

# The identity politics in Indonesian football during the colonial period

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## ABSTRACT

This research objective is to examine social stratification in the football sector in Indonesia during the colonial period. Social stratification is the beginning of the occurrence of discriminatory treatment differences. This research applies a qualitative research method with a literature study approach. The data sources in this research are obtained from journal articles, books, and mass media relevant to social stratification in the football sector during the colonial period. The selection of information sources used internal and external criticism to sort out the information collected through document study techniques. The data collected is then processed using interactive data analysis techniques to obtain answers to research problems. The research results show that social stratification took place individually and communally. Local football players are in the lowest position, as are football clubs and football federations formed by local communities. The system established by the colonial government placed European and Chinese football players into a higher layer than local players. This distinction triggered discriminatory treatment against local players to reduce the opportunity for football players and clubs to access the field and competitions organized by the federation formed by the Dutch colonial government. This condition, on the one hand, shows the process of imitating the local community towards sports brought by the colonizers. On the other hand, the imitation also contains resistance to discriminatory treatment as well as colonial practices. Changes in such discriminatory conditions are needed so that similar practices do not occur in other life aspects.

**Keywords:** Social stratification; postcolonial; discrimination; third space; hybridity



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## INTRODUCTION

The selection of athletes in a variety of sport disciplines does not merely rely on their skills and talents, but rather on the basis of social identity. This practice triggers the existing discriminations due to the distinction of gender identity, sexual orientation, and ethnicity in many parts of the world (Denison et al., 2021; Kavoura & Kokkonen, 2021; Simien et al., 2019; Tanasaldy & Palmer, 2019). The social distinction has become an aspect determining the athletes' achievements in particular types of sports and defines the meaning of the athletes' achievement, for example many white people concluded that the success of black athletes is meaningless because blacks are driven by simple animal instincts instead of the heroic and moral character that accounted for the achievements of white athletes (Coakley, 2017). An athlete who belongs to a minority group

or who is deemed unfitting with the social class will encounter some obstacles to develop his potentials and accomplishments since there has been a distinction committed towards him, as once happened to the pioneers of football players in English Premier League: Arthur Warton dan Walter Tull (Wernicke, 2019). This discriminative treatment towards the athletes based on their social identity has impacted the injustice inside the sports.

Such discriminative actions in sports have existed in Indonesia since the Dutch colonization. The most visible discrimination takes place in the most popular sport of the country, that is football. The football development during that era displayed two sides which are unique and principal. The development of football in Indonesia is not merely an imitation of the activities carried out by the colonialists but also a form of resistance to the oppression by the colonial government (Elison, 2014; Sindhunata, 2004). Local people were initially interested in watching English and Dutch soldiers playing football in their spare time. Gradually, they played ball, formed a football club, and organized competitions like European immigrants. However, the local football players could not join the football club and compete with the Dutch football club or compete in the field built by the colonial government (Palupi, 2004). The difference in treatment of local football players did not result in a reduction in their enthusiasm, because they made football as means of struggle of the nation (Fuller, 2016). The restrictions that occurred encouraged resistance to the management of football in the colonial period.

Some research has shown the critical position of football in the Indonesian people's lives since Dutch's occupy. Soccerscape or football in a broad sense has become something that cannot be separated from the social life of the Indonesian people, starting from the context of entertainment such as playing football, watching football matches, or consuming memorabilia related to football to becoming a decisive aspect in political life (Fuller, 2016). Research on soccerscape in Indonesia so far can be categorized into four distinct patterns. The first category was the research that provided a historical explanation of the origins of the football emergence in Indonesia (Aji, 2010; Brawley, 2012; Colombijn, 1999; Palupi, 2000). The second category was the research that examined local football fans in Indonesia (Fuller & Junaedi, 2018; Hadi, 2017; Hakim et al., 2017; Harjo, 2019; Wirawan, 2016). The third category included research on implementing and managing football competitions in Indonesia (Hanafie, 2018; Harjo, 2020; Hatami, 2019). The fourth category discussed the conflict between the All-Indonesian Football Association (PSSI) and the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) that occurred in the management of football in Indonesia (Ariyanto, 2014; Pandjaitan, 2013; Putra, 2011). The writings above provided an opening for writings that described the discrimination that took place in the development of football in Indonesia.

