

SOP 2009

**IT'S HUES THAT MAKE A RAINBOW**  
A study on experience, values and the sense of identity amongst the  
Indonesian debating community

**A THESIS**

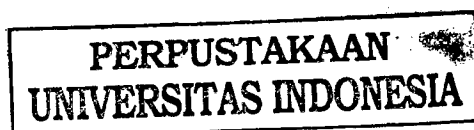
Written as a requirement for a Master of Science (M. Si) degree  
in Anthropology

Sherria Puteri Ayuandini  
6905070105



**UNIVERSITY OF INDONESIA**  
**THE FACULTY OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCES**  
**DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY**  
**POST GRADUATE PROGRAM**  
**DEPOK**  
**JULY 2008**

T  
24289



## DECLARATION OF AUTHENTICITY

This thesis is my own authentic work  
and all sources, quoted or referred to, have been cited accordingly

Name : Sherria Puteri Ayuandini

NPM : 6905070105

Signed :



Date : July 7, 2008



UNIVERSITY OF INDONESIA  
THE FACULTY OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCES  
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY  
POST GRADUATE PROGRAM

THESIS EXAMINATION APPROVAL SHEET

NAMA : Sherria Puteri Ayuandini  
NPM : 6905070105  
TITLE : It's Hues that Make a Rainbow: A study on experience, values  
and the sense of identity amongst the Indonesian debating  
community

Thesis Counselor,



Dr. Iwan Tjitradjaja  
NIP. 131 125 846



**UNIVERSITAS INDONESIA  
FAKULTAS ILMU SOSIAL DAN ILMU POLITIK  
DEPARTEMEN ANTROPOLOGI  
PROGRAM STUDI PASCASARJANA**

Gedung PAU Ilmu Sosial Lt. II Kampus Baru UI, Depok 16424 Telp/Fax : (021) 78849022  
E-mail: pascant@gmail.com

**UNIVERSITAS INDONESIA  
FAKULTAS ILMU SOSIAL DAN ILMU POLITIK  
DEPARTEMEN ANTROPOLOGI  
PROGRAM PASCASARJANA**

**LEMBAR PENGESAHAN TESIS**

Nama : Sherria Puteri Ayuandini  
NPM : 6905070105  
Judul : It's Hues that Make a Rainbow: A Study on Experience,  
Values and the Sense of Identity Amongst the Indonesian  
Debating Community

Tesis ini telah dipertahankan dihadapan sidang penguji Tesis Program Pascasarjana  
Antropologi pada tanggal 26 Juni 2008 dan telah dinyatakan:

**LULUS/~~TIDAK LULUS~~/UJIAN ULANG**

**TIM PENGUJI:**

**Ketua Sidang:**

Dr. Sulistyowati Irianto

**Sekretaris Sidang:**

Dra. Endang Partrijunianti, MA

alw.

**Pembimbing:**

Dr. Iwan Tjitradjaja

**Penguji Ahli:**

Dr. Siti Adiprigandari Adiwoso Suprpto

## FOREWORD

This thesis was started with a perpetual curiosity as I observed and was advised through informal exchanges on how Indonesian debaters seemed to frequently find their personal values to be at odds with those introduced in a debate round. At that, the exploration of the life of Indonesian debaters and their intersection of values began. As the study grew, more fascinating phenomena were unraveled. The epitome of it all was how a debating community stood as a tribute to the growing trend of Anthropological study of recent years: the ever-construction and contestation of community, its boundaries and its representation. Just like a rainbow, debating community was truly a whole product of its singular members in unity; and just like rainbow hues, each was unique, distinct and ever-changing.

This study owes its completion to a lot of parties. First and foremost, to Indonesian debaters in general, a community of pride and conscience, I am obliged for the constant inspiration. For those of you who had been willing to be probed and intruded upon specifically, my gratitude. I hope this writing satisfies. To Pak Iwan Tjitradjaja, my thesis counselor, whose guidance and encouragement were vital pillars to this thesis, I am genuinely beholden. To all my lecturers, who provided the key to the wonderful world of Anthropology, I am forever grateful. Never once had I thought that learning can be addictive. How pleased I was to learn of the mistake. To family and friends, the backbone and the endorphin, indebted would be an understatement. Then, lastly, my significant other, who taught me that appreciating the hues is more important than finding the pot of gold at the end of every rainbow panting, to him, my existence.

Enjoy the rainbow! Or I should say, the hues.

Depok, 7 July 2008

Sherria Ayuandini

**STATEMENT OF CONSENT ON THE PUBLICATION OF THIS THESIS  
FOR ACADEMIC PURPOSES**

---

---

As an academe of University of Indonesia, I, as the signatory:

Name : Sherria Puteri Ayuandini  
NPM : 6905070105  
Program : Post graduate  
Department : Anthropology  
Faculty : Social and Political Sciences  
Type of work : A thesis

for the sake of development of science, give my consent to the University of Indonesia for a Non-exclusive Royalty-Free Right on my thesis titled:

It's Hues that Make a Rainbow: A study on experience, values and the sense of identity amongst the Indonesian debating community

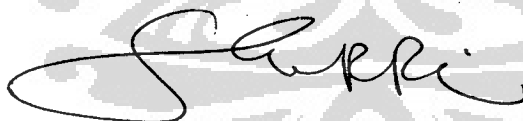
with all its supporting document and materials (shall needed). With this Non-exclusive Royalty-Free Right the University of Indonesia reserves the right to store, format, transfer, manage in the form of database, maintain, and publicize this thesis without my further permission with the stipulation that my name is stated as the author and the owner of the intellectual property right.

This statement is made consciously and under no duress.

Written at: Depok

Date: July 7, 2008

Signed,



(Sherria Puteri Ayuandini)

## ABSTRAK

Nama : Sherria Puteri Ayuandini  
Program : Pascasarjana  
Judul : Warna-warnalah yang Membentuk Bianglala: Studi akan pengalaman, nilai dan identitas komunitas debat Indonesia

Debat kompetitif pertama kali diperkenalkan di Indonesia sepuluh tahun silam. Semenjak saat itu, debat kompetitif telah berkembang dengan pesat dan melahirkan komunitas debat yang hidup di tengah-tengah anak muda di Indonesia. Sebagai sebuah fenomena, debat kompetitif telah lama dikenal sebagai alat pembelajaran yang dapat digunakan oleh para praktisinya untuk mendapatkan keahlian-keahlian seperti berbicara di depan publik dan berpikir kritis. Namun, studi yang berfokus pada dampak sosial dari debat kompetitif sangatlah jarang ditemukan jika tidak bisa dibilang nyaris tidak ada.

Tulisan ini mengeksplorasi aspek sosial dari debat kompetitif. Terutama tentang bagaimana debat kompetitif dapat dilihat sebagai suatu bentuk laboratorium sosial mini di mana para pesertanya terkadang perlu membela sisi pandang yang tidak sejalan dengan prinsip pribadi mereka. Dengan menggunakan situasi persimpangan nilai ini sebagai jalan masuk, studi ini menggunakan pendekatan Antropologi Pengalaman (*Anthropology of Experience*) dan juga pendekatan Analisis Kerangka (*Frame Analysis*) yang dipopulerkan oleh Erving Goffman untuk memahami pengalaman para *debater* dalam kaitannya dengan debat dan persimpangan nilai. Penelitian ini juga mengamati aspek komunitas dan identitas yang dibentuk oleh para *debater* muda Indonesia. Kedua aspek ini erat kaitannya dengan ide mengenai persepsi, formulasi yang terus menerus dan kontestasi yang senantiasa terjadi atas batasan-batasan (*boundaries*).

Secara keseluruhan, studi ini menunjukkan bagaimana komunitas, identitas dan khususnya pengalaman adalah arbitrer, cair dan fleksibel, di mana seorang individu memiliki pengaruh dan kendali yang besar terhadap bagaimana segala sesuatunya dipahami dan dimengerti.

Kata kunci:

Debat, slipkeying, *theatrical framework*, *self-projection*, *identity based on not*

## ABSTRACT

Name : Sherria Puteri Ayuandini  
Program : Post-graduate  
Title : It's Hues that Make a Rainbow: A study on experience, values and the sense of identity amongst the Indonesian debating community

Competitive debating was introduced to Indonesia a mere 10 years ago. Since then it has rapidly flourished and given birth to a debating community existing amongst the young people in the country. As a phenomenon, competitive debating has long been recognized as a learning tool that provides its practitioners skills such as public speaking and critical thinking. Yet studies that focus on the social effect of competitive debating are rare if not non-existent altogether.

This writing explores the social aspects of competitive debating. Particularly how competitive debating acts as a mini social laboratory where its participants are sometimes required to defend a position that is not inline with their personal believe. Using this intersection of values as an entry point, this study employs the approach of the Anthropology of Experience as well as Erving Goffman's Frame Analysis to make sense of the experience debaters have on the subject of debating and value juncture. This research also examines the notion of community and identity formed by these young debaters which closely relates to the idea of perception, constant formulation and perpetual contestation of boundaries.

On the whole, this study reveals how the idea of community, identity and especially experience are arbitrary, fluid and flexible, where an individual has a great deal of influence and control over how things are to be perceived and understood.

Keywords:

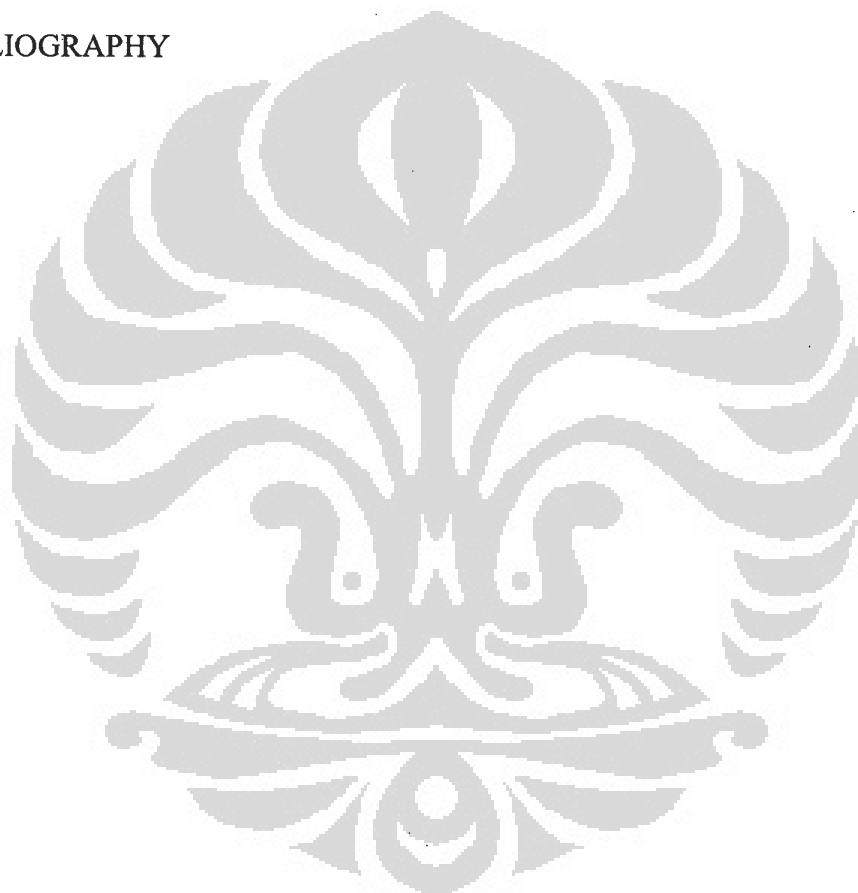
Debate, *slipkeying*, theatrical framework, self-projection, identity based on *not*



## TABLE OF CONTENT

	Page
COVER PAGE	i
DECLARATION OF AUTHENTICITY	ii
LEMBAR PENGESAHAN TESIS	iii
FOREWORD	iv
STATEMENT OF CONSENT ON THE PUBLICATION OF THIS THESIS FOR ACADEMIC PURPOSES	v
ABSTRACT	vi
TABLE OF CONTENT	vii
CHAPTER I	
THE HORIZON: HOW IT CAME ABOUT	1
Indonesia's Acknowledgement of Its Youths	2
The Focus of the Study	5
Debating as a Mini Social Laboratory	7
The Study of Values	8
The Reason It Is Worthwhile	9
How the Study Grows	11
The Perspective	13
Goffman's Frame Analysis	16
The Data Collection Activities	20
Those Who Are Explored	22
The Arrangement of the Writings	24
CHAPTER II	
THE RAIN: HOW IT ALL STARTED	27
Enter High School Debating	31
How to Do Competitive Debating	35
What Happen in a Competition	38
Nothing Personal	39
CHAPTER III	
THE REFRACTION: HOW DEBATERS DEAL WITH CONFLICTING VALUES	41
Different Coping Mechanism	44
To Voice out the Unheard of	46
Frame Analysis	50
Debate as a Theatrical Framework	52
The Importance of Involvement	56
An Answer to a Question	57
As the Two Collide	59
It Is a Fluid Line after All	63
CHAPTER IV	
THE CONTRAST: HOW TO NEGOTIATE BEING DIFFERENT	67
A Discounted Self	70
A Necessary Act	74

CHAPTER V	THE RAINBOW: HOW IT IS A COMMUNE	77
	Let It Be	81
	Unity in Diversity	84
	Crossing the Line	86
CHAPTER VI	THE REFLECTION: HOW PERCEPTION COMES INTO PLAY	92
	Me and My Reflection	98
CHAPTER VII	THE POT OF GOLD: HOW THE STUDY IS ENCAPSULATED	102
	A Promise Kept	106
	Future Growth	107
BIBLIOGRAPHY		108



# CHAPTER 1: The Horizon

## How It Came About

*April 4<sup>th</sup>, 2008 – personal notes*

*“What would it take me to be the president?” Sara threw me that question nonchalantly at the end of our get together. I was putting stuff into my bag and had to pause when I heard the query.*

*“Excuse me?”*

*“Well, I look at all this mess and wonder why they don’t do this or that. ‘Cause... that’s what I’d do, so I would really love it to be the president.”*

*“Of Indonesia?”*

*“Yes. Why? You don’t think I could make a change?”*

*I smiled at the 17 year old who has eagerly listened to my point of view of the countries condition for the past half an hour. “Not at all, I think you’d do just fine. Indonesia has always been changed by her youngs. I can’t see why it should not happen again.”*

\*\*\*

Who could have forgotten the day when Indonesian young took to the street and right then and there toppled the reigning power of the country that had not buckled for more than 30 years. It was well-known to be the end of the ‘New Order’ and the start of the ‘Reform Era’ as the regime of Soeharto

concluded and the country was given back its power of speech after being silenced for more than three decades. But what is more remarkable than that, as spectacular as it was, 1998 was not the first time the young people of Indonesia took hold of the country's wheel and steered it to a new direction. It was them who took an oath in 1928, bringing Indonesia the new ideal of unity and stood undivided as an aspiring nation. It was also the young ones in 1945 who whisked away Soekarno and Hatta, and stared them in the eyes and said it was time for the country to have its independence. And it was them who brought Soekarno down from power in 1966 as they voiced up the society's torments and misery by unitedly lining up in a demand for a change. And change was exactly what they got. Every single time.

\*\*\*

### INDONESIA'S ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF ITS YOUTHS

Hands down, Indonesia depends on her young people a lot. And in a way, the country's leadership realizes this. It pays enormous attention to the education -- to the investment of the young ones. Indonesia's budget allocation for education is constitutionally mandated at 20% of the total national and the regional budget. This is not the biggest budget allocation for education a country ever had, yet Indonesia is the only country who mandated this allocation in its constitution. The country also just recently committed to a national-wide teacher certification program that would cost more than 100 trillion rupiah in the course

of 10 years (del Granado, Fengler, Ragatz and Yavuz. 2007: 25), aiming to improve the quality of Indonesian school teachers as a whole, another important element in the development of the young people. As the saying goes 'you reap what you sow', it seems that Indonesia goes all the way to even ensure that the soil is also fertile.

Not only the government, the academicians – to bring this back to the paper – also recognize the importance of the young people. Many researches have been complimented to the exploration of educational tools and teaching methods to further enhance the teaching and learning process. In the University of Indonesia Department of Social and Political Science library alone, for instance, 40% of books on youths focus on this topic. The academicians also acknowledge the reality in which the youths are the driving force behind Indonesia's twist and turn of political direction. Hence, a plethora of studies are tributes to the Indonesian young and their movement in the political realm<sup>1</sup>. These studies focus on, for example, the issue of youth movements in the New Order, the movement of the college student's press, the reform era, the campus activists, and so on and so forth.

Unfortunately, this is where the high notes end. As it turns out, researches on youths in Indonesia seem to be polarized into these two aspects only: their education and their political movements. Yes, there are several studies

---

<sup>1</sup> Another 40% of books on youths in the University of Indonesia Department of Social and Political Science library focuses on the political life of Indonesian young people

looking into the economic condition of the young people of the country<sup>2</sup>, yet, there is still a big, arguably more important, portion missing from this field of academic research: how youths go about in from day to day.

Not surprisingly, there are only two particular books in the library that focus on this subject. The first one is a book that looks into how youths handle the account of violence in their daily life (Anti Violence Community, 2002) and the other one looks at how youths deal with interracial and interfaith relationship (Faruk et.al., 1999). These are the types of writing that I inspire to pursue: youths and their daily life.

I believe it is appropriate to inject in personal perspective at this point. I have been highly involved in youth activities and youth events ever since I myself was a youth. It started with my participating in competitions and seminars and then, as I experience the transition to adulthood, it translated into *organizing* competitions and seminars. In my encounters with the young minds, I found that I often pleasantly surprised by the brilliance and, later, the idiosyncrasies of these young people. It is refreshing to see how these youngsters see, perceive and live their life differently to their more adult counterparts, rendering them a unique bunch, a distinctive community of their own. For an anthropologist, I find this phenomenon intriguing and worth exploring. And I

---

<sup>2</sup> There are tens of books focuses on youths and their economic condition In the University of Indonesia Department of Social and Political Science library

believe, to employ anthropological method into such exploration would certainly bring in new insight and enrich the youth literature.

