessary use of the language of communication controlled by both sides so that communication barriers can be reduced as minimum as possible. Limitations of the use of language in communication will encourage misunderstanding in communication.

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