The present article aims at investigating the forms of discrimination taking place during the early spread of football in Indonesia. The forms of discrimination will be elaborated according to the condition in the level of individuals, club, and football federation. The discrimination practices carried out by the colonial government to the people of Nusantara during the period of time were present in many forms, including the use of sport facilities (Ma'mun, 2019). This article takes a different stand compared to those previous studies according to two extents. First, the present study focuses the discriminations towards the football players in the spread of football in Indonesia during the Dutch colonization. Second, the study views the discrimination in football during the era consists of an imitation as well as a resistance to the colonization. The studies on football in Indonesia have not so far made thorough analysis on the practices of discrimination and on the resistance to the discrimination of the colonizers in football. Thus, this study possesses distinguished object and perspective from the previous research concerning the same topic of Indonesian football.

The study on the practices of discrimination towards the football players during Dutch colonization is aimed to elaborate the root problem about the discrimination in Indonesia. This understanding is urgent as a consideration in altering the form of regulations to generate protection for all people to be able to do sports of their potentials and skills. It is salient to do because the discrimination practices in football as such have been sustained in Indonesia since the Dutch colonization up to present time (Anshari, 2019; Ma'mun, 2019). The understanding of historical aspect on the discrimination in football is meaningful to reveal the same issue in the present time.

## METHOD

The present study exploited qualitative method with the approach of integrative literature review implemented to carry out reviews, critiques, and synthesizes representative literature on a topic of discrimination in Indonesian football in an integrated way such as that new frameworks and perspectives on the topic are generated (Torraco, 2005, 2016). The unit of analysis in the literature review is the discriminative practiced occurring in the spread of football in Nusantara during Dutch colonization which was analyzed through the conceptual theory 'hybridity' by Homi K. Bhabha. The main discrimination practice analyzed in the study is the distinctive treatments taking place at the level of individuals, football club, and federation managing the locals. To gain the explanation on the discrimination practices, the writer was in the needs of data derived from national and international indexed journal articles among others Google Scholar; Garba Rujukan Digital (GARUDA); and Scopus as well the books reviewing the football in Indonesia during the colonialism. The searching procedure of literature in those indexed websites used five key words: sepak bola; football; soccer; Indonesia; and colonial era. There are 23 journal articles and 10 books selected by using the systematic selection criteria as the data source of the study.

The data of organizing football during Dutch colonialism is divided to acquire relevant information to the research topic. The selection of the data source is carried out by using the technique of internal and external criticism as the method of filtering data. Internal criticism is implemented to identify the documents authenticity in revealing the football in Indonesia. In addition, the external criticism is used to identify the relevance of information written in the documents and the reality in the society (Kartodirdjo, 1997). The assorted literatures gain from those two techniques are used as the source of information in the study, meanwhile the unsuitable ones are not included.

The data analysis in the study refers to the writing model of literature review that is integrative, devinitive and provocative (Torraco, 2016). This model began with the stage of critical analysis encompassing the critical evaluation process towards the literatures representing discrimination topic in football sector during the era of Dutch colonialism. The stage the went on with a synthesis consisting of a process of integrating the existing ideas to issue a new formula of discrimination in Indonesian football. The last stage of the data analysis is in conjunction with logic and conceptual reasoning. At this stage, the synthesis which have been carried out is elaborated according to the chosen logic and conceptual reasoning. Specifically, the synthesis is connected with the concept of hybridity in order to stimulate other research and change in behaviors as well as the improvement of the policy in the future. The systematic stages of data analysis are implemented to obtain the accurate conclusion of the study.