\*\*\*

### THE FOCUS OF THE STUDY

This writing is about the writing of young people. Moreover, it is about their daily life, the way they go about living their days, the way they negotiate their ways amongst their peers and how they interact with one another. Yet, it is admittedly still too broad to simply focus on the general daily life of Indonesian youth. It is not hard to see that this will be too big of a burden to shoulder. Firstly, to do this is to embrace the diversities of Indonesia per say, on how it is constituted of hundreds of tribes, language and inevitably way of living. To add to that, this is also to embrace another level of diversity, namely where these youngsters reside as urban and rural youths would have a unique traits of their own. Not to mention how aspects of life are vast and massive and to not draw limitation to this will also cause the study to be highly general.

For all of the above reasons, this study will focus on a certain community of youth of Indonesia. The community chosen in this paper is the competitive English debating community<sup>3</sup> of the country. Why them? Firstly, because this community flourished at the same time Indonesia was finally free from its 30 years of opinion suppression, which makes it highly relevant to how youths are

---

<sup>3</sup> From now on it will be referred to as the debating community

ever present in the nooks and turns of Indonesian history, which in turns is one of the more significant involvements of youths in the country. Debating skills is also believed to be an important element to participatory democracy (see for example Philips and Hooke, 1972 or Branham, 1991), thus it was around the same time as well when Indonesia entered its era of a better democracy, the Indonesian youths embarked on their learning of skills needed to participate in that new era. Moreover, debating was introduced merely 10 years ago. Hence this is a young community and such condition makes it possible to even track down the very first of its member.

The choosing of this debating community as the focus of the study also eliminates quite some of the variables of diversities that might cause bigger challenges in Anthropological study. Up to this moment, debating flourishes in Indonesia amongst its young people: the high school students and the university scholars; people like Sara. Sara is a student of Santa Ursula high school. She was introduced to debating when she was at her sophomore year. Sara then became a member of Team Indonesia for the World School Debating Championship (WSDC) 2007 in Seoul, South Korea. A lot of young people in Indonesia knew of debating the way Sara did. They encountered it through their high school or the university where they study. Hence, to study the debating community is to study youths automatically. More than that, the operational language of competitive



debating in Indonesia is English<sup>4</sup> and since the mastery of English language still predominantly a privilege to those who lives in urban area, the young people who are the subject in this study are those who reside in the city.

\*\*\*

### DEBATING AS A MINI SOCIAL LABORATORY

But on top of all of the elements mentioned above, debating possesses a characteristic that makes it an intriguing avenue for Anthropological research. In a nutshell, debating is a mini social laboratory. To understand how this comes about, it will be beneficial to briefly look at how competitive debating operates. In any round of a competitive debate, there is a motion—a topic—to be debated. There are also two sides contending one another in that round. One side is for the motion; the other side is against it. A neutral third party—the juries—is present and they are the ones who determine the winner of that particular round. Now, the catch is, the debating team can not choose which side they would want to defend. The system of the competition will determine whether you as a team will be for or against a motion in a particular round.

Competitive debating has never shied away from controversial and sensitive topics. In a debate competition it is quite common to find motions on hate speech, sexuality, abortion, even gay rights—issues that some people,

---

<sup>4</sup> The operational language of competitive debating in Indonesia is English. Even though there have been some debating events conducted in other languages such as Bahasa or Mandarin, the more popular competition still utilizes English.

including these young debaters, feel strongly for or strongly against. However, you *can not* choose to debate against abortion in a debating competition even though you feel very strongly about it. If the system decided that you should be *for* abortion in a particular round rather than *against* it, despite of whatever your personal belief is, you have no choice but to defend abortion. Period. Therefore it is very understandable why some people experienced discomfort as they tried debating. With the way the system is set, you have quite a chance that at one point in a debating competition, you have to defend something against your personal belief.

In a way, with competitive debating, you can some sort of do experiment on people, putting them in a position where they have to challenge their predisposition and then study how they handle such experience and what will come out of that. This is an opportunity too good to pass up for an Anthropological research.

\*\*\*

### THE STUDY OF VALUES

So, with that, this study is also the study of values. To be more exact, this study will explore how the debaters experience the clashing of values in their debating careers and look more into how such intersection affected their life outside debating. It is to examine how it affects them personally but also how it affects the way they cruise their social relationship with their peers. Furthermore,

it will also attempt to figure out how these young people handle the consequence they come in contact with as they tried debating. And as debating often challenge the debaters existing principles, this research also aims to look at the process of value construction.

\*\*\*

### THE REASON IT IS WORTHWHILE

A study upon intersection of values and how such intersection affects the life of the people experiencing it is not only highly fascinating but also highly relevant and significant to the modern day life of Indonesian people. One only needs to think about the many occurrences of sharia law introduction in several districts in Indonesia<sup>5</sup> to realize how the variety of values—or rather the lack of it—is an integral part of the life of Indonesian people nowadays.

It is also fascinating to find out that the utilization of debating as a mini social laboratory is virtually unheard of in the field of study that takes debating as its focus. Literatures currently present that covers the topic mostly focus on how debating hone certain skills of its participants<sup>6</sup>. The closest these previous

---

<sup>5</sup> The introduction of the sharia based law in Indonesia took a rapid development as it decentralized its government in 1999. Nangroe Aceh Darussalam, West Sumatra, the district of Tangerang of West Java and the district of Bulukumba of South Sulawesi were several regions that enacted this particular law. The types of stipulation within these law differs from one area to the next ranging from the obligation of Moslem's attire for women to the night time curfew even to the detainment of people suspected of committing sexual solicitations.

<sup>6</sup> e.g. Bae et.al. (2005) studies debating as a general learning tool while Doyle (1996) specifically look at debate as a tool to understand primary health care. Keller, Whittaker and Burke's research (2001) explores how debating hone policy practice skills and Varlinden (2005) provides tips and trips on argumentation deriving from his experience as a former debater

studies ever come to touch the social realm of debaters is their recognition of how debating provides its practitioners the necessary quality needed in social life<sup>7</sup>. Hence, taking that situation into consideration, this particular study will aim to take a different point of view from its precedents, namely by precisely exploring the social aspect of debating, especially in finding out the experiences debaters went through as they tried debating as well as the way they handle its consequences.

Apart from that reason, I find that focusing on it now is also quite timely, as only a year ago the World Bank issued its World Development Report of 2007 with youth as its focus. The report stated through the words of the Banks' president at that time, Paul Wolfowitz, that "[t]he time has never been better to invest in young people living in developing countries" (2007: v). The report made this claim based on the fact that the number of young people today, age 12-24, is the largest in history and also because they are generally better educated and healthier compared to the previous generation. Youths are also seen as a potential driver to the developing countries' development and an important element of the society who should be included in any decision making process.

All in all, this study aims to enrich the scholarship of issues related to its focuses. It aspires to contribute to the academic studies of Indonesian youth, where currently is almost only polarized to two issues: education and political

---

<sup>7</sup> See for example Freely in *Argumentation and Debate: Critical thinking for reasoned decision making*, 9<sup>th</sup> Ed (1996).

movement. It also intends to deepen the study conducted upon the issue of competitive debate, covering a point of view that up to this point is still lacking if not non-existent. And last but surely not least, this paper also means to supplement the academic analysis upon values and value construction as well. Specifically in finding out how people—in this case youths—deal with a challenge of their profound beliefs and principle and also to take a look at the possibility of the emergence of new set of values as a result.

Hence for the above reasons: closely relevant to Indonesian society's dynamics, a new intellectual exploration on the issue of competitive debating, timely focus on the issue of youths and filling the gap of academic literature, this study meets its significance to be conducted.

\*\*\*

### HOW THE STUDY GROWS

This study was firstly intended to find out how the clash of values affects the debaters experiencing it and affect the value that they themselves hold. In an essence, this study set out to be a study of value construction. However, as what Bruner acknowledge in his writings of "Ethnography as Narrative" (1986), anthropologist often find themselves writing a totally different thing than what they set out to do as the field present them with endless possibilities that they can not possibly anticipate. This writing is no exception. It still acquaints itself with the notion of values, but not in a rigid term, i.e. how it was originally A then

changed to B and how such process cleanly happened. This research even found out how value can be A at the beginning and ends up to be A again at the end of an encounter with an incident. Yet, this does not mean that nothing has changed. Because as much as the value remains constant, the subject that holds the value has undergone a process in which she/he and the value itself were experiencing a treatment. Hence, this study's focus is more in a term of being subjected to the values, with process as its locus. As a consequence, the study is fluid and flexible, and contextual. It is about how the debaters perceive themselves and the values surrounding them, either those they encountered, those they firmly held, those that were contested, confirmed, even altered.

On the other hand, another major issue becomes big key point in this research: the community. Arguably any anthropological research is a research of a community in some sort. However, the community angle becomes strong as each subject, in the process of retelling their encounter with values, can not tear themselves from the narrative of how they interact with their peers in relation to that values and how their peers responds as a result. Yet, once again, this is not strictly a study of community with all its rigidity: namely the what and what not of its attributes. In the course of the research, it is figured that the community angle comes from the perception that the subject holds. It is more of how the subject perceives their own community, people outside their community and themselves ultimately – a fluid description of the concept.

Then, as the study goes deeper into the notion of community, it can not avoid but to take a closer look how such representation brings about a sense of identity amongst the community member. Particularly how self-nature is then embedded into the community's characteristic. The exploration of identity is pretty much inevitable in any research focusing on youth. This is acknowledged by Androutsopoulos and Georgakopolou in their book *Discourse Constructions of Youth Identities* (2003) where they dwell into researches that choose to focus on youth issues<sup>8</sup>. In that particular book, they then further recognize the reality that youth's identity tends to be more fluid, a fact that many anthropological writings presented to be true<sup>9</sup>. This writing will follow suit with that trend, presenting a fluid sense of identity that relates closely with the expression of experience.

So more and more, this paper becomes the study of an experience. It is a research on how the subject experiences its encounter with values. As well as an examination on how the same subject experiences their community. And that is how this study grows and gains its fluidity.

\*\*\*

### THE PERSPECTIVE

It is only fitting to conduct an anthropological study of an experience employing the approach of the 'Anthropology of Experience.' On top of the

---

<sup>8</sup> This acknowledgement is widely shared by experts focusing on studies of youth. For another example read Hodkinson in *Youth Cultures: A critical outline of key debates* (2007).

<sup>9</sup> See for example Sansone (1995), a writing of the culture of young Creoles which are a form of transformation and combination of the white youth culture and the global black culture.

obvious reason – a perfectly resonating name, this particular approach also best suits the characteristic of the study, which this paper will argue for a little later in this section.

The anthropology of experience is an approach firstly made famous by Victor Turner during the early 80's. The term 'Anthropology of Experience' itself was co-coined between Turner and Edward M. Bruner which was also the title of a collection of anthropological essays focusing on experience firstly published 1986. The idea behind this particular anthropological approach really was not something entirely novel. During its years of introduction, it was more of an expansion of the ongoing trend of anthropology that moves away from the rigid point of view of structural functionalism into something more fluid, processual and personal (1986).

Its basic idea is centralized on the notion of experience itself. It explores how culture is experienced by individuals. It deals with not only cognitive accounts of that individual, but also with their affective and imagery as well. With this acknowledgement, anthropology of experience embraces the element of subjectivity of an anthropological research. It embraces the element of perception and the fact that each individual may provide a slightly singular version of a certain event or occurrence. In fact, these discrepancies are exactly the foundation of the entire perspective as it realizes that no one else can experience a person's experience except for that particular person.



This accommodation towards subjectivity is exactly what this particular study needs. As it focuses around values, it focuses on something very personal and, inevitable, highly subjective. Not to mention that debating, as the main vehicle to study these values, is also a very subjective exercise, where argumentation, perception and point of view come into play and become the foundation of getting a winning in a competition. This writing also focuses on changes and what the debaters had gone through, two processes that are inescapably personal and private. Hence, it is only suitable to employ an approach that caters to this personality and subjectivity.

Moreover, it is entirely improbable to use a rigid approach to this particular research as the key matters of this study, i.e. values, change, etc., are in absent of a rigid single definition. This situation is either due to the abstract nature of the key concepts or to the fact that it can mean one thing to a particular person and a totally different thing to another. To stick to one particular definition is to deny the interpretation of a certain subject hence to compromise the authenticity of the study. Fortunately, anthropology of experience accommodates such ambiguity. With this approach, the basic unit of analysis in an anthropological study is to be define by the subject themselves, further eliminating the unbending imposition of framework from the researcher.

Hence, because of these two basic reasons, it is rendered suitable as well as convenient to utilize the approach of the anthropology of experience to this particular research.

## GOFFMAN'S FRAME ANALYSIS

To provide some structure to the experience presented in the writing, this study will utilize Erving Goffman's Frame Analysis. Fundamentally, Frame Analysis aims to answer a simple question: "what is it that's going on here?" (1974: 8). To answer that seemingly simple question, Goffman employs an intricate yet comprehensive fashion called 'framework'. These frameworks are used to provide the "principles of organization which govern events" (1974: 10), and by events he means and also refers to experience. In short, frame analysis is used to structure an experience hence to make sense of it, which perfectly fitting to be employed in this particular study.

The most fundamental framework Goffman introduces is the one that he called the Primary Framework. Primary Framework is a term used to refer to a perspective that does not derive from another prior or 'original' interpretation (1974: 21). This framework can be further divided into two classes: natural framework and social framework. The first one refers to frameworks that "identify occurrences seen as undirected, unoriented, unanimated, unguided, "purely physical"" (1974: 22). Goffman goes on by explaining that such occurrences are "due totally ... to "natural" determinants" (1974: 22). While, the second framework refers to a framework that "provide[s] background understanding for events that incorporate the will, aim, and controlling effort of

an intelligence, a live agency, the chief one being the human being" (1974: 22).

What the agency does, Goffman argues, is called a 'guided doing' (1974: 22).

To sum up, Goffman provides some illustrations to contrast each framework offered above:

"In sum, then, we tend to perceive events in terms of primary frameworks, and the type of frameworks we employ provides a way of describing the event to which it is applied. When the sun comes up, a natural event; when the blind is pulled down in order to avoid what has come up, a guided doing. When a coroner asks the *cause* of death, he wants an answer phrased in the natural schema of physiology; when he asks the *manner* of death, he wants a dramatically social answer, one that describes what is quite possibly part of an intent." (1974: 24-25)

Primary Frameworks then become the basis of other secondary frameworks. In other words, other frameworks are a derivation of Primary Frameworks. Goffman illustrates this secondary framework by using Gregory Bateson's observation of otters playing. The otters that Bateson observed are engaged in a play fight, which is pretty much like the real fighting but with different intention altogether. Here, Goffman introduces the idea of how a Primary Framework, the real fighting, is a model for another framework, the play fight. The transformation of such frameworks he termed by 'keying'. Keying is basically a process of transforming an activity that is "already meaningful in terms of some primary framework ... into something patterned on this activity but seen by the participants to be something quite else" (1974: 44)

One of the most famous result of keying, which also one of the most renowned framework of Goffman's, is what is termed as the Theatrical Framework. This Theatrical Framework stems from the idea of a performance which for Goffman is defined as "[an] arrangement which transform an individual into a stage performer" to be looked at by an audience (1974: 124). Interestingly, this performance can also take place in social life, as also noted by Goffman:

"In thinking about unstaged, actual social life, theatrical imagery seems to guide us toward a distinction between an individual or person an a capacity, namely, a specialized function which the person may perform during a given series of occasions. A simple matter. We say that John Smith is a good plumber, bad father, loyal friend, and so forth." (1974: 128)

To render a framework a Theatrical Framework, Goffman argues that it has to fulfill several characteristics (1974: 139-143):

1. There are spatial boundaries of the stage
2. The doings of the character is exposed
3. The character does not face each other directly, but also facing the audience
4. One person at a time is given the focus of the stage
5. Turns of talking is respected
6. Stage talks is informative for a large audience
7. Utterance is much longer compared to ordinary conversation

#### 8. Simplified relationship between the characters

On top of the 8 principles presented above, Goffman takes one other fundamental as the determinant of purity of the Theatrical framework, namely the existence of audience (1974: 125). He then dwells into the importance of these audiences, people who he says can have two roles at the same time: theatergoer and onlooker (1974: 131). One of the more important nature, Goffman claims, that should concern this audience, is the fact that they know what is presented before them is not the real thing, because shall the knowing part is absence, the framework can cease to be a Theatrical Framework and turns into something else altogether, namely: 'fabrication'.

Fabrication is another framework that Goffman looks into detail in his book "*Frame Analysis*". Fabrication is "[an] intentional effort of one or more individuals to manage activity so that a party of one or more others will be induced to have a false belief about what it is that is going on" (1974: 83). In essence, fabrication is a deception where one or several people believe a certain thing to be true when it is actually not. This is certainly different than Theatrical Frame where everyone is fully informed that a fabrication is ongoing.

Having offered all of those frameworks to structure experiences, Goffman acknowledges occasions where such framework can be broken as he notes that framework is not only about meaning but it also involves involvement (1974: 345). When an individual, or several, ceases their involvement in a certain frame, that frame breaks. As the frame breaks keying happens, particularly, Goffman

notes, through *downkeying* and *upkeying*. The first refer to a condition where the frame gets closer to reality while the latter refer to the opposite.

In later section of this writing, we will see how Goffman's idea of Frame Analysis comes into play in debating realm. We will look at Theatrical Framework, fabrication and keying as well, to provide a structure to the experience presented as to render them more intelligible for the rest of us.

\*\*\*

### THE DATA COLLECTION ACTIVITIES

In the approach of the anthropology of experience, it is acknowledge that to study experience is to focus on the manifestation of that experience: the individual expression. Expression here refers to how life is told by the people who underwent it (1986:6). This is seen as more suitable than to observe people behavior to make sense of their experience. This is because observation entails an outsider-looking-in description which in a sense strips away the element of personalization of experience. Moreover, as has been explained before, we can not live someone else's experience. Hence, an understanding of experience needs to retain that subjectivity element.

As a consequence, this study lies heavily on in-depth interview as its primary means of exploration. Essentially, it is because through in-depth interview, the narrative is more often than not is self-referential and make it

probable to stay true to the personal characteristic of anthropology of experience (1986:7).

It is acknowledged that the discrepancies between the notion of reality (life as lived), experience (life as experienced) and expression (life as told) may occur due to, amongst all, ignorance or selectiveness (1986:6). Hence, utilizing in-depth interview method will only be able to solicit the expression and miss the experience or the reality even though by a hair. First and foremost, anthropology had always accommodated such discrepancies, realizing that no anthropological method could ever be able to capture the entire richness of a reality (1986:7). Yet, on top of that, particularly in this research – which in a nutshell really is about how experience affects the later life of the experiencer – the incongruity between reality, experience and expression becomes secondary. As it is exactly the expression, which bears the element of perception, that is crucial to this research. Later chapters of this writing will reveal how perception is in fact the basic determinant of how a certain individual constructs their reality.

This study also utilizes Focus Group Discussion (FGD) as another method to explore trends and common familiarity a group of debaters may encounter. FGD is also a great way to find out whether a certain experience and understanding is shared amongst the group. The participants of this FGD did not exceed 8 people at a time to ensure full participation of each of the member of the group. The research also ensured that there were a certain common traits of the FGD participants, usually those who go to the same school or those who undergo

the same training for a competition. FGD is also used in this research to identify key individuals whose experience is to be further explored through in-depth interview.

In choosing key people to be interviewed, as has been mentioned briefly before, this study also employs the snowballing technique, where an interviewee provided recommendation on who should also be interviewed. This recommendation is also provided by the wider debating community who has heard of the research and offered some suggestion on which individual would be suitable to explore. Their basis of recommendation would be a personal knowledge of a certain individual who they perceived has undergone significant changes because of debating in their life time.

Finally, observation and semi participatory observation<sup>10</sup> techniques will also be used, though arguably secondary and as a cross checking tool, to enrich the information collected for the study.

\*\*\*

### THOSE WHO ARE EXPLORED

This research chooses to gain a better understanding of Indonesian debating community by firstly focusing on the newest members of that group, namely the high school students and the youngest class of university

---

<sup>10</sup> It is highly probable to be involved in debating without being debaters per se. In a course of one round of competitive debating, other elements also present namely the juries, the chair person and the time keeper. All three play significant role in the round.



undergraduates. These groups of people are those who are acquainted with debating for a mere one or two years. Thus it is more possible to solicit the immediate reaction to the experience of competitive debating with them as the subject of the study. In fact, focusing on this cohort is probably the most appropriate when studying debating, as Gunther, for example, claims in his book *The Challenge of Debating* how the best debaters are those who are young, especially in their 14-19 years of age and how the best place to start learning about debate is school (1988: 16-19).

For the high school debaters, this research conducted its study upon students of 3 high schools in Jakarta, namely Canisius College, Santa Ursula and the state high school 34 in Pondok Labu. These high schools are chosen as they have been constantly involved in competitive debating ever since as early as 2000, pretty close to the time of the introduction of debating to Indonesia. This constant participation makes it more likely for a debating community to grow and flourish in those schools.

This study also includes two batches of candidates for Team Indonesia to the World School Debating Championship (WSDC), an international debating competition for high school students. Since 2000, Indonesia has been constantly sending representatives to this prestigious international event. As candidates to WSDC, the group of high school students chosen will have to attend an extensive debating training camp which can last for more than 6 months. This training

exposes the candidates to an extensive experience of debating; hence it is rendered suitable to be investigated for the purpose of this research.

As for the university students involved, the research explore the experience of the debaters of University of Indonesia (UI) and the debaters of the State Administration University (STAN) as these two institution also has shown constant participation to the world of competitive debating in Indonesia.

This study will also includes seasoned and former debater, as to find information how debating later affects their principles and with it their life. These people are chosen based on their life experience and are recommended by their fellow debaters as their peers perceive them of having undergone quite significant changes in the course of their life. The inclusion of these debaters is believed to provide a more thorough perception and experience as to enrich this study even more.

The study decides to explore the point of view of those around the debaters as well, namely their non-debater peers. This is to provide some sort of a cross examination on whether the perception of the debater subject matches those surrounding her/him.

\*\*\*

## THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE WRITINGS

To begin the exploration of debating community in Indonesia, this writing will take a look at the brief history of the world of competitive debating

in Indonesia in Chapter 2. It will narrate how debating is firstly introduced to the country around a decade ago and then continue to recount how it then grew and flourished all over the country's regions. This writing will also provide a concise explanation of how competitive debating is conducted and with that, how the adjudication process of a debating round is done. This later focus is necessary to look at as it becomes an entry point for the next subsequent chapter.

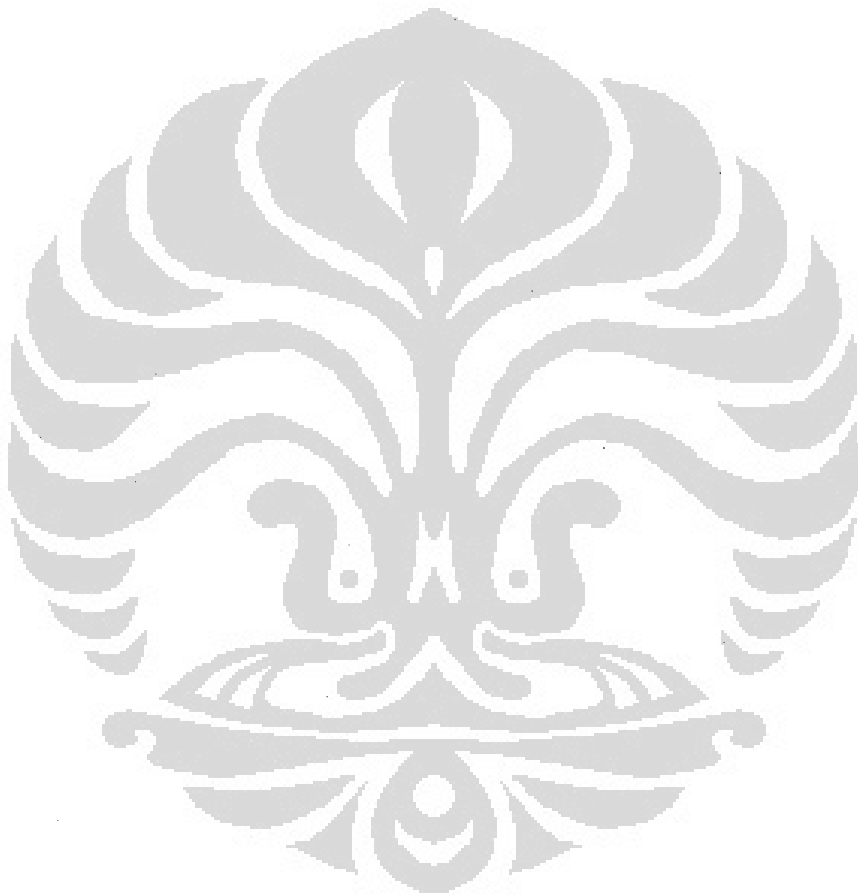
In Chapter 3 we will see how debaters handle the two worlds existing in their life: their debating domain and their life outside it. We will explore the different treatments debater tends to apply to these two worlds where at the same time, applying Goffman's framework of experience theory to have a sense of such dealings.

Chapter 4 will be where we start to see the how the two worlds of a debater do intersect and what consequence such an overlap causes to that particular individual. Here we will see how debaters negotiate with their non-debater peers as they encounter each other in a social context.

Chapter 5 will be about the community. Here, we will see how debating community possesses a unique characteristic in which regulation is almost non-existent and boundaries are drawn from the sense of *do not* rather than *do*.

Chapter 6 will be about perception, started with how people outside of debating community perceive the commune. This chapter will also look at the idea of self-projection, in particular how own characteristic becomes reflected to the community's attributes where one belongs to.

Chapter 7 concludes.



## CHAPTER 2: The Rain

### How It All Started

*"I still remember how in the 1<sup>st</sup> JOVED... That was in 1997. It was conducted at the very beginning... at the outset of the Reform... where angst and discontent to the government started to spread out, though it [angst/discontent] was still minor in scale. Then, one of the coaches of the participating varsity team raised a concern, asking whether the committee could guarantee that any statement the participants made would not make them liable for... I think what he meant was liable for subversion. The committee said that university is a place of learning, discourse is always accepted so the participants should not be afraid to make any statement. But at the same time, the committee said that they understood there was some concern regarding the issue and had made sure that the motions did not specifically target the Indonesian government policy."*

*Rivandra Royono*

*Co-Founder of Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB) English Debating society*

\*\*\*

The time was 1998. Soeharto was finally overthrown. His 'New Order' regime came to an end and Indonesia was freed from more than three decades prison of silence. It was two years before that when 3 students from the University of Indonesia (UI) went for the first time to a regional debating competition called the ASEAN Varsities Debate 1996 in Universiti Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. What happen after that goes down in history of competitive debating in Indonesia.

"One of the three debaters [that went to Malaysia] was committed to develop debating in Indonesia as he went back

from the competition. He then trained 3 UI students to form a team to participate in the IV All-Asians Intervarsity Debating Championships, an regional Asia parliamentary debating competition held by Nanyang Technological University, Singapore in 1997. That competition was also participated by 1 team from the Parahyangan. Catholic University (Unpar), PEDS.”

([http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indonesian\\_Varsity\\_English\\_Debate](http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indonesian_Varsity_English_Debate))

There they were introduced to a whole new concept of structured argumentation, a concept that was quite foreign to Indonesian whose debates, if they ever had one, were messy and disorganized<sup>11</sup>.

Those young people were so fascinated with the concept they decided to bring it home. Thus they worked together and in mid 1997, they brought about the first ever English debating competition in Indonesia. The event is called the Java Overland English Debating (JOVED) championship and UnPar was the first host. There were around 20 universities invited to come to that 1<sup>st</sup> competition including ITB and Trisakti University. The concept was a big hit and soon a second, larger-scale competition was underway.

This time, UI was the host and the competition was called Indonesian Varsities English Debate (IVED) championship, the 1<sup>st</sup> national level competition held in 1998, only a mere half a year from JOVED. The ‘New Order’ regime just fell and Indonesia was finally free to speak up their mind. And as debating is all about speaking up your mind, the timing could not have been more perfect. In

---

<sup>11</sup> Indonesian famous style of debating is called ‘debat kusir’ where people can just speak up whenever they want and got interrupted in the middle of their speech by someone else as well.

this competition, a mechanism that becomes the foundation of English debating competition in Indonesia was then formulated. That mechanism is called a council, where representatives of the participants convene and decide matters related to the championship. One of the biggest issues the council settles is the hosting issue: who will host the next competition. In 1998, Atmajaya Catholic University (Atma), Jakarta stepped up and took the baton from UI to host the next IVED. With that the nature of the competition was determined – the ownership does not lie on one institution only but it is owned collectively by its participants. And this becomes the nature of most English debating competition flourishing later on in Indonesia.

Debating rapidly gained popularity. English debating societies started to flourish in many universities in Indonesia. These universities become regular participants to national competition such as IVED and JOVED. This regular participation then gave rise to other national level debating competitions. To name the two that are quite popular today: the Asian Law School Association Debating Championship, or more widely known as ALSA and the Founders Trophy (FT).

ALSA is usually conducted in April. It is quite different in nature compared to IVED and JOVED as ALSA as a competition includes more than just debating. Its official name is ALSA e-comp, a short for ALSA English Competition. Hence on top of debating, ALSA also accommodates competition such as story telling and news casting. ALSA was also unique as it is the first

debating competition that accommodates both university participants and high-school participants. This is quite different than IVED and JOVED, which can only be participated by university students.

Yet, when talking about inclusion of high school debaters, FT is arguably the most accommodative of all. In FT, there is no separate category for high school and university participants. They are all competing in the same even and can go face to face against one another. FT is also very unique as it employs the style of debate that is arguable the most uncommon in English Debating in Indonesia. The style it uses is the British Parliamentary style, where there are two people in one team and four teams in a round of debate competing for a win. IVED, JOVED and ALSA all use a style that entails three people in one team with two teams in every round of debate. As a result, FT's debates are often very dynamic and strategic; presumably to accommodate 8 debaters at one time rather than just six.

Indonesian debaters also start to join regional competition such as the All Asian, the Asian University Debating Championship (AUDC) and the Australasian. The first two that were mentioned are regional competitions for university students in Asian region while the last one, the Australasian, includes students from Australia and New Zealand alike. Next, Indonesian debaters tackle the international level competition, called the Worlds University Debating



Championship (WUDC)<sup>12</sup>, where there are more than 300 teams coming from more than 40 countries competing. And Indonesia can be proud that its teams were not only participating to make the competition merrier, these debaters scored some achievements as well. In the last WUDC in Assumption Thailand, 4 Indonesian teams, 3 teams from UI and 1 team from ITB broke to the final rounds of the English for Second Language Category<sup>13</sup>.

Nowadays, any national level debating competition hosts up to 50 teams at a time and the numbers of university competing there is growing bigger than ever. The same trend is repeated in the regional and international competitions where more and more Indonesian universities take a part in the event.

Now that was a brief look on how university English debating grows rapidly in Indonesia. Let us take a look at the next section how high school English debating came about to be popular in the country.

\*\*\*

### ENTER HIGH SCHOOL DEBATING

After around 4 years debating been around in Indonesia, some of the debaters started to feel that it was time to introduce the concept to the high school students. Therefore, several members of UI English Debating Society

<sup>12</sup> More on WUDC conduct and regulation, read D'Cruz in *Official Rules of the World Universities Debating Championship* (1996).

<sup>13</sup> This story was covered in the Jakarta Post by an article titled *Lessons from Debates and Competition* written by Rivandra Royono whose comment was quoted at the beginning of this chapter. The article was published in The Jakarta Post, February 19, 2008.

(EDS-UI) approached the Ministry of National Education (MoNE) and suggested to them an idea to send participants to the Worlds School Debating Championship – an international-scale competition of debating for high school students where the participants were the representative of a certain country. The Ministry took up the idea and decided to make the selection process to choose the representatives as national as possible. Hence, they asked EDS-UI to organize a national debating competition for high school students. This was in 2001 and 2 years later, in 2003, the organization of that national level competition for high school students – or more popularly known as the Indonesian School Debating Championship (ISDC), was taken over by a non profit organization called the Association for Critical Thinking (ACT)<sup>14</sup>. Over the years ISDC has grown bigger and more significant in realm of English debating in Indonesia. High school students are aspired to participate in ISDC in the hope to become members of Team Indonesia sent for WSDC.

To solicit individuals as Indonesian representatives to go to this prestigious international debating competition, MoNE decided to have a selection process comparable to those of the Science Olympiad. In cooperation with ACT and the local education office, they hold the selection process starting from the provincial level. These provincial selections are either in the form of a

---

<sup>14</sup> ACT was founded by former debaters from UI, ITB and Atmajaya University. This NGO aims to proliferate critical thinking amongst the Indonesian youths using debate as its main tools.

debating competition or a speech contest, both employed to select best speakers to then represent the province to the national level competition: ISDC.

In ISDC, teams consisting of three debaters from every province in Indonesia set out to face one another in several debating rounds. Individual scores are accumulated from these rounds and at the end, 8 best individual speakers were chosen as candidates of Team Indonesia for WSDC. These 8 debaters then have to undergo another selection process, usually in the form of face to face training for two weeks. From this training, 4 individuals are then selected as the representatives of Indonesia.

Since 2001, Indonesia has continued its annual participation to WSDC. Its highest achievement was carved in 2003 as Indonesia broke to the final rounds and ranked 11 out of 30-ish countries participating. The country's last participation to WSDC, held in Seoul, South Korea, resulted in a prestigious 2<sup>nd</sup> place for Indonesia in the English for Foreign Language Category. Indonesia also ranked 18 out of the 36 countries participating, one place higher than the result of its participation in the previous year of 2006 (WSDC 2007 Participation Report).

Now, ISDC has become more than just a selection. It grew to be a prestigious competition in itself where high school students meet their counterparts from every province in Indonesia. The last ISDC, held in January 2008, was participated by all 33 provinces in the country. The existence and significance of ISDC in the life of young people in Indonesia today was also started to be recognized by various organization seeking to work with young

people. In that last ISDC, for instance, Hivos, a Dutch donor agency sponsored a special workshop that aimed to instill the basic understanding of Human Rights among youths.

The popularity of high school debating follows suit. More and more schools all over Indonesia have begun to try their hands at debating. This year participation in ALSA only recorded 52 high schools taking part in the competition. And English debating in general in Indonesia has become more popular than ever. Institutions and schools alike host and organize numerous debating championships, be it national in level, regional even a local scope competition. The activities start to branch out as well. There are coaching, sparring even seminars of debate as oppose to just a debate training preceding a debate competition like in the old days. Hardly any month passes without a debating related event taking place. And this buzz of activities does not only happen in just one city, it happens everywhere: Jakarta, Bandung, Yogyakarta even Makassar and Banda Aceh.

As a result, the number of debaters is growing steadily. And as soon as they start to meet each other some more, they realize that they start to share a lot of similar things: their experience, way of thoughts. Then the inevitable happens: they commune. And this commune is exactly what this paper is focusing on.

\*\*\*

## HOW TO DO COMPETITIVE DEBATING

At this point it is beneficial and fitting to take a look at how competitive debating is executed. As has been briefly illustrated in the previous chapter, in any competitive debating round, there will always be one topic, or a motion, to debate upon. Then there will always be two sides in any round of a debate: one side is the side that supports the motion, usually called the affirmative, and the other side who is against the motion, commonly known as the opposition. From here on, competitive debating is fashioned differently according to its respective style. In most of the styles, i.e. Australasian parliamentary style<sup>15</sup>, Asian parliamentary style or World School style, one team consists of three speakers. In some other styles, i.e. British parliamentary style, one team consists of two people.

Each of the speakers has a different role. The first speaker lays down the foundation of the debate, the second speaker mainly provides the bulk of arguments of the team's case and the third speaker is the rebuttal speaker. Each speaker is allocated a certain minutes to speak, which ranges from 7 to 8 minutes, according to the style of debate. The first speaker of the affirmative team always speaks up first, then the first opposition takes the floor and it continues in that manner as the turn to speak alternates between the affirmative team and the opposition team.

---

<sup>15</sup> More on this style, read Swanwick and Erskin, *The Australian Debating Handbook*, 1993.