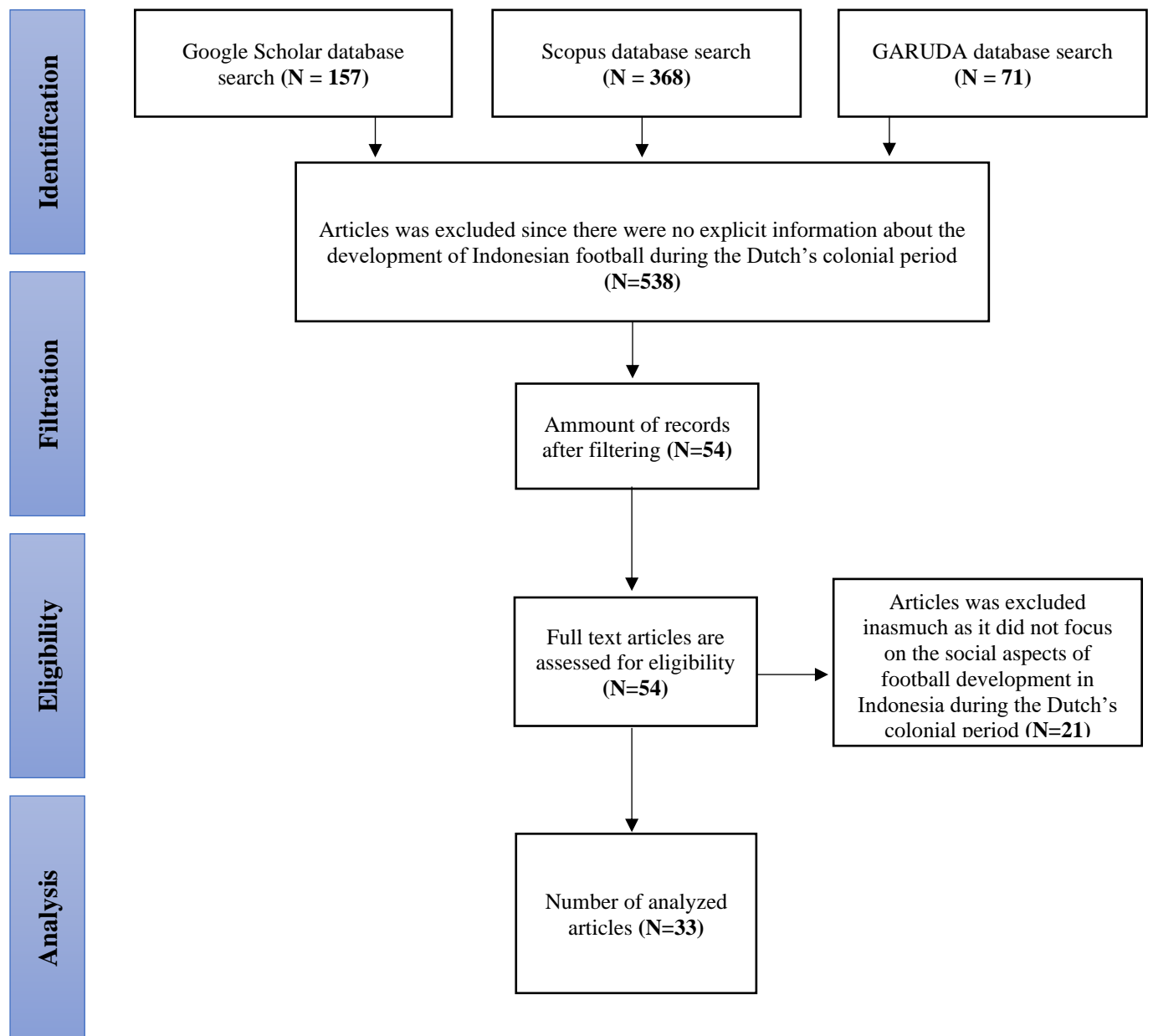


Figure 1. Research Stages

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### Social Stratification at the Beginning of Football's Presence in the Archipelago

The people of the archipelago first recognized football as a form of Western culture. The immigrants from Europe became the pioneers who played the ball in the Dutch East Indies. These immigrants were mainly part of the British and Dutch colonies who carried out their duties and moved to various locations (Aji, 2010; Palupi, 2000). The colonies played football in military bars with fellow soldiers or occasionally with European workers.

In addition to the soldiers, workers from the Netherlands also contributed to introducing football in the archipelago. The workers played football after serving as employees in plantations, trade offices, shipping, and mining. In its development, the employees formed football associations and held regular matches. The

matches, which were held regularly, have gradually attracted the attention of local people to watch the matches up close.

The popularity of football in Indonesia has been recorded since the Dutch occupation of the archipelago. Based on the notes of British writers, around 1902, football was gaining popularity, and 'it might almost be described as the national game' (Lombard, 2008). At that time, football fans in the archipelago were already familiar with the game of the round skinned from European nations, especially from British immigrants and Dutch people. Football in the archipelago spread from the elite class to the working class. In reality, the spread was still limited by the racial classes created by the Dutch colonial Government (Colombijn, 2000).

Gradually, the entry of football also became an attraction for the people of the archipelago. Football became a magnet for local people when Europeans played it, and the game started to become a spectacle. Initially, football in the Dutch East Indies was played exclusively by Europeans. Then, the game began to spread among Chinese and Natives (Aji, 2010; Dorsey & Sebastian, 2013). The local community became the last group in the Dutch East Indies to recognize and play football with its distinctive character.

The game of football that was practiced by local communities has strong relevance to social dimensions outside of football. Political influence, for example, was most evident when local football players were not allowed to use the football field. Local people during the Dutch occupation had to play in fields or rice fields where the quality of the soil was inadequate as an arena for football matches (Colombijn, 2000). Local community football players were deemed unfit to hold a football match on a field owned by the government at that time.