When all speakers have had a chance to speak, a summary of the debate is then presented. First the opposition side is given the opportunity to do this. One of the speakers of the opposition side will stand up and deliver a summary of the debate from the opposition point of view. This speaker is called the reply speaker. Then, the reply speaker from the affirmative side is given the time to speak. Each reply speech should only last for 4 to 5 minutes.

In competitive debating, a speaker has total control of the floor while she/he is presenting their speech. However, in some of the debating styles, the other team reserves a right to ask question to the currently speaking speaker. They do this by offering a 'point of information' (POI), usually by standing up from their seat and extending one of their hands toward the speaker while mentioning the phrase 'point of information'. The speaking speaker has two options when this happens: she/he can choose to turn down that offer and continue with own speech or they can accept the POI and let the requester pose their question. In the case where the speaker accepts, the person who offers the POI can only ask the question for 15 seconds top and then the control of the floor is once again given back to the currently speaking speaker.

The other element of a competitive debate, apart from the debaters, is the judge. Any competitive debating round would need an odd number of judges, i.e. one or three or five and so on. These judges are the ones who determine the outcome of the debate, strictly speaking who wins it. At the same time to should also provide their assessment of the debate which also entails their reasoning of

why they give the winning to a certain team. There has to be a winner in any debating rounds. There can never be a draw. In deciding who wins, in almost all style of competitive debating, the judges are not to confer. Each judge in that particular round has to decide for his or herself which team wins the debate. The team that gets the most votes from the judges wins the debate.

A debating round can be watched by an audience. Yet, the absence of audience does not make it impossible for a round of debate to be conducted. When the debate is at play, audiences are expected to maintain order. They of course are not allowed to attempt an exchange with the speaker. Whether they are allowed to make audible comment for other people in the forum to hear, the rule varies from competition to competition.

The other element of a debating round is the chairperson and the time keeper. However, similar to that of the audience, these two roles are not necessary for a debate to happen. A chairperson's job is essentially to moderate the debate. He/she will call upon the designated speaker when it is time for them to speak. Chairperson also has the authority to maintain order in the room. Whenever the chairperson feels the audience, or even the sitting debaters, create a disturbance to the debate, she/he can request an order to the house.

A time keeper's task in a debate is pretty much straightforward. She/he keeps time. They also give the time signal to the debaters, indicating how many minutes have passed since a person started their turn. A common time signaling is as follows: one knock at the first minute, to indicate that POI can be offered,

another single knock at the fifth or the sixth minutes (depends on the style) to indicate that time to offer POI is over, a double knock a minute after that to indicate that the speaking time is over and the speaker is entering into the grace period and lastly a continuous knock 20 seconds after that to signify that the grace period is over and the speaker should go back to her/his seat <sup>16</sup>.

\*\*\*

### WHAT HAPPEN IN A COMPETITION

Having illustrated how a debate round is usually conducted, allow me to also briefly illustrate how a debating competition is usually run. There is always a preliminary round and an elimination round in any debate competition. In the preliminary round, teams are required to debate a predetermined number of times. Their accumulative winnings and scores from those rounds will be the determinant whether they would advance to the elimination round or not.

A debate round, whether it is in the preliminary or in the elimination stage, will be preceded by an announcement of which team will be up against who, as well as what position they will debate on. Then the motion is launched for that particular round. After that, a certain amount of time is allocated, commonly for 30 minutes, for all teams to build their case before they face each other in the debate.

---

<sup>16</sup> More on how to conduct a debating round, read Knapp and Galizio, *Elements of Parliamentary Debate*, 1999.



At the end of the case building time, the debate round commences, in which speakers take turns in making their appeal. When the reply speaker of the affirmative team, the last speaker to speak, has finished her/his turn, time is allocated for the judges to make a decision. When they reach the decision, it was made known to the debaters and the round concludes. This process is then repeated as the match for the next round is announced.

\*\*\*

### NOTHING PERSONAL

Now, it is necessary to highlight at this point, a little of the nature of judging in competitive debating. As a judge, a person can not determine the winning because of personal believe. This is strictly discouraged and has always been the first principle introduced in any Judging 101. The consideration to determine an outcome of a debate has to strictly come from what happen in that particular debate. In an easy way, which team is more convincing in presenting their case. So to let us take a simple example, a judge can not simply give a winning to the opposition team in an abortion debate because she/he personally believes that abortion is unacceptable. If the affirmative team in that abortion debate is more convincing than the opposition team, than she/he should give the

winning to the affirmative team, regardless of what she/he personally believes in<sup>17</sup>.

So any round of competitive debating does not aim to come up with 'the truth' or 'the right' decision at the end, i.e. to answer whether abortion should be allowed or not because of abortion per se. It is an intellectual exercise of argumentation which aims to come up with 'the win', i.e. to answer whether abortion should be allowed or not comes from which side argues it better. In fact, it has history acknowledges how the root word of the word 'debate' is the same as the word 'to beat', which very close to the word 'to win'<sup>18</sup>. Hence, the result of any debating round does not necessarily reflect the belief of the judges nor, apparently, the debaters in that debate, as the next chapter will demonstrate.

---

<sup>17</sup> This has always been an issue in competitive debating as adjudication is inherently subjective. This subjectivity often leads to various complications. Hence, adjudicators are often and repeatedly reminded of the tendency. See for example Ian Lising's writing in Monash Debating Review volume 1 titled *American Adjudication Advice*.

<sup>18</sup> More about this and a brief history of debating through time read Branham's book titled *Debate and Critical Analysis: The harmony of conflict* (1991).

## CHAPTER 3: The Refraction

### How Debaters Deal with Conflicting Values

*September 2007 – field notes*

*Groans and moans of dismay came out from the affirmative mouths as it was decided that they were to defend the motion for the debate training that day. The motion was 'This House would urge schools to advocate abortion for their pregnant student'. The two teams facing one another then retreated to their respective case building spot. Murmured discussion followed suit from the affirmative bench.*

*"How are we to defend this?" asked Freddy, the first speaker of the team. "Well... can't we say this is to prevent free sex<sup>19</sup>? Or to prevent overpopulation?" offered Alan, the third speaker. "It becomes a problem in schools, you know? It disturbs learning in class," add Toni, the second speaker. "But abortion is murder!" claimed Freddy. "There's time limit to abortion isn't it? If we discard it before it's human, it's not murder," answered Toni.*

*"If we see it from religion point of view, it's definitely wrong," said Alan. "Catholicism says it's wrong," agreed Freddy. "Well, we don't say that. This is like a war. We don't use losing strategy in wars!" stormed Toni, "we have to focus to get a win!" "But I don't know what to say! When it was [a debate about] fuel price increase, I can still fight. Even though I was supporting it. But now, I don't know!" Freddy throw*

---

<sup>19</sup> Indonesian debaters often refer to extra marital sex with the term free sex

*his hand in the air in desperation. "Well, let's just focus to get a win here. And what can we do? We just have to do anything to be able to win," responded Toni in finality.*

\*\*\*

Debating does put people in an awkward position. As what has been explained previously, which I am to reiterate now, in competitive debating, one can not choose which side to defend. As a result, one sometimes, arguably even often, has to support an issue that they personally do not believe in. This becomes quite a struggle when the topic at hand is rendered sensitive or controversial. The above strip illustrates one of said occasion. That was one of debate practices conducted in Canisius College. They usually held them on the weekends, mostly on Saturday. In these practices, students were teamed up into groups of three and they then faced one another in a practice debate. The senior debater, or sometime an invited judge, decided what motion they should debate upon. In the particular day narrated above, they were to debate about abortion. Clear distressed could be observed from the affirmative bench. All of them personally did not believe in abortion. They all thought abortion was murder. Hence, they found it difficult to defend abortion as it was against their personal belief.

This experience of distress is not unique to the Canisius College students only. The majority of debaters confessed that they had once been in a situation where they were puzzled over how to defend things that were not in line with

their belief. "I remember when I had to prove that prostitution is a form of empowerment to women. It was very hard for me to even imagine how this might be so, so I had a lot of difficulties trying to build a case to support the issue."<sup>20</sup> That was Raya's comment. She was one of the members of Team Indonesia for WSDC 2007 Seoul, South Korea. Other debaters expressed more or less the same experience regarding issues that they perceive as sensitive or notorious – issues such as sexual orientation or abortion or even religion.

This struggle does not only come from the fact that the debater personally does not share the point of view of the side they have to defend, it is also because they find the majority of the society shares their personal point of view hence they are dumbfounded and consider that it is almost improbable to think otherwise. "How are you supposed to defend abortion? It's murder! No one in the society would defend murder!" claimed Freddy, a student of Canisius College storming off after the said debate, where he had to defend abortion as a solution for pregnant unmarried student.

As has been mentioned before, most debaters share similar experience to that of Raya's or Freddy's. At one point or another in their debating career, they are "forced" to defend something that they personally do not believe in or something that the society does not believe in. This is where debating really plays its role as a mini social laboratory. It becomes a media to explore how people

---

<sup>20</sup> First cited in Ayuandini and Royono (2007) page 8.

deal with such conflicting position. What the research reveals, interestingly, they choose to cope in different fashions.

\*\*\*

### DIFFERENT COPING MECHANISM

*"For example, if we take something that the society mostly believes in, [it] is like this... value is women are domestic in nature, the norm would then be, women should know how to cook."*

*Sutan*

*Former ITB debater*

\*\*\*

These different ways of copings turn out to have a lot to do with the debaters' state before they are acquainted with debating. In other words, it has a lot to do with how they perceive and deal with the majority's values and norms previously. To have a working definition, as to provide a better understanding, of what values and norms are, we can draw a bit of encapsulation of Sutan's example of values and norms presented above. Essentially, value has a strong relation to what we think of something while norm is closely related to how such value is put into practice.

Every debaters interviewed for this research acknowledge how before knowing debating they tended to a certain degree practice in their lives the values that the majority in the society believes in. This is once again values such as abortion is murder, or gay is an oddity. However, there are debaters that despite the embracement also questioned why that is the value or norms in the society or they quietly had a different take from what the society believes in, even though they implemented such society's values in their life. The research finds out that these debaters had a slightly different experience of having to defend a position that contradicts the position of the society compared to the other debaters who only started to encounter this challenge as debating presents that opportunity to them. For this second type, interestingly, their way of coping with conflicting values is mostly divided into two major manners: those who separate their debating life from their life outside debating and those who gradually started to embrace these new point of views they find in debating and implement it in their life outside it.

So in a nutshell, this research unravels three different ways on how debaters cope with the situation where they have to defend an unpopular position. Therefore, the following section and the rest of this chapter will look into more details at these different ways of managing. We shall start by re-narrating experience of three different individuals, each taking a different way in defending a position not shared by the society. And after that, this paper will

employ Erving Goffman's approach of 'Frame Analysis' to come to a better understanding and also to provide a structure to these different experiences.

\*\*\*

### TO VOICE OUT THE UNHEARD OF

*"I start to question when I was very little. I always ask why women have to learn to cook. And all this gender roles. You start to question why people think like this. Why they put religion as a big part in their life."*

*Nayla*

*Former high school debaters now studying in UI*

Nayla is one of those debaters who has always been in question of the society's values and norms even before she knew debating. But she found out that it was not wise to voice her question out loud. "I asked it several time to my parents, but the responds were not so good." As she joined debating, she discovered that there she could question out loud things that other people don't question. "You join debating and you meet people who question the same thing and it's just fun. You find a venue to say it out loud." Through debating she met other people that question the same thing as her and found out that some of her values that have not been too inline with the society's values were



accommodated. “[Debate is] just confirming what I used to question. Ow, this is what I actually believe in.”

\*\*\*

*“I have to separate my debating life from my real life. Some of my friends said I’m different when I debate than when I’m in real life. If you support one thing in a motion that doesn’t mean in real life you support that too.”*

*Fajar,*

*Candidate for Team Indonesia for WSDC 2008, Washington D.C, USA*

Fajar, obviously, had a very different take on how to deal with his debating experience compared to Nayla. Fajar kept his real life<sup>21</sup>, to use his own term to refer to his life outside debating, and his debating life separated. He became a different person when he debated and there are plenty debaters who did exactly what Fajar did. “When I debated about gay marriage, I just used arguments my coach taught me off. I don’t take that merits of that argument to my real life. But in a debate you kinda don’t have a choice. You want to win.” That was a statement from Saskia, a 2<sup>nd</sup> grade high school debater from the state high school 34. Her sentiment was shared by plenty other school debaters. We of course still remember how in one of debating practices in Canisius College, during a case building session preceding a debate on abortion, the team who

---

<sup>21</sup> From now on, following Fajar’s labeling, life outside debating will also be referred to as ‘real life’.

supposed to defend the idea of abortion was highly uncomfortable as all of them think that abortion is murder. Then one of the team members spoke up and told the other to just focus on getting a win and do whatever they need to get that.

\*\*\*

*"I am certainly more tolerant now. In the way I think and the way I treat others. Like, if I met, let's say, a prostitute before I knew debating, I'd feel grossed out by her or him. I will treat them rudely. But now, I think that it is their right to choose what they do. As long as they don't hurt me, I treat them with respect".<sup>22</sup>*

Mutia

*Former high school debaters now studying in UI*

Now, Mutia's experience is altogether different from the previous. For her, debating and real life is not as seamless as that of Nayla nor does it as clean cut as that of Fajar. For her, they overlap. She started debating with a certain perspective towards something but as she was "forced" to defend the unpopular position, the position that she did not personally share, she started to see the merits of such position. That merits stayed with her when the debate concluded and sipped into her life outside debating.

Debaters that share Mutia's experience believe such shift happened because of either one of the following factor: the debate itself made them realize

---

<sup>22</sup> First cited in Ayuandini and Royono (2007) page 9.

something they did not before or debating acquainted them with people who have different point of view from them. And over their time in debating, they mingled with these people and started to share point of view and made it their own.

Raya's experience is more of the first. She remembered how difficult it was for her when she had to defend prostitution as a form of women emancipation. But after she debated that, she had a change of view. "But after... [the debate], I *kinda* got the logic. And despite of my personal belief, I am now able to at least see it from the opposite perspective in regards to prostitution."<sup>23</sup> Alia's experience on the other hand is more of the second. "I used to not like Chinese people. Because, well because people in my surroundings just don't like them. They are prejudiced against the Chinese. With the stereotyping and everything. But because I joined debating, I start to have Chinese friends. And I found out that they're nice people. So I don't hate them anymore." What happened to Raya and Alia were quite different, yet they did share the same thing: what they found in debating alter their life outside it.

\*\*\*

---

<sup>23</sup> First cited in Ayuandini and Royono (2007) page 8.

## FRAME ANALYSIS

We have in our hands three very different accounts of how debaters handle the fact that they sometimes had to defend unpopular position. To put a structure into these three different narratives, we could benefit by employing Erving Goffman's "Frame Analysis". So let us start with Fajar.

Fajar first knew debating as he participated in the provincial selection prior to the national competition, ISDC. He was only a second grader high school student at that time. Fajar did really well in ISDC and was chosen to be one of the candidates for Team Indonesia for WSDC 2008 in Washington D.C., USA.

Fajar separated his debating life from the life he has outside debating. Debating was not part of the real life as he saw it. And Fajar's way of seeing debating is shared by plenty others. "A lot of my friends think we're only debating. We're not really talking about it," explained Indira, a newbie of EDS UI, to me. She made that statement to clarify how some of her debater friends kept their debating life apart from their life outside of debating.

Furthermore, with his own words Fajar acknowledged how he became a different person as he debates. He did not personally believe in the thing that he said as he made his speech. He, in some sort of a way, was playing a role. Amal, a former STAN's debater, also indicated a similar thing to that of Fajar. "When I have to debate a position that I don't believe in, I say in my speech, people who believe in this position say this and that. So it's not me who believe such and such."

Other debaters employed different technique to keep their debating life apart from their life outside it. Students of state high school 34 admitted that they just took whatever their coaches told them, applied it in debating but not in real life. Students of Canisius College said how they were just going to focus to get a win, despite the fact that to get a win they had to, at least temporarily, gave a voice of something they do not believe in.

Now, let us organize all of these expressed experiences using Goffman's "Frame Analysis". Looking at what Indira's friends told her, it is obvious how they did not see their engagement in debating as the real thing. They did not argue for real – where the argument is of their own belief – they saw it as something else, something potentially pretentious, an exercise, or probably a play. These ways of seeing have clearly shown us how these debaters applied a *keying* to their debating experience. The argumentation, though looked as if real, was perceived to be something else hence not a part of the real life realm.

It is quite natural then to presume that some sort of a theatrical framework is at play here. To take Fajar's words, he was a different person when he was debating. He took on role and acted accordingly. Goffman argues that theatrical frameworks end when the curtain closes. In debating, it ended as the judges announce the winning. At that, for these debaters, their performance ended and they resumed their real life, leaving behind the speeches they had in debating to not mix them with the real life.

And indeed it is quite interesting to look at the end goal of these debaters as they debated. They were there to get 'the win'. And this is pretty much in line with what the adjudicators were advised to think and do as has been explained in the previous chapter. They were to see that a debate round was not to find 'the truth' nor 'the right'. It was to award 'the win'. And talking about winning is to evoke one of the types of performance Goffman mentioned as a part of a theatrical frame: matches or contests (1974: 125). And debating is a match; it is some sort of a sport where at the end, a win is to be awarded. Hence, it strengthens the idea that to debate is to enter a performance, which is separate from the real life, that ends when the curtain close, or in this case, when the judges announce the winning<sup>24</sup>.

\*\*\*

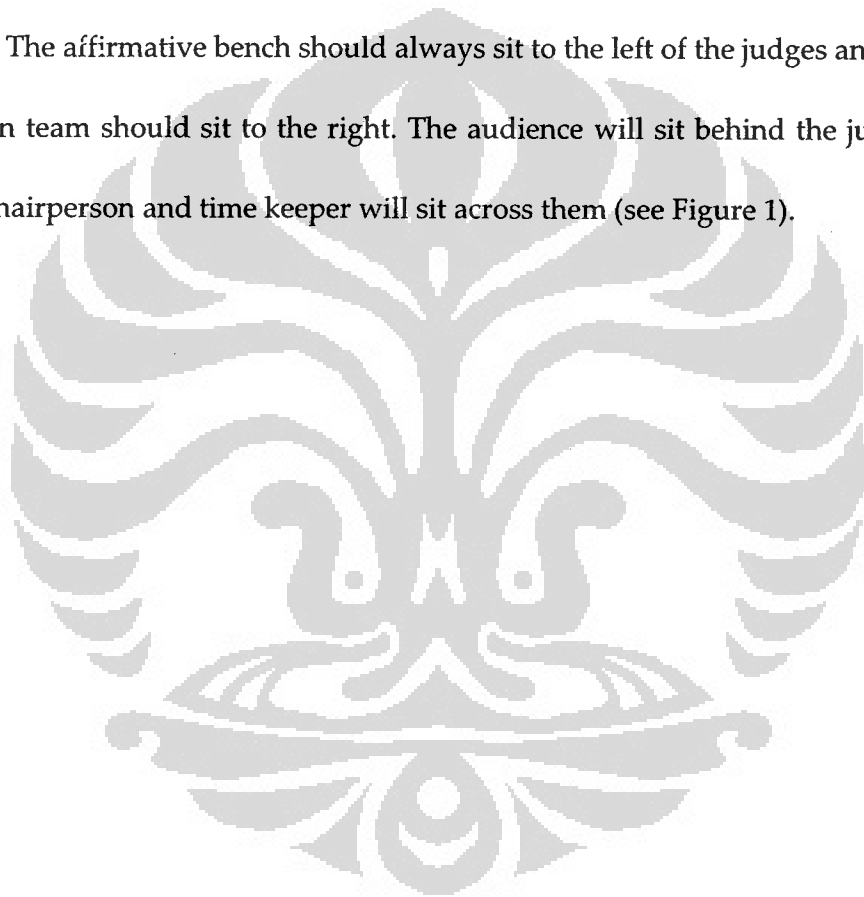
### DEBATE AS A THEATRICAL FRAMEWORK

At this point it will be beneficial if we took a moment to take a deeper look at debating as an event itself and how it can be framed as the Theatrical Framework introduced by Erving Goffman. We will do this by revisiting Goffman's principles of the framework one by one and explore the element of competitive debating that suits the principle.

---

<sup>24</sup> It is also intriguing to know that an adjudicator of a debate is encouraged to take the role of 'the average reasonable person' meaning a person that is knowledgeable of debating rules, logical and analytical, but without specific knowledge or predisposition on an issue. By assuming this role, the judge is to momentarily shed her/his specific knowledge of an issue and to leave their personal judgment on the door. This is once again strengthen how debate can be seen as a theatrical framework where not only the debaters that take on roles, but also the judges.

Three of the first principles of a theatrical framework, argues Goffman, regards the spatial element of a theatrical framework, namely that there has to be a stage where the performance is taking place thus the doings of the character is exposed and the character in the performance does not face each other directly, but also facing the audience. This is clearly the condition in competitive debating. In any debating round, there is a certain 'stage' arrangement that should be followed. The affirmative bench should always sit to the left of the judges and the opposition team should sit to the right. The audience will sit behind the judges and the chairperson and time keeper will sit across them (see Figure 1).



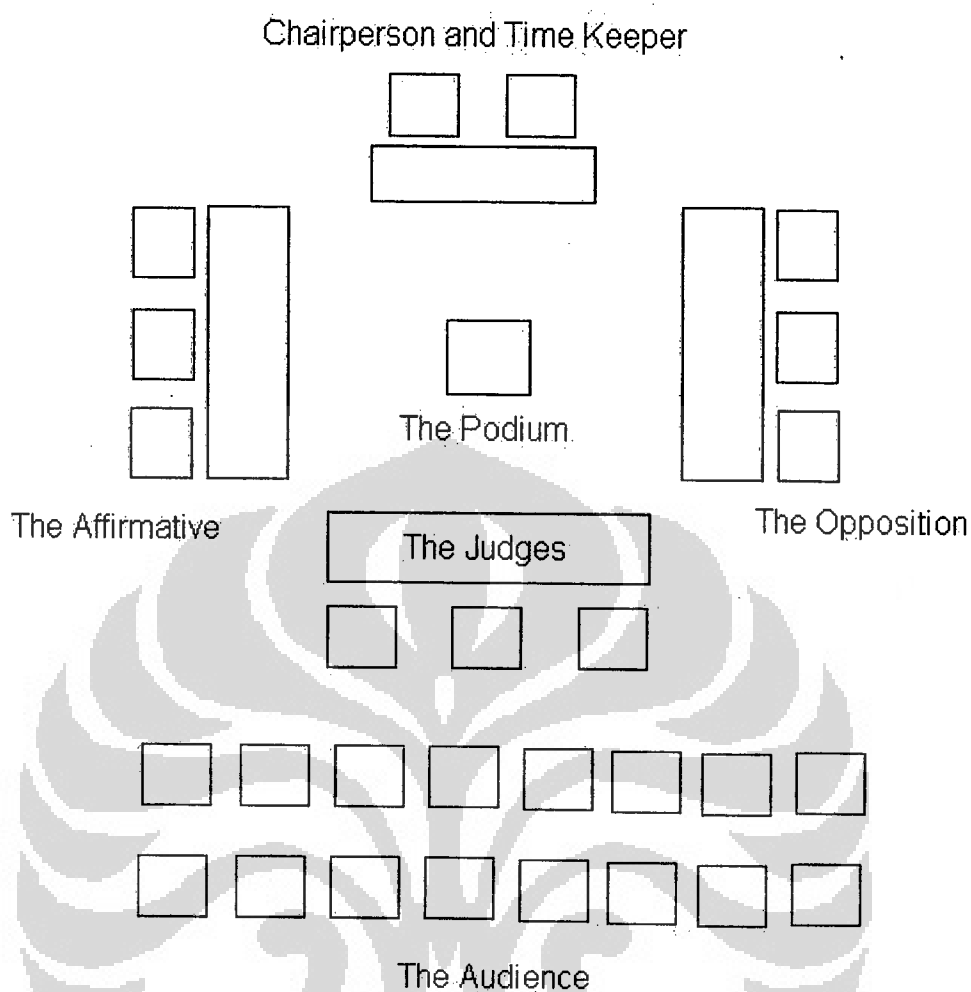


Figure 1. Layout of the Staging of Competitive Debate

In the said layout, a speaker who is speaking is to stand in the centre facing the judges and audience. This of course is inline with Goffman's principle of exposed speaker and addressing the audience. It is worthwhile to note that addressing the audience, and the judges for that matter, is exactly what is expected of a speaker in a debate. Even when they are offering POI, in which they stand up from their seat, they are supposed to address the audience as well.



They do this by asking the question to the speaker but looking at the judges, and the audience while doing that. Hence, as far as spatial arrangement is concerned, competitive debating is set up as a theatrical framework.

The next several principles Goffman offers, that he claims to characterize a Theatrical Framework, concerns the talking element. Firstly, he refers to the fact that in a Theatrical Framework, the focus tends to be given to one person at the time hence the turns of talking between characters in the play is respected. Competitive debating accommodates these two principles very well. As has been pointed out before, a speaker when she/he is speaking is to stand in the middle of the room, where of course the focus is all on them. Not only that, debating also respects the turn of talking of a speaker, as when a speaker is speaking, the allocated time is protected for her/him only, save for a POI in which permission should be granted first before it can be allowed.

More on the talking elements, Goffman also notes how stage talks tend to be informative to the audience and these talks usually take longer than an ordinary conversation. In debating, each speaker is encouraged to be as informative as possible to the judges and in its turn, to the audience. Debaters are to treat their listener as an average reasonable person; a person who can exercise logic but needs some explanation on terms or even events. Hence, a debater will take quite a time in providing working definition and brief explanation of the key topics and issues in their speech. And of course, to be able to do that, a debater will need a longer turn of talking compared to an ordinary conversation.

In fact, in debating, a speaker is to speak for 7 or 8 minutes before their turn ends. A clear fulfillment of Goffman's Theatrical Framework's principle.

And last but not least, Goffman notes how in a stage, relationship between characters is simplified, an element that is also present in a competitive debating. Here, each person is to just interact with the others according to their role. Hence, the probability that the third speaker of the opposition team is the sister of the second speaker of the member of the affirmative team would not count into what happens in the debate.

So all in all, looking into all 8 principles of the Theatrical Framework, competitive debating does fulfill the necessary requirement to be seen as a stage performance.

\*\*\*

### THE IMPORTANCE OF INVOLVEMENT

In a way, it is quite simple and straightforward to assume that competitive debating is a theatrical framework as from the outset there are certain roles assign to the people participating in it, such as the affirmative team, the opposition, first speaker, reply speaker even judges. There are also rules and regulation that binds but dissolves as the round concludes. We even have taken a look at how debating is inline with all 8 Theatrical Framework's principles. However, Goffman himself has acknowledged, for a framework to be what it is, it needs the involvement of the participants of that framework (1974: 345). The

participants need to render the framework theatrical before it can be perceived as a performance. This is what this writing wants to highlight at this point. Our deeper exploration on Fajar's account has proven exactly that. A theatrical framework does not simply take place just because it bears the attributes. It only becomes that framework when the people participating in it perceive and consciously choose it to be that way.

\*\*\*

### AN ANSWER TO A QUESTION

The story is quite different however when we have Nayla's experience into account. For debaters like Nayla, questioning issues, seeing from different perspective which is essentially what debating is, has always been part of their life. Hence, debating just, in a way, provides a forum where they can entertain this different perspective further and in the open. It is only an extension of their regular life and it is inseparable.

Nayla first tried debating when she was just in her first year of high school. Her mother, who was an English teacher in her school, sort of forced her to join the debating club. "My mom thought it'd be good to improve my English and also my critical thinking skills," narrated Nayla. She claimed that she did not entirely like participating in a debating club at first. "It takes time and extra effort. Like to do the research for example," explained her. But then she found out how in debating you get to question things that people normally do not

question, a trait that she admitted she possessed ever since she was just a child. And exactly because of that reason she started to enjoy debating.

It is pretty obvious that to debaters like Nayla, defending a position that is not seen as a popular view does not cause them distress. They have been in one way or another able to see issues from that uncommon point of view. "I don't find it difficult. That is not the case for me. I don't have strict moral limitation. I have very flexible morals," claimed Indira about her experience having to defend sensitive issue in the position that is quite the contrary to what other people usually believe in.

And apparently distress does become an underlying determinant on how an individual choose to treat their debating experience. "My friends start with traditional or doctrinal values... homosexuality is a sickness... that religion should be protected one way or the other. It's hard for them to bring up ideas that you can even question religion. They are troubled with arguments that seem to be against that idea," narrated Indira further, relating her experience amongst debaters peers as they case build on sensitive issues.

It is very interesting to note here that debaters tend to approach debating first as an extension of their life. When they are to make arguments to defend an issue, they first look to their life, to the values and norms that they hold. However, when they are unable to find congruity between what they believe in and what they suppose to argue, a clash happens, and as a result: distress. They find it difficult even improbable to argue against what they believe in their life

outside debating. The consequence: they cope. As they realize that their real life values do not in line with what they are to say in debating, they decided to split the two. They exercise *keying*. Debating is no longer a part of the real life.

But for debaters like Nayla and Indira, distress does not come. What comes, on the other hand, was confirmation. An affirmation of something that they have believed in or are in the verge of believing in. Notice how by finding affirmation they in a way also find 'the truth' or arguably a portion of it. This is very different to that of Fajar, where debating gives him 'the win', not 'the truth'. So, in this case, the keying does not occur. They do not have to play a role to be able to debate. They only need to be themselves, though a more outspoken one probably. Hence, there is no need to separate debating from the real life. It is just another extension.

\*\*\*

### AS THE TWO COLLIDE

Now, before we take a look at the case of Mutia. Let us at this moment take a little step back and look at Amal's case. Amal was introduced to debating when he was in high school. He was then selected to be Team Indonesia for WSDC 2002, Singapore. He believed that he has always possessed the characteristic a debater is needed. "I was always good at making excuses from ever since I was just a kid," he said. He has graduated from college now and currently working at his previous alma mater. Amal stated how when he first

debating he did exactly what Fajar did, putting on someone else' shoes. But now, he approached debating in a different way. As has been mentioned in the previous section, Amal found a way to defend a position without showing, even temporarily in the boundary of a debating event, that he personally supported such position. To remind you once again, Amal said, "When I have to debate a position that I don't believe in, I say in my speech, people who believe in this position say this and that. So it's not me who believe such and such."

When we look closely into Amal's way of expressing his experience, even though he separates his debating life and his real life, he employs a slightly different strategy than Fajar's. He does not so much take up a role as he defends an issue that does not suit his believe. Looking at his words we can see that he does not become a certain part as he debates, or in other words he does not act as if in that debate he is a person who support the position. He, quite the contrary, mentions explicitly in his speech that another person who believes in what he does not believe in think such and such of the issue at hand. We can not really fully equate him to an actor on stage, can we? Besides, what kind of a Hamlet an actor will be if rather than saying "I do not think so," he says "Hamlet at this point would not think so", referring to a third party.

The reason why Amal does this, can be inferred from his next sentence, "So it's not me who believe such and such." Amal apparently wants to make it clear to people who see him debates that what is said in his speech is not the fruits of his thought but a replication of someone else's – a thought that he

obviously does not share. This insinuates how Amal treat debating in a different way than Fajar on Indira's friends. Even though they all would like to separate debating from their life outside it, in Amal's case, it overlaps. Amal does not treat debating entirely as a pretend play, he still concerns that what he says in debating reflects to he as a real person. That is why he chooses to say "people who believe in this issue will say this..." For Amal, there is a bit of real life that seeps into his debating life. And since we are on this subject now, let us see deeper into the occurrences when those two worlds do overlaps, as in the case of Mutia.

\*\*\*

Debating changed Mutia. She realized that she is more tolerant now compared to before she tried debating. She narrated how she tended to see prostitutes in a negative light previously. But now, she has a complete different attitude towards them. She admitted that having to defend legalization of prostitution made her see some merits in relation of that issue. Those merits were then retained, sipped in to her life outside debating and changed her attitude as far as the issue concerns.

We also heard Raya's and Alia's story of how things they found in debating affected their life outside of it. Raya's change was directly caused by her doing the debating itself, while Alia's was caused by her acquaintance with other

debaters. Both accounts show how they encountered something new through debating and brought that new thing that they found into their life outside it.

The experience of Mutia, Raya and Alia show something that is quite different from that of Nayla or Fajar. Here, we see a seepage happens from one world to the next. To bring it into Goffman's term: while the curtain of debating closes, some parts acted while it was opened do not conclude and take a new life outside of the stage.

Goffman talks to us about the idea of 'breaking frame' where an individual involved in a certain frame can cease to be in that frame through facial expression, laughter, even outright change of behavior. He talks specifically about 'downkeying', illustrated by a playful act turns serious, as well as the process of 'upkeying', an increasing distance from the reality (1974: 345-377). This seems to be able to provide a framework to Mutia, Raya and Alia's experiences, as it also involve a shifting of frames. However, there is some obvious different here. What Goffman means by 'breaking frame' is when a certain frame is in the middle of enactment, then a participant in that frame act out of the intended role, that frame breaks. Yet, what happen with Mutia, Raya and Alia is not that they stop doing their roles as a debater while debating, quite the contrary, they follow through with that yet they do not stop acting such role when the winning is announced.

This might be a different perspective altogether to those of Goffman's. An addendum if I may, as this is not an occurrence where *downkeying* nor *upkeying*



happens. This is quite obviously a shifting in keying, yet instead of abruptly halt a certain frame then jump to another, this shift happens more smoothly. We might want to call it a *slipkeying* which indicates to an occasion where a part in a certain frame slips in to a different one.

This idea can also account to that of Amal's experience. Though what happened to him is literally the exact opposite to those of the three girls. With him, what leaks is not his role in debating to his role in the real life. But it is his role in the real life that sips into the he as a debater. As a debater, Amal still retains his part in the real life: his belief and values, hence he chooses to mention in his argument that it is someone else's instead of his personally. He slipkeys from the real life to the debating life.

\*\*\*

### IT IS A FLUID LINE AFTER ALL

At this point, I would like to take a moment to tie up some loose knots and clear up some opaque area. First and foremost that it is important to revisit, is the idea of boundaries. Or to put it in a question tense: what are the boundaries of debating world? It was established earlier on in this writing that the 'debating stage' ends when the judges announces the winning. With this in mind, it is natural to conclude that the start of the stage would be as the chairperson opens up his/her mouth and calls up the first speaker of the affirmative to start the speech.

However, there are other stages that come before and after that debating performance. There is the preparation stage, where the debaters do their case building, which then might also extend way back to where they train with their coaches. There is also the aftermath, where they shake hands with the opponents, question the judges, or basically just interact with their debating counterparts. This becomes quite intricate as we take into account Alia's experience where she starts to personalize merits she finds in debating as she interacts with the people of debate. Alia's account refers to the phase after the 'debate as a stage' concludes. Yet she herself chooses to still frame it as debating.

Now, if we are to talk about a frame, and also the relation of that frame to another, we are inevitably to draw boundaries, because that is how we are then able to understand roles and parts attached to the frame, which is essential to structure the experience of the participants of the frame. Yet, we can not discount what the subject chooses to perceive. For them, the boundaries of debating frame are moveable. For those who separate debating life from their life outside debating, they often refer to debating frame as the 'debate stage' where it ends when the judge announce the winning. So then is when they assume their role, leaving behind temporarily their real values in order to get a winning. Yet, this role can also be resumed and even pre-assume during their talks with their coach or during their case building process<sup>25</sup>.