Apart from covering the political aspect of differentiation, football development was also related to local values. Although football is a game promoted by colonizers and foreigners, local values are integrated into the sport. The influence of Javanese culture is also recorded from the local football game during the Dutch occupation. Local players brought the feeling of "ewuh-pakewuh" of the Javanese people on the playing field. To the extent that scoring a goal through a penalty kick was considered less chivalrous or embarrassing. As a result, penalty executioners often intentionally kick off-target or kick the ball slowly towards the opposing goalkeeper (Palupi, 2004).

The performance of local players with such character was considered low by the Dutch football federation. Nederlandsch Indische Voetbal Bond (NIVB), as the highest football institution in the Dutch East Indies, made a layer of football players. Players from the Netherlands occupied the top class, namely Class I. The far eastern players were in Class II, and local players were in Class III (Palupi, 2004). Local players were placed at the lowest level, even though they were very reliable in playing the ball barefoot. The ability to play ball barefoot was precisely what European footballers did not have (Ponder, 1988).

### **Sustainability of Social Stratification Through Football Associations and Federations**

The classification of players formed by the NIVB has also influenced the formation of pioneering football associations established in the Dutch East Indies. The first football association or bond was formed by the Dutch in Batavia under the name Bataviasche Cricket-En Football Club Rood-Wit in 1893. Following the establishment of the Chinese football association, at least in 1920 in Batavia, there were five large Chinese bonds and strong. However, there was no detailed information on when local citizen football associations were established (Aji, 2010; Palupi, 2000; Persatuan Sepakbola Seluruh Indonesia, 2012).

More recently, a football federation was born which contained local community football associations, namely the All-Indonesian Football Association (PSSI), in 1930. PSSI oversaw several football associations formed by local communities in Java, including the Mataram Football Association (PSM), Voetbal Bond Indonesia Jakarta (VIJ), Bandungsche Indonesia Voetbal Bond (BIVB), VVB Surakarta, and SIVB Surabaya (Elison, 2014). Based on this information, it can be concluded that football development in local people was more recent than that of other groups.

The performance of football matches supported the development of football in the archipelago people's lives. Military soldiers and employees from Europe played football matches became an excellent attraction for the local people. This kind of situation can be observed in Padang city when the football league was held on the military field regularly. In 1921, a game involving seven football clubs in the city was witnessed by

2,500 ticket-paying people, and an unidentified number of people watched from the tops of trees or peeked through the bamboo fences used as barriers (Colombijn, 2000). From this illustration, people can imagine the people's love for football at that time.

The archipelago people's passion for football during the Dutch colonial period developed along with their love for the homeland. These two things were manifested in many efforts to form a football organization with a national spirit. The formation of this local community organization was carried out as a counter to a Dutch football organization called NIVB in 1919. This effort was seen when a group of Bumiputra initiated the formation of the Java Voetballbond Committee in Surakarta in 1924. The initiative did not get a response from football fans from other cities. In 1927, a similar effort was made in Surabaya but did not produce significant results (Palupi, 2000). The public's passion for football grew even though efforts to form local football associations often failed.

The growth of local people familiar with football games was slowly giving birth to associations in several big cities on the island of Java. Seven football associations at that time finally succeeded in forming a local community football parent organization on April 29, 1930, in Yogyakarta under the name of the Indonesian Football Association/Persatuan Sepakraga Seluruh Indonesia (PSSI). The choice of the name of the organization showed an Indonesian identity because the conference participants preferred that name to the other two proposed names with Dutch elements in them (Palupi, 2000). Representatives from Surabaya, Madiun, Yogyakarta, Magelang, Solo, Bandung, and Jakarta at the meeting elected Soeratin Sosrosoegondo as chairman (Aji, 2013; Elison, 2014). The founders of PSSI came from the elite. Soeratin was a German graduate engineer, while some other founders worked as doctors (Fuller, 2016). That year was momentum when football was deeply rooted in the archipelago people, so the organization's birth became an essential milestone in developing football in Indonesia.

PSSI membership since its formation has experienced fluctuating developments. In the early days of its birth, this organization often scorned football fans from foreign immigrant groups and the local community. Even football clubs that joined PSSI were prohibited from holding matches with clubs under the NIVB. In addition, players from the NIVB teams were not allowed to strengthen the PSSI teams, and vice versa. Despite receiving unfair treatment, PSSI still won sympathy from local football associations, including Paku Buwana X, who built the Sriwedari Stadium in Surakarta, inaugurated in 1933 (Anwar, 2021). In a decade, the federation members who originally came from seven cities increased to 40 cities in 1942 (Aji, 2013). The PSSI members come not only from the island of Java but also extend to the islands of Sumatra and Sulawesi.