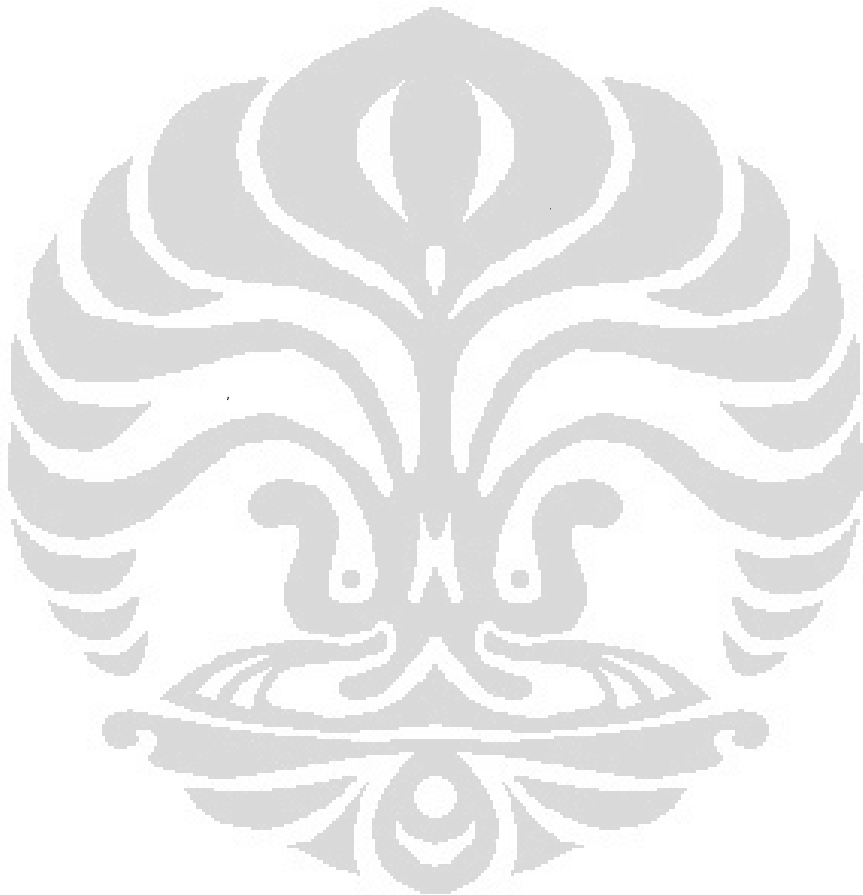
---

<sup>25</sup> Remember back to the occasion where Canisius College students were doing a case building and then one of them stated that it was time to focus on the winning.

Complexities also present themselves for the fact that several frameworks can exist at the same time. This is acknowledged by Goffman himself very early in his writing (1974: 25). And this is also most likely the case with what these debaters experience. Let us take what Nayla experiences. She is a debater that perceives debating as an extension of her life outside it. For her, involvement in debating does present her with 'the truth', or at least some portion of it. However, that does not mean that she ceases to aim for 'the win' when she debates. That also does not mean that she does not play a certain role when she performs a speech which the aim of that role is to win and might cease as the debate conclude. She can be the first speaker looking for 'the win' during a debate round while at the same time being Nayla looking for a portion of 'the truth'.

So all in all, this exploration of experience through three seemingly different expressions does come to the very point of subjectivity. And with it, fluidity of a process. As we grapple with the notion of framework boundaries, we realize that it is subject to the subject. They decide when to assume what role and to aim for what goal. When we talk about 'what is really going on' to determine which framework is at play, we find that the subject decides and if they chose to, more than one framework can be at play in one span of time. It ceases to be about the framework altogether. It is about the subject who actively decides on how to make a sense of their own experience. As a matter of fact, it has always been about the subject as Goffman note that this is all begins with "a

mental decision” (174: 23). It is the subject who decides how they are to perceive their own experience, it is them who determine how it should be perceived and how to act or behave according to such perception. And this idea of perception and how it influences a decision to act are exactly what we are to explore in the next chapter.



## CHAPTER 4: The Contrast

### How to Negotiate Being Different

*"I have new interests after I joined debating... like I'd rather talk about current issues, the government, or you know, like Middle East issues for example. I found talking about boys and malls increasingly boring. And my friends at school, they'd rather talk about boys and malls..."*

*Mutia*

*Former high school debaters now studying in UI*

We have discovered that frameworks that structure one's experience are ever fluid and can be evoked whenever the subject decides to do so. In fact, this research discovers that frameworks are so fluid it is unheard of that a debater experiencing only a single framework in her or his involvement in debating. To take it even further, every single one of them admitted to have experience *slipkeying* where certain parts of debating world are retained to be taken up in their life outside debating. In a more simple term they all agreed that they learned something from debating and they all felt that debating has changed them in one way or another.

Even those debaters who said that they kept their real life separate from their debating life admitted that their involvement in debating did inject some novel aspects into their real life, be it ideas, knowledge or values. "I think in a

more structured way now, more confident and my social life has more variation," mentioned Amal. He then explained that by 'more varied social life' he particularly referred to the fact that he had gay friends now which he respected. He talked further on how he strongly believed that if it was not because of debating, he would react in a different way to that person. "If it's not in debating, I don't... I wouldn't meet this different people and if I meet this person outside debating, say in a seminar, I would just think of him as a guy that is a bit feminine. But in debating, I just see him as he is, not giving him any other label."

Similar sentiment was also expressed by the Canisius College students who admittedly focus on winning a debate when "forced" to defend a position that does not reflect the position of the majority of the society. They mentioned how after being acquainted with debating they have wider knowledge, think more practically and become more objective in seeing things. They also claimed that in several cases they are more tolerant now, citing as an example that they are not putting a blanket punishment for every pregnant high school student anymore. "We have to figure out what's the reason that she's pregnant first. She could be raped right? And that's not her fault."

From the education perspective, this kind seepage and change usually happen when the subject is "experiencing a disorienting dilemma" (Cranton, 1994: 23). And since we have explored in the previous chapter how some debaters do experience distress when they tried their hands on debating, it is quite

understandable how at the end they gained new insights from the experience, as previous sections have illustrated.

Thus, as it turns out, debaters do find some new insights from debating. These new insights can be in the form of new knowledge, new way of thinking, new interests or even new values. They give tribute to debating as the fundamental reason for them obtaining these new insights referring to its characteristic as a reason why such insights are possible to be gained. "You know more of the world because in debating you don't just debate about what happen in your school, class or in Indonesia only. You debate about Bostwana, Haiti, international issues. So you need to know more," explained Bagus, one of the candidates for Team Indonesia 2008, illustratively when elaborating why he thinks debating helped him a lot.

Since the new insights these debaters gained are only possible because of the characteristic of competitive debating itself, these new insights become something that their peers, their teachers or their parents – people in their life who do not join debating – do not share. We still remember how Mutia reiterated the story of how she has different interest in terms of conversation topic compared to her friends. So suddenly, these debaters are in a position where they are different than their surrounding. They have something that the people around them do not have. The next sections of this chapter will explore how these new possessions affect the dynamic between debaters and non-debaters people around them.

## A DISCOUNTED SELF

*"You know high school kids, they talk about guys and other things. But we're sort of different because we joke about Bush policies and everything. And our friends like... what are you saying?"*

*Nayla*

*Former high school debaters now studying in UI*

\*\*\*

We still remember from previous sections how Mutia found new topic of interest when she joined debating. She ceased to think that talking about boys or malls is interesting and began to talk of other subject altogether, such as international issues. Canisius College students also claimed that they experienced changes as they know debating. "We start seeing problems more than just a surface matter. Because of debating we are used to see things in a deeper way. So we just got carried away analyzing things even though we're with our [non-debater] friends."

Both accounts, of Mutia and of the Canisius College students, reveal that these changes that they experience because of debating and the new insights that they gained turn into so much a part of their life hence it becomes second nature to them to use and exercise such insights. Mutia found she is more interested in



topics that she talked about in debating and the Canisius College students got carried away analyzing things.

However, these debaters quickly found out that their new second nature was not shared by their non-debaters peers. Nayla's account at the beginning of this section shows how her non-debaters friends did not understand the jokes she and her debater friends made, making her realize then that there was something different between her and her peers. But more than that, these debaters further found out that not only their new second nature makes them different, it was even often rendered unwelcome by their non-debater peers. Canisius College students reiterated their experience in relation to that. "Our friends often complain to us. You don't have to be like that. Acting like a know-it-all. Debating unimportant things. Arrogant." Rianti, one of the candidates for Team Indonesia 2008 also expressed similar sentiment. "People say to me, 'OK stop Rianti, you're debating now,' even when I don't even challenge anything." These statements were followed by nods from the other eight candidates indicating they also went through comparable experience.

Realizing that they are now indeed different and such difference creates an impact to their relationship with their peers; these debaters start to do something about that: they start to hide it. "We just either stayed silent or pretend that we don't know anything about it. Like when they talked about global warming for instance," explained Wisnu, one of the students from Canisius College. Other debaters seem to be in agreement with Wisnu as they

express more or less similar experience in regards to having a relationship with their non-debater peers. They cut themselves in the middle of their sentence, stayed silent or avoided a certain topic to avert the reprimand from their friends. "They often called me Mr. Know-It-All just because I pointed out some facts from the newspaper or offer an alternative point of view," said Wisnu, "Sometimes I just chose to bite my tongue."<sup>26</sup>

For Nayla, this pretending means hiding more than just her knowledge. "It's kind of hard socially because you think about something that people don't really want to hear... Like when I say the word that... Like with my college friends, I'm not going to label myself agnostic. That would be suicidal for me. .. So socially outside debating, it's a bit hard, you have to censor things that you want to say." Nayla has a different belief than most of her friends. She is agnostic. "To put it in simple words I don't pray they way you do," explained her. She said she always knew that she sees her belief in a different way than other believers, yet she found out what that way of seeing really was after she joined debating. "Debate confirms my values. Like I always ask why I don't practice religion like everyone else. I feel like I'm the only one who does this and I definitely going to get cursed and I definitely going to hell. But in debating you start to know people who are secular, agnostic, so you don't really feel alone. Like confirming there are other people that think this way and just because it's the minority of people that doesn't mean that it's wrong." Yet, she had to hide

---

<sup>26</sup> First cited in Ayuandini and Royono (2007) page 7.

this part of her when she was with her non-debaters friends. "With people that's not too close with me like those I share a class with, I'd watched my attitude. Because it's like socially suicidal."

Nayla even further claimed that she has 'modes' of behaving now. "Sometimes I hang out with friends from my old junior high...[they are] rich spoiled girls who worked only because they feel like it. A lot of them are married now and then they stayed at home. When I asked why you stop working, they said, my husband don't give me permission. But it's your right! I said. They said, 'No Nayla you have to ask for permission.' And they would blame me why I don' have boyfriend... because of that. 'Because you question too much, Nayla.' So with my SMP friends I'd be like... stupid mode. Have fun mode."

This might remind us quite closely to Goffman's theatrical framework once again, where people take up role and play a part that is not themselves in the real life. Nayla call it a 'mode' which she switched on when she was with certain people as a company. The Canisius College student called it 'pretending' when they act as if they do not know of a certain issue to avoid being called a know-it-all. Both this 'mode' and 'pretending' are essentially 'role' and that is straight Goffman's. However, we need to remember to be able to label it theatrical, the spectator needs to condone the deception that is happening. In other words, the audience know that what happen in front of them is a make believe but they go along with that. This is clearly not the case here. With these debaters, their new second nature is an inseparable part of them which tend to be

judged unfavorably by their peers shall it is manifested in their action. Hence, they need to make sure that it does not manifest and with that, hinting that their second nature that is the root of such manifestation is not itching to be expressed although most of the time it does itch. Thus instead of a theatrical frame, what we are more likely to have here is a fabrication (1974: 83), presented exactly to extract a different reaction than an adversely scolding or labeling.

\*\*\*

### A NECESSARY ACT

Psychological studies upon youths do reveal that youths tend to behave differently when they are subjected to different companions<sup>27</sup>, and as we have explored in previous sections, anthropological perspective reveals this as well – or at least in the case of young Indonesian debaters – however, the reason why they do so might be more anthropological than psychological, as the next sections will demonstrate.

So, why did these debaters need to resort to fabrication? From what they expressed, there was this one main reason: ‘they do not understand us,’ and by ‘they’ these debaters refer to their non-debaters peers. “Because they don’t really understand what you’re talking about. They don’t really understand your point of view,” said Nayla providing reason why debaters feel out of place amongst non-debaters. And in a similar note, Rianti admitted how she has been secretly

---

<sup>27</sup> See for example Dacey and Kenny in *Adolescent Development* (1994).

wishing that her friends can be acquainted with debating too. Because currently, her friends do not share the things that she sees as important and that fact made them label her as weird.

It is crucial here to note the word 'share' that Rianti used. At the beginning of this section we have explored the fact that the new insights these debaters gained were in effect *not* shared by their non-debaters peers, as it was only because of the unique characteristic of debating, these new insights were even possible to be gained. It is exactly this lack of shared insights that leads the way to the lack of understanding these debaters feel from their non-debaters. Hence, the need to seal the gap gives birth to the fabrication of truth.

It is important to distinguish that the reason such fabrication happen is simply not because of they have to interact with non-debaters. The debaters feel the need to create such fabrication when there is the lack of understanding that stemmed from the lacked of shared value between them and the other group. Hence, fabrication can also happen amongst group of debaters. "Jeffrey does not allow me to open my jilbab in front of the new young debaters in EDS UI," explained Alia. She was previously narrating how amongst her debater peers she often felt at ease to take off her jilbab. "He said these kids are new. They don't know you yet. They're new to EDS and debating. They might be shocked that you open your jilbab so nonchalantly like that." Alia's story reaffirms that, at least for these debaters, fabrication is to put into play for a person or a group

when understanding or shared value is lacking between them and that person or group regardless of what that person or group's identity are.

However, naturally, fabrication also ceases to be performed when these debaters are amongst themselves. "With debaters, it's my own mode. I'm being myself. I only have modes outside debating," elaborated Nayla grinning widely. Being able to share the unique insights that they gained from debating is indeed quite fundamental as a determinant of the absence of fabrication. "I can't share it with anyone else and it kinda get me depressed. Except for debaters. I can share with them," stated Lukas, one of the candidates for Team Indonesia 2008 following his explanation how he tends to not follow the mainstream. So it is high time to start looking at what else these debaters share, in other words, to explore them as a group, a community. How they perceive themselves as a commune, the common values they hold, or rather, as a matter of fact, the lack of it, as the next chapter will unravel.

## CHAPTER 5: The Rainbow

### How It Is a Commune

*"It is not so fun hanging out with debaters because they have much to talk about. We [non-debaters] sometimes can only listen even though we don't understand. So at the end we will ask, 'what are you talking about?'"*

*Ratri*

*Non-debaters student of Santa Ursula High School*

\*\*\*

The above statement was given by Ratri. Ratri is not a debater but she has debater friends which apparently annoyed her with their topic of discussion when Ratri happened to hang out with them. Ratri admitted that there were occasions where the topic of her debater friends' discussion was something that she could not grasp. Yasmin, a former debater from UI, narrated a comparable story to that of Ratri. "There were times when Anya brought along her sister to our get together. Anya's sister is not a debater. And it's always very apparent how it's hard for her to join our conversation. She didn't know the issues that we talked about. Like, we talked about international matter. Things that not many people talked about. So, I guess she finds it hard to converse with us because of that."

Ratri's experience and Yasmin's story remind us of Mutia's account on how ever since she started debating she started to feel interested in topics of conversation that is different from her non-debater peers. She started to talk about international issues and found them to be more appealing than talking about boys or malls – topics that her non-debaters peers more likely found interesting. As Bagus, one of the candidates for team Indonesia 2008, previously has noted – when he explained that now he knows more of situation in the world – debating demands its participants to know of a lot of issues hence increases their knowledge.

This increase of knowledge provides them with plenty more subjects to talk about, especially compared to before they know debating, in casual conversation. And they talk about these subjects indeed. But apparently debaters are not just talking about a subject when they converse, they also often explore, analyze even challenge and argue with the people they talk to – something that, we still remember, becomes second nature to the Canisius College students but was found to be undesirable by their fellow non-debaters. We could hardly be surprised that these debaters argue and analyze as they converse casually. After all, that is exactly what they do when they debate – they analyze and argue – and apparently those skills are one of the many that *slipkeys* into their life outside debating.

“It is tiring talking with debaters,” claimed Riki, “they talked about issues, principles, argumentations. It seems like you have to think all the time. It



truly is tiring, even when you just sit there listening to them.” Riki, a former debater from STAN, who, even though he himself a debater, recognized how talking with debaters could be challenging. Riki’s statement basically sums up how debaters tend to converse, even casually. They tend to talk about issues that are not often talked by people, such as international issues or ‘sensitive’ issues<sup>28</sup>. They also tend to not just talk; they analyze and argue instead. And the reason why they converse of such topic and analyze rather than just talk idly, is precisely because those are the aspects of debating that slipkey to their life outside debating and starts to transform into aspects of their daily life – as if it is their second nature to do so.

The fact that the topic and the analyzing are slipkeyed aspects, it follows that for them to slipkey, debating needs to be the pretext. Hence, people that do not debate, do not gain the interest of talking about topics that debaters are fond of and they also do not tend to analyze nor argue as they are having casual conversation. In short, debaters who are connected through the same participation in debating, shared the consequence of such participation – to name two: topic of interest and analyzing habit. Those who do not debate, do not share the participation and in turn do not share the consequence.

Share is the key here. As Parekh notes in his book *‘Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory’* (2000), sharing is how a

---

<sup>28</sup> We have established earlier that with sensitive issues we are referring to issues such as abortion or sexual preferences.

body of people comes to be as a community. As we seen from previous sections of this chapter, debaters share amongst themselves aspects that non-debaters do not, which render them a community. "It starts with the competitions. You spend half-a-year with that small pockets of people [debaters] in your own university. Feeling a bit out of place 'cuz other people don't share what you have. Except for those several individuals," reminisced Sutan, "then IVED or JOVED come and you meet plenty other debaters. And you think, this is it. This is my community." Later sections of this chapter will explore deeper of this notion of debating community, looking further on more aspects that characterize them as a community. Or rather, like what the previous chapter has indicated, the *lack* of aspects that characterize them which, rather surprisingly, exactly what binds them even tighter together.

\*\*\*

## LET IT BE

*"There are two things that I think debating really teaches you. Open-mindedness and non-judgmental-ness. A lot of people who were not open-minded turned around because of debate. This is because in debating we're taught to see from various perspectives. We can see the big picture of a problem. So in real life, we can understand why people do something. Putting on someone else's shoes."*

*Yasmin*

*Former UI debater currently teaching debating to her students at school*

As Yasmin has succinctly explained, the other common thing that debaters tend to learn from debating is about how to be open minded. And as debaters talked about being open minded, almost all the time they relate it with either being non-judgmental or tolerant. Apparently, this turns out to be the trait that they felt they also share as a group thus characterizes them as a community. "Debating community I think is an open-minded community. They don't mind differences and they're tolerant. I don't mind saying that I'm agnostic to debaters," claimed Nayla. At this point, it is worthy to note that interestingly, when talking about how being open minded, non judgmental and tolerant characterize debating community, debaters tend to couple this explanation by noting how societies outside of debating community tend to do the exact opposite. To the statement that she just stated, Nayla closely followed it by this

statement: "Debaters' responds [to knowing I'm agnostic] is just, 'oh, okay,' not like others who do, 'haahh [gasping audibly].'" You will note that this fashion of expressing experience is repeated in most of the following examples presented below.

Apart from using comparison, when illustrating the open-minded, non-judgmental and tolerant traits of debating community, debaters also often illustrate it by narrating their experience that involved an idea, or in most cases a trait of a person, that a wider community would have had a hard time to accept. The most cited trait was homosexuality. "I have two best friends that are gay. Debaters have no problems with them. We don't judge them. We don't say, 'oh you're wrong.' People outside of debating community are not like that. They still think that homosexuality is a disease that needs to be cured," elaborated Yasmin. And we still remember how Amal, similar to Yasmin, noticed comparable attitude towards gay people. "In debating, there's nothing wrong with them. They have better image in debating. Outside of debate... they'd probably criticized. They'd be seen as someone that you should not emulate. But in debating, there's no problem and I can even be in awe and admire that person."

We can recall how this judgment coming from non-debater people also affected debaters themselves and compelled them to create fabrication to avoid such judgment. As a matter of fact, the judgment often manifest into something more tangible: the urge to correct things that they see as unacceptable or inappropriate. This tangible manifestation was exactly what Nayla experienced

with her non-debater friends. "Friends often ask me to pray with them. They'd go as far as forcing me to do it. They dragged me to the musholla. So I said, 'this is something that I don't do. I'm agnostic.' They became silent. It's a term that they don't really know. Agnostic. I said, 'to put it in simple words, I don't pray they way you do.' They said, 'astaghfirullah, Nayla. You're going to burn in hell.' They often said that. Astaghfirullah al-adzim. I feel like I'm the devil every time they do that.' Riki, although he was not at the receiving end of the judgment, also narrated an incident where the non-debater people started to try to transform their judgment into something more tangible. "There's a stigma about our EDS. They think we're sissy. That is because we have gay people as our members. We have no problem with them. We accept them, we hang out with them, laugh, it's all cool. They're friends. But other people frowned upon them. They say, 'how come guys act feminine like that.' Some people even came directly to me and said, 'can't you do something about that guy? Educate him or something. So he doesn't act that way.' I said, 'bugger off, let them be.'"

Let them be. That simple statement could have been enough to illustrate what a debating community is like. With the lack of, if we can not say the absence of, judgment, debating community portrays a wide embracement of traits that otherwise will be seen as repulsive and in need to be corrected by the wider community. And indeed, this *lack of judgment*, or regulation if you may, is in fact the underlying factor that keeps the members of the debating community to stay in the commune. They are not judged, accepted and let to be. Hence, the

next section shall explore how this loose rule gives birth to the other trait that characterizes a debating community: diversity.

\*\*\*

## UNITY IN DIVERSITY

*“Debating community is a bowl of marbles. None are the same.”*

*Yasmin*

*Former UI debater currently teaching debating to her students at school*

As a consequence of being non-judgmental, debating community tends to be comprised of a high variation of types of people. And by high variation, the debaters who claimed this often refer to the fact that debating community embraces people that often are not found in a wider community. “Debating community’s members are highly diverse. I guess it’s because here, you’re not judged. You are even encouraged to be different. So you showcase your unique traits. You’re free to grow. Based on your potentials and based on what you want,” explained Yasmin further.

Yasmin properly noted that debating community does not only allow you to be different, it in fact encourages you to do so. Hence, on top of embracing people who in the wider community might have not been accepted – such as the following type of people that were mentioned by Sutan: “gay, agnostic, atheist,

cross-dresser...”, debating community is also full of people with their unique quirks and ticks that would most likely be frowned upon in a wider community. “We have a guy who wears pajama to a debating round, another guy who needs to carry around straws to calm him down, a girl who chose to wear towel as jilbab for a couple of hours because her hair is still wet after taking a shower. We said, ‘well, if you need to. Sure, why not. Be my guest,’” illustrated Sutan.

Amal explained that to be accepting of difference and to embrace diversity are exactly the first lessons that you teach to a new debater. “We need to emphasize on diversity. That’s the entry point to debating. This is what would make them willing to be a debater, to put on that someone else’s shoes. Even though it is different than your own personal stance. And people who accept this are the ones who stay in debating.”

Even though being open-minded and non-judgmental is the foundation in debating community, Yasmin noted that there is no absolute extent in terms of how open-minded you should be in a debating community. “The degree of open-mindedness in debating community is really varied. Some people still have worries when they interact with gay people for example. Usually the boys. And I guess it’s natural. But at least they don’t judge.” Yasmin statement brings about how a debating community makes a sense of their identity. They do this not, or I should say not only, by specifying what they do, but more profoundly by specifying what they do NOT do: They do *not* exercise judgment; they do *not*

refuse differences; and when they say do not, they use the wider society as their reference of traits that they do not have, hence what render them a commune.

This sense of boundaries in a community, when it is formulated from the idea of 'do not' rather than 'do,' will come into an observable phenomenon as one of the members crosses the line and start doing what they should not. The next section will look particularly at such incident.

\*\*\*

### CROSSING THE LINE

*Through this forum, I demand you (personally and representing muslims [Moslems] in this forum) to make it public [public] that you are sorry for what you wrote.*

*If that was not your opinion, which so unclear since you only mention "dikutip dari seorang lain" ["quoted from someone else"], and not mention anything about the real source, you are obliged to apologize for spreading this dreadful [dreadful] opinion of [of] an idiot.*

*If you in fact share the exact opinion, you obliged to save yourself from serious threat which I will not mention in public.*

*If you refuse to respond properly, I swear i [I] will make your life suffer with all my might (if I don't have any power over you, I will find some). It's not a joke. I don't know you, you probably don't know me.*

*Fikri*

*Allahu Akbar*



Nearing the end of 2006, Indonesia was shocked by the news that one of its most respected religious leaders had decided to get married for the second time while he is still married to his first wife. Once again the controversy of polygamy swept over the entire country. Around the same time, a chain e-mail started to circulate in the internet. That chain e-mail listed several reasons why polyandry – instead of polygamy – might be seen as something desirable. Whether this chain e-mail was intended to be a joke, no one can know for sure. What we know for sure, eventually, that particular chain e-mail reached the mailing list set up for a means of communication between debaters all over Indonesia. Before long, the above respond to the chain e-mail was posted to the mailing-list. And with that, came a series of the most controversial altercation the mailing list, and the debating community, ever had.

Fikri was clearly insulted by the posting of the chain e-mail. And he was not alone. After Fikri's postings, many other debaters voiced out the same discontent. Some tried to rebut each point given in the chain e-mail, some demanded apology from the person who posted it, all indicated that they were offended by the posting. Matter becomes intricate as others tried to pitch in their thoughts and pointed out that the chain e-mail was possibly intended to be a joke after all, hence, such a strong reaction was uncalled for; a statement that outraged the people who were offended even more. Then, of course, the exchange became more and more intense where finger pointing and labeling were rampant.

But what was most interesting of all that came out from this argumentation, at least as far as this thesis concerns, was the fact that during that intense exchange, the notion of what one should or should not do as a debater frequently came up.

"Come on guys.. we will only degrade ourself [ourselves] as a debater by "analyzing" and "criticizing" this BS article."

"I would also like to highlight certain comments regarding our fellow debaters who responded this issue with harsh comments. I do believe that debaters [debaters] should see and respond arguments with cool heads and logical sense. However, this statement DOES NOT mean that those debaters who responded to this issue in a harsh manner have lost their sense of being a debater! It would be a damn shame if we use this particular joke as some sort of **barometer** for measuring the level of logic, open mind, and freedom of speech!! Yes we debaters should be logical and open minded, but the level of logic and open mind SHOULD NOT BE BASED on how certain debaters responded to this particular joke!! The harsh respond comes from **different attachment** that we all have toward our own religion, and that is very HUMAN. Those who are probably quite attached to their religion responded to this issue in a serious manner, and those who are probably less attached to their religion responded in a loose manner. These differences are very human, and again, this poliandri [polyandry] joke should never be made as a barometer to measure our level of logic, open mind, and freedom of speech. So, lesson number two is quite simple for me, we DEBATERS are also HUMAN.. realize that!"

“Being an educated, level-headed, logical person, we must first and foremost, put aside our emotion and passion in analyzing controversial and sensitive issues. We are not supposed [supposed] to be swept away by mass hysteria [hysteria] on issues blown up for the wrong reasons or interpretation. I applaud those who show their feelings of being offended in a cool-headed and polite manner.”

“Another point is that everyone has his/her own right to choose to agree or disagree to on any motion. It's just like when we adjudicate any debate round, where we have the tendency to choose rebut the arguments thrown by any side of the house. Yet we can't exactly debate them to make everyone accepts our definition and arguments. What we need to do is to weigh those arguments to our own logic and discard any personal knowledge or grudges to our judgment. Same thing applies here, we should discard any personal grudges in assessing the arguments, thus replies without any wrath embedded.”

“Secondly, it is our humble opinion that the posting was supposed to be a joke. Logical arguments, yes, but still a joke, and it is supposed to be an anecdotal response to the polygamy debate that is rampant among our society. Therefore, it should not be responded as such. Such response would be similar to making a humorous round of debate into a serious one, which is according to the debating society code of ethic, is against the spirit of the debate. “

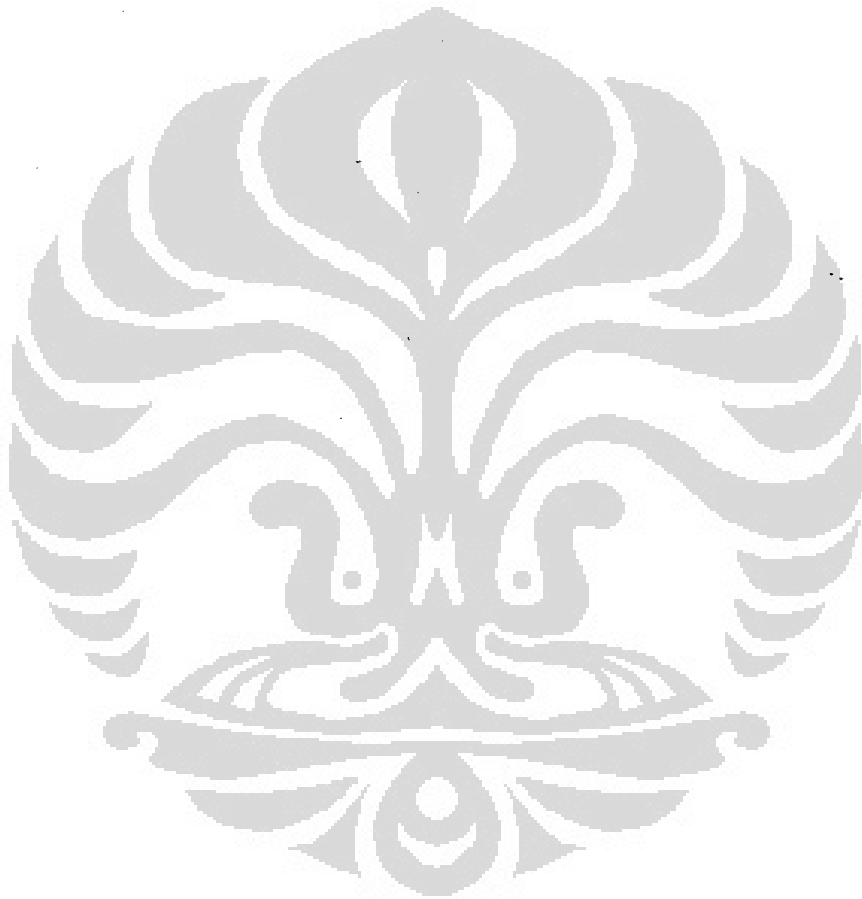
“Fourth of all, this posting is not meant to aggravate anyone, it is merely offering food for thought on our reaction and on the ongoing debate: what does it say about how our society is evolving. Like it or not, indodebater is a community, and this discourse is actually representing what is going on out there.”

“Sir, please bear in mind that moderators are only screening new applicants and do not screen either their sense of humor, ideological values or level of sanity. Since being debaters, we highly respect the value of freedom of speech, as well as freedom of discourse on any issues that are seen to be relevant or important enough to be discussed, moderators do not have the right to censor the posting.”

The above are only several comments that indicated how the polyandry e-mail incident has brought about the contestation of what it meant to be a debater. Plenty of email that regretted Fikri’s posting insinuated that their main concern was not because Fikri was insulted but mainly because Fikri articulate his discontent through a manner that they felt is not debater-like. Imposing values, acting solely based on emotion, silencing others opinion were all cited as characteristics that a debater should not have possessed and displayed. And when you do act in such a fashion, reprimand will follow suit.

After a hundred or so exchanges later, Fikri decided to withdraw from the mailing list. The controversy surrounding the polyandry topic quiet down although the debate on what it really means to be a debater was not fully resolved. This might as well because to be something is not about following a rigid description of that identity. But to be something is rather about *not* behaving in a certain manner, *not* doing certain action and *not* displaying certain traits. A boundaries makes of the sense of *do not* rather than *do*. The difficulty about it is you would only know that you cross the line when the line is already crossed, as what happen with the polyandry controversy.

In this chapter we have explored the notion of identity that stems from the sense of *do not* rather than *do*. The next chapter will explore how the idea of *do not*, as well as *am not*, identity is also extended to the people outside of the community which becomes the base of image construction of such community. Yet, on the other hand, interestingly, individual member construction of own community image is closer to the *do*, and the *am*, rather than *do not* and the *am not*.



## CHAPTER 6: The Reflection

### How Perception Comes into Play

*April 4<sup>th</sup>, 2008 – personal notes*

*"Did you read indodebaters?" asked Yasmin to me as we met in a coffee shop.*

*"What happened?"*

*"Someone called us bastards and atheists!"*

*She then continued laughing out loud for a while as if finding that fact exceptionally amusing.*

Yasmin was referring to the most recent occurrence that happened in the mailing list of the Indonesian debater. An e-mail from an unknown sender was posted to the indodebaters containing exactly the two words that Yasmin cited. One or two debaters responded indicating their annoyance to the posting. But the rest just thought it was some kind of an unnecessary joke and simply dismissed it. It did however, bring about the question of how exactly non-debater people perceive the community. The first half of this chapter will look into that question.

\*\*\*

Indira was new to debating. She joined the new batch of debaters for EDS UI in 2007. Ever since then, she witnessed her fellow newcomers come and go.

Some people who decided to leave the club confided in her their reason for doing so. "People consider EDS UI to be a symbol of liberal values or no values at all. My peers are scared that they're influenced and that their way of thinking would no longer be in touch with the moral of the society. They said their parents tell them to be careful, to watch out. So they decided to leave." Nayla's friends have similar perception towards the debating community. "They once asked, 'are all your debater's friends like this?' I said 'it's just regular in debating world,' and they say, 'oh no, debate is so evil, isn't it?' They asked, 'debaters are very free, aren't they?' I said, 'we're free thinkers.' 'But it's scary! Why do you question things that we don't question?' So they identify debating with too liberal people.'

The fact of the matter is, debaters do not feel that their community is the way the non-debater people perceived them. Yasmin explicitly said this as she ventured more into her story of the 'atheist' e-mail. "He/she who said that debaters are atheist or bastard is clearly not a debater themselves. Debate is a collection of various people. We do have atheist people and agnostic people but we also have people who are very religious."

Taking Yasmin's claim into account, it is interesting to find out why people outside debating choose to perceive the community with a certain characteristic only, when the fact is the debating community is not only comprised of people of that one mere trait. Could it be because these non-debaters people never met people of debating who possess and display a different, or even quite the opposite, trait to that of their perception? Nayla said

no. Her non-debater peers apparently have met her more religious debater friends. "They're a bit surprised when they see Alia. Because Alia prays and wears jilbab." And we still remember how Riki's college friends perceive Riki's debating club as sissy just because the club has gay members. They still retained this perception even though they were close to Riki who is not gay.

So simply knowing that there are other people in the debating community who possess a different trait than 'liberal' or 'sissy' does not make the non-debater people stop labeling the community as 'liberal' or 'sissy'. So what does? Here I would like to argue that the sense of the *do not* identity is once again called into play and exactly that is what created the image. To make sense of a community that is not part of oneself, in this case non-debaters making sense of debaters, is to attach an identity to that community drawing from the idea of what oneself is *not*. We have talked long and wide of how debaters are different in their takes on issues compared to the wider community. They are more knowledgeable and more open minded at that. These differences are what the non-debaters see as the most apparent demarcation between them and the debating community. Take a closer look at what Nayla's friends said. "But it's scary! Why do you question things that we *don't* question?" A clear demonstration how difference play major role. Hence, they capitalize on these differences and choose to take the differences as the boundaries that separate the debating community from them.

The emphasis on difference does not stop there. It also works the other way around. Debaters often found that when they did something that are quite



different than what their larger peers usually do, that difference will be attributed to debating. “My sister got upset when I said, ‘don’t just say yes to your boyfriend’. They said, ‘why?’ ‘You’re colonialized!’ They said, ‘too much debating! This is because you debate too much,’” narrated Nayla. In similar fashion, Ratri noted that she and her other friends who are not debaters often accredited debating to something that their debater friend did differently from them. “When she [debater friend] presented something in a structured way or she decided to start a meeting with brainstorming – something that we don’t usually do – my friends would say, ‘oh, debater. She’s being a debater.”

We see how an outside perception to a certain community is pretty much self-constructed here. The non-debaters choose to draw a boundary between them and the debaters using differences that exist between them and the debating community. They neglect other aspects of debating community that overlaps with their own traits. Furthermore, they attached any differences that they can observe from the debating community people to the fact that they are debaters, or in other words, they are different because they debate which strengthen the perception of difference even further. So in a nutshell, they choose their own border, which is ‘the difference’ and they also choose what constitute as ‘the difference’ by attributing observable dissimilar traits between them and the debaters to the fact that they debate.

“Debating community is a bowl of marbles. None are the same. But still, all are marbles. Now, people outside of debating community, they are *not*

marbles," claimed Yasmin, still talking around the issue of the 'atheist' e-mail. Yasmin's analogy illustrates the sense of perception that we just talked about rather well and in a succinct manner. It is after all about being a marble and *not* being a marble.

This sense of *otherness*, the sense of *not*, is first popularized by Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978), where he introduces the notion of the East's culture is a mere portrayal by the Western people, which of course include the anthropologist. This portrayal employs the notion of *not*, where the East is depicted as something that the West is *not* – making anthropology for the first time fully aware of its binary polarization tendency. Ever since then, anthropology has been in conflict with its portrayal of the subject that it studies, as many anthropologists speak up against reification and essentialization of culture, especially on the binary concept of the Orient versus the Occident: 'us' versus 'them'. Sahlins, for instance, in his writing titled *Two or Three Things that I Know about Culture* (1999) dwells into this as he argues that culture is essentially fluid and processual hence fixed polarization misses these two characteristics completely. Keesing in *Theories of Culture Revisited* (1990) particularly speaks up about the infatuation of Anthropology on difference and how it still strives to seek difference as a pinnacle of its field of study.

At this point, it is important to clarify that what this writing has tried to illustrate in its previous sections is not an evocation of the binary segregation. Or to be more exact, it is not an evocation of binary segregation as it is imposed by

the anthropologist researching the phenomena. The segregation explored previously is in fact an active formulation and expressions of the actors involved and surrounding the phenomenon at hand: the debating community. This anthropological research has not intended to search for differences yet those differences were discovered as it is offered in the form of expressions by the people studied in the exploration.

Hence, as much as the notion of binary polarization and the portrayal of differences is something that Anthropology tries more and more to avoid, this research has found out that the sense of otherness still comes into play in the formulation of making sense of a community and identity. However, it is important to note that the sense of *not* and *otherness* presented in this study are very different in nature compared to those that are criticized by Sahlins and Keesing. It is firstly *not* fixed, as it has been laid out extensively that the sense of difference is ever negotiated and formulated, and it is also *not* imposed, as the subjects themselves the one who perceive the distinction, not the researcher. Hence with these dissimilarities in characteristic, this writing avoids the dangerous risk of reification and essentialization of culture, while at the same time embraces its fluid and processual nature – an approach in which Anthropology seems to lean more and more to these days.

So, this writing has explored how the idea of *not* is the way the people outside of the community perceive the commune. But, what about the way the

people inside perceives themselves? The second half of this chapter will explore that particular issue.

\*\*\*

## ME AND MY REFLECTION

*There are so many weird people in debating community. I'm one of them. I'm weird!*

*Riki*

*Former STAN debaters*

This research found out that when people from the outside are looking into debating community, they highlight the differences between themselves and the community to get a sense of identity. Interestingly, what happen is exactly the opposite when people from inside is conveying their understanding of their own community. Yes, debaters tend to cite more or less similar trait when they explained about the debating community: knowledgeable, open-minded or non judgmental. However, they also tend to project themselves to the community.

By projecting oneself to the community, this writing means that an individual tends to find similarities between themselves and the commune where they belong to and sees that similarities as the characteristic of the community as a whole. Take Riki's statement for example, he regarded himself as someone that is 'weird'. In consequence, his idea of the debating community, a community

where he belongs to, is a community that caters to the 'weird' people. Nayla expressed the same sentiment. She lamented how she felt out of place amongst her non-debater friends, mainly because her friends do not share her idea and perception. Fittingly, when she talked about debating community she mentioned how the people of that commune often felt uncomfortable when mingling with non-debaters. "But it's nice 'cause they [debaters] don't really judge you. They're okay with differences. Maybe that's the reason why debaters often feel like they're out of place. Sometimes we feel out of place if you're with other people. Cause they don't really understand what you're talking about. They don't really understand your point of view."

There are ample examples similar to that of Riki's and Nayla's. Amal, who consider himself to still hold on to his fundamental values even though debating taught him to see from different perspective, claimed that people of debating community are the type of people who are open-minded yet still hold on to their fundamental principle. Indira, who practiced her religion practices and rituals but was unafraid to question the merits behind her own belief, perceived the people of debating community to be comparable to her: "In EDS a lot of us are religious but we would not be afraid to question the fundamentals of our religion." Or Alia, who did not think that the way your dress should be a priority in practicing your religion, noted how debaters do not mind so much about how people dressed. She even provided a direct comparison to that of her non-debater peers who came to her and demanded her to dress more

appropriately, "some people came to me and asked me, 'don't you want to dress more appropriately?' These are non-debaters people, like people from this other club that I am also active in. Even my lecturer! [she/he] once told me to dress in a better way."

The idea of this self-projection is envisaged by Benedict Anderson as he proposes the idea of an 'imagined community'. Anderson argues that a community is essentially imagined because members of that community have actually never met the other members of that community (1983). Yet, these people imagine that they share similar traits with those people that they have not met, thus render them all a community. This is to some extent is what happen with the debating community, where its member imagine that the other members, people they have yet to meet, share the same traits with them.

However, this imagining takes a new different level as we take into account the characteristic of a debating community. Previous chapter has suggested how debating community is essentially very fluid given the absent of rigid rules. Learning from the polyandry incident that happened in their mailing-list, a widely accepted regulation – though not without contestation – is that to be a member of a debating community is to accept differences and avoid value imposition, hence render the community immensely diverse. This diversity is also recognized by the debaters themselves, repeatedly stating how the commune accepts members with even opposite traits, i.e. the religious and the atheist. Yet, as individual debater attempted to make a sense of identity of the

debating community where they belong to, they choose to portray their commune in the light that agrees with them: their traits are the community's traits. And because debating community is a community of diversity, it is possible to single out any traits that suit you. As a result, we have a plethora of different understanding of the community, different identity if you may. All is resulted from the different imagination of individuals, rendering the community: a product of an active self-projection.



## CHAPTER 7: The Pot of Gold

### How the Study Is Encapsulated

This is a study of fluidity, of active construction and full participation. Through this research, a different portrayal of a community is presented. Not the one with rigid rules to ensure its functionality for the members, but the one where an individual has a say to how the community is to be perceived and built.

We have started with looking at the notion of value, because after all, this is a research started with the questions about values. It finds that to study values is not to study it as an end result where values are seen as an object that settles, detached from the ongoing process of its formulation. Instead, values are found to be an encounter, where an individual is experiencing values, rather than holding a value. Hence, instead of exploring how a value changes into another – a study of an object, this research examines how values are ever existent and influence the experience of the individual who comes across them – a study of process.

This exploration is also coupled by employing Goffman's Frame Analysis, structuring the debaters' experience with values. We witness theatrical framework come into play and a new keying: *slipkeying*, is utilized. With all of that, we find the first indication of the fluidity aspects of this research, as the understanding of an experience as well as its border and boundary are subject to the subject. It is the individual's discretion as to what framework they are to



evoke to make a sense of an experience. This also applies to when they are to evoke it. As a result, we are at the mercy of the subject as to what they make of their own experience thus the consequence of it. Frame analysis provides us with the tools to structure such experience as to render it within our grasp, yet the encounter with values is a tribute to the very essence of Anthropology of Experience: the subject is in control.

And indeed, to control an experience is not only to freely choose a framework to make sense of that experience but also to liberally select fitting behavior to the framework. We explore how debaters come to possess insights their non-debaters counterparts do not, which leave these debaters different and atypical. We then see how they negotiate amongst their non-debater peers as they come to a realization that a complete them, the one that is different from their non-debater peers as the aspects they pick up from debating are second nature, is apparently undesirable in the eyes of their counterparts. Hence we witness how these debaters resort to a fabrication, evoking 'modes' and pretension to get by with their peers so as to avoid uninvited and unfavorable judgment.

Then we examine how debaters are as a commune, unraveling the lack of strict definition that render them a community. We find out that open-minded and non-judgmental are the very foundation of a debating community hence, as a consequence, this community leans more towards a community that is formed of the sense of *do not* rather and *do*. Therefore, as debating community embraces

various and a multitude type of people, the notion of being a debater, as well as the idea of a debating community, is ever constructed and contested by its member. This constant challenge and formulation is to be in check as the line of the *do not* is crossed when the member does an action that is rendered to be non-debater-like.

This notion of identity constructed from the sense of *do not* rather than *do* is apparently shared by the people outside of a said commune, in this case, people outside the debating community. We witness how non-debaters draw boundaries between themselves and the debaters by focusing on the debaters' traits that they *do not* share. The non-debaters neglect the fact that debating community is a plethora of characters which implies that traits similar to them are undoubtedly existed. They dismiss the verity that they do share similar traits with some of the members of debating community and choose to gloss over the diversity by highlighting the differences between them and the debaters: boundaries by the *do not*. Furthermore, non-debaters also start to tribute every dissimilarity they observe from their debater counterpart to debating, ignoring the fact that such difference can be caused by something other than that. So here, we witness a constant construction of boundaries and perception where the non-debaters actively choose the border that separates them from their debater friends through active inclusion and exclusion of traits that they deem significant to separate them from the debaters.

Interestingly, when the perception of a community comes from inside, this perception tends to be based on the notion of *do* rather than *do not*. We witness debaters expressing their view of their own community to be an extension of themselves. These debaters actively project their own traits to the commune where they belong to and then perceive such trait to be the trait of the entire member of that community. We see a bit of an imagining going on here as this individual debater can not possibly have met every single member of the debating community yet they claim to share traits with these unmet people – an idea first introduced by Benedict Anderson. However, as we talk about a debating community where the characteristic of its members are expansive, if not indefinite, the idea of imagined community takes a new different meaning. Hence, arguably, almost any characteristic that an individual debater presumes to be the characteristic of the community, because she/he shares such nature, can stand as valid. The consequence? A strong self-projection to the community. As the community's nature is plethoric, individual member actively choose to define how the community is to be perceived by oneself. Evidently, they choose to portray community in the light that agrees with them.

\*\*\*

## A PROMISE KEPT

All in all, this study has explored the life of young people of Indonesia; specifically, the life of its debaters. It has done the exploration not by specifically detailing the unique characteristic of young people – in oppose to their older counterparts – but by intrinsically and inherently incorporate such nature through the choosing of its subject. So with that, this research is also an exploration of the life of debaters, providing a new insight of anthropological approach rather than the common way of seeing debate as a mere educational tool. This study has also examined the question of value. Not so much how it is constructed and formulated as an end result, but more of how it is experienced and influence the individual subject to it. Furthermore, this study has dealt with the issue of community, how it is constructed, perceived and how its members negotiate their way amongst the non-members. And not to forget, this research is also a research on experience, where every expression and narration, and with that the understanding, context and the definition, are in the hand of the subject, not the researcher.

But above all, this writing is a writing of fluidity, subjectivity and participation. Where experience is framed in discretion to those who underwent it and community is ever constructed by those inside as well as those outside.

\*\*\*

## FUTURE GROWTH

An anthropological study of debaters and their life, as well as upon their community, is rare if not non-existent. This thesis is the one of the first, if not *the* first, who has utilized such lens in looking at the issue. Plenty loose ends are untied and should have been a fascinating angle to start an entirely new exploration from. I would like to take a few moments to address these possibilities. At the beginning of this study, plenty suggestion has been put forward that in its turn, due to the necessity of focus, has been put aside. One of it is to explore how debating position itself amongst the oral tradition Indonesia is famous for. Another is to find out whether the use of English plays a role in the perception of self and as a commune for Indonesian debaters. Both ideas are appealing and should have been given its own focus in a dedicated research. I encourage anyone to embark upon such exploration as it will surely provide a more complete insight of debating community in Indonesia, not to mention the rewarding research experience in undertaking a very interesting issue.

Debating community is an idiosyncrasy. The more exploration we conducted to be aware of this community, the better insight we have upon it. And with its idiosyncratic nature, to know this community better is not only to comprehend debating more, but also to better understand the concept of community in general.

## Bibliography

Abrahams R. D.

1986. 'Ordinary and extraordinary experience', *The Anthropology of Experience*, V. W. Turner and E. M. Bruner (eds.). University of Illinois Press: Urbana and Chicago, USA. Page 45-72.

Anderson B.

1983, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Verso: London. Page 11-16.

Androutsopoulos, J. K., and A. Georgakopolou (eds.)

2003. *Discourse Constructions of Youth Identities*. John Benjamins Publishing Company: Amsterdam, the Netherlands.

Association for Critical Thinking

2007. *World School Debating Championship 2007 Participation Report*. Association for Critical Thinking: Jakarta.

Ayuandini, S., and R. Royono

2007. 'Competitive debating: A driving force behind a more socially responsible Indonesian urban youth', *In Search of Justice Through Social Responsibility: Indonesian perspectives*, A. Sanusi, M. I. Haq and M. I. Nurdyn (eds.). PPIUK: London, UK. Page 245-258.

Bae, Y., R. Clark, K. Douglass, G Garren, and S. Mayhugh

2005. *War of the Words: Assessing the value of debate as a learning tool*. Governor's School for Agriculture: Virginia Tech, USA.

Branham, R. J

1991. *Debate and Critical Analysis: The harmony of conflict*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates: New Jersey, USA.

Bruner, E. M.

1986. 'Experience and its expressions', *The Anthropology of Experience*, V. W. Turner and E. M. Bruner (eds.). University of Illinois Press: Urbana and Chicago, USA. Page 3-30.

1986. 'Ethnography as narrative', *The Anthropology of Experience*, V. W. Turner and E. M. Bruner (eds.). University of Illinois Press: Urbana and Chicago, USA. Page 139-155.

Clarke, J., S. Hall, T. Jefferson and B. Roberts

1976. 'Subcultures, cultures and class,' *Resistance through Rituals: Youth subcultures in post-war Britain*, T. Jefferson and S. Hall (eds.) Harper-Collins Academic: London, UK. Page 9-79.

Cranton, P.

1994. *Understanding and Promoting Transformative Learning: A guide for educators of adults*. Jossey-Bass Inc.: California, USA.

D'Cruz, R.

1996. *Official Rules of the World Universities Debating Championship*. WUDC: Cork.

Dacey, J., and M. Kenny

1994. *Adolescent Development*. Brown and Benchmark: Wisconsin, USA.

del Granado, F. J. A., W. Fengler, A. Ragatz, and E. Yavuz

2007. 'Investing in Indonesia's education: Allocation, equity, and efficiency of public expenditures', *Poverty Reduction and Economic Management and Human Development of the East Asia and Pacific Region*. The World Bank.

Doyle, R.M

1996. *Debate: A Strategy for Understanding Primary Health Care*. Journal of Nursing Education.

Evans, G., and M. Poole

1991. *Young Adults: Self-perceptions and life contexts*. The Falmer Press: London, UK.

Faruk et.al

1999. *Pengalaman, Kesaksian dan Refleksi Kehidupan Mahasiswa di Yogyakarta: Hasil penelitian tentang "Hubungan Antaretnis dan Antariman" di kalangan mahasiswa di Yogyakarta*. Interfidei: Yogyakarta.

Freely, A. J.

1996. *Argumentation and Debate: Critical thinking for reasoned decision making*, 9<sup>th</sup> Ed. Wadsworth Publishing Company: California, USA.

Goffman, E.

1974. *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. Harper & Row: New York, USA.

- Gunther, N.  
1988. *The Challenge of Debating*. Reed: New South Wales, Australia.
- Gupta, A., and J. Ferguson  
1992. Beyond 'Culture': Space, identity and the politic of difference. *Cultural Anthropology* 7: page 6-23.
- Hodkinson, P.  
2007. 'Youth cultures: A critical outline of key debates,' *Youth Cultures: Scenes, subcultures and tribes*, P. Hodkinson and W. Deicke (eds.) Routledge: New York, USA.
- Keesing, R. M.  
1990. Theories of Cultured Revisited. *Canberra Anthropology* 13(2): page 46-60.
- Keller, T.E., J. Whittaker, and T. Burke  
2001. *Students Debates in Policy Courses: Promoting Policy Practice Skills and Knowledge through Active Learning*. Journal of Social Work.
- Knapp, T. G., and L. A. Galizio  
1999. *Elements of Parliamentary Debate*. Addison Weley Longman, Inc: New York, USA.
- Komunitas Anti Kekerasan  
2002. *Belajar dari Pembodohan: Kisah-kisah pelajar*. Komunitas Anti Kekerasan, Jakarta.
- Lising, I.  
2002. *American Adjudication Advice*. Monash Debating Review vol. I : page 10-18.
- McDonald, K.  
1999. *Struggle for Subjectivity: Identity, action and youth experience*. Cambridge: UK.
- Parekh B.  
2000, *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Philips, J., and J. Hooke  
1972. *The Debating Book*. UNSW Press: Australia.



- Royono, R.  
*Lessons from Debates and Competition*. The Jakarta Post, February 19, 2008.  
Page 6.
- Sahlins, M.  
1999. *Two or Three Things that I Know about Culture*. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute (N.S.) 5: page 399-421.
- Said, E. W.  
1978. *Orientalism*. Routledge & Kegan Paul: London, UK.
- Sansone, L.  
1995. 'The making of a black youth culture: Lower-class young men of Surinamese origin in Amsterdam,' *Youth Cultures: A cross-cultural perspective*, V. Amit-Talai and H Wulff. Routledge: London, UK and New York, USA. Page 114-143
- Swanwick, A., and C. Erskin  
1993. *The Australian Debating Handbook*. Australian Debating Federation Press, Inc.: Canberra, Australia.
- Turner, V.W.  
1986. 'Dewey, Dilthey and drama: An essay in the anthropology of experience', *The Anthropology of Experience*, V. W. Turner and E. M. Bruner (eds.). University of Illinois Press: Urbana and Chicago, USA. Page 33-44.
- Verlinden, J.  
2005. *Critical Thinking and Everyday Argument*. Thomson Wasworth: Australia.
- The World Bank  
2007. *World Development Report: Development and the Next Generation*. The World Bank.