The Indonesian people's love for football has encouraged PSSI to form an independent football competition. This independence was intended to accommodate the local people's fondness for the football game, which was often not accommodated by the football federation formed by the colonial government. This condition was also triggered by the distinction between football players by the Dutch Government based on the social class they created. Thus, football fans from the local community eventually formed competitions that football associations followed in some big cities, such as Jakarta, Semarang, Surabaya, and Padang.

The opponents organized by local community football associations within the PSSI organization are not just any team. Matches involving local teams must be from the same class. Matches that brought two teams together from different classes would not be allowed by the Dutch East Indies football federation. The ban not only had an impact on the cancellation of the match but also had an impact on the players' careers involved in the match. Players from the first and second class who were indicated to be competing with a team containing local players would be put on a 'black list' and banned from playing in matches organized by the NIVB.

The football organization formed by the Netherlands did not accommodate football associations that were PSSI members to carry out matches of good quality. Matches arranged by PSSI must comply with NIVB regulations in fields prepared suddenly to host matches. Meanwhile, football matches conducted by football associations from the Chinese and Dutch communities could be held on good quality fields. This kind of discriminatory treatment occurred until there was a difference of opinion within the NIVB.

The arbitrariness that the NIVB imposed on local football players and associations eventually met resistance from its members. Parties who were dissatisfied with the NIVB's discriminatory decisions began to

gather strength. Until finally, NIVB experienced internal divisions in responding to the increasingly strong presence of PSSI in the Dutch East Indies. Some NIVB members think to maintain the superiority of class I and II football associations in front of the local football community. Meanwhile, some other members began to consider the urgent need for cooperation with PSSI to develop football in the Dutch East Indies. The dualism of thought in the NIVB did not last long. The camp trying to build a friendship with PSSI finally broke away and formed a rival federation called the Netherland Indie Voetbal Union (NIVU).

Discriminatory treatment of local community football associations has gradually changed since the emergence of NIVU. The birth of NIVU encouraged cooperation with PSSI in the realm of football. This cooperation was embodied in the Gentlemen's Agreement signed by the chairman of PSSI (Soeratin) and NIVU (Mastenbroek) in Yogyakarta on January 5, 1937. The agreement agreed that each federation was required to respect each other and jointly develop football.

The substance of the Gentlemen's Agreement provided flexibility for football matches that each federation could hold. Bonds or football federations wishing to host matches with foreign parties were also permitted in the Gentlemen's Agreement. Matches with teams from other countries might involve players from both federations. The Gentlemen's Agreement was projected to liaison PSSI and NIVU to develop football in the Dutch East Indies.

The Gentlemen's Agreement turned out to be just a sweet promise that was not proven. Matches involving players from both federations have indeed taken place in a friendly atmosphere. However, the romantic relationship did not last long. The NIVU unilaterally canceled the agreement for unclear reasons. The agreement was considered an agreement that could endanger the continuity of the Dutch Government in the archipelago. In addition, discriminatory practices continued to occur to local teams after the signing of the agreement.

Discriminatory practices against local teams were completely stopped when Japan took over Dutch control in the archipelago. The reason was not based on the brotherly relationship that was echoed at the beginning of the arrival of the Nipon army. However, this discriminatory practice did not occur because all football matches were prohibited during the Japanese occupation. Furthermore, all PSSI and NIVU were banned after the Japanese government suspended the two organizations.

Football matches during the Japanese occupation were forcibly stopped. This coercion started with the freezing of football federations in the Dutch East Indies. Both the federation formed by the Dutch and the local community were prohibited from organizing football competitions and matches. NIVU, NIVB, and PSSI have not played football matches since the arrival of Japan in 1942. Practically, football matches at that time were only conducted in the realm of education.

Football matches are still getting space during the Japanese occupation. Although the Japanese government prohibits football matches under the coordination of the federation, football is still played in school settings. Schools at that time experienced a significant change in the substance of physical education. Many sports originating from Japan were included in the physical education curriculum. However, the existence of these sports did not shift the position of football in sports lessons at school. Football was still practiced in the school environment and, in the end, had to stop along with the unfavorable socio-political conditions during World War II.

### **Hybridity in the History of Indonesian Football**

The results showed a difference in the local people's treatment in the context of football during the colonial period. This treatment can be seen in the placement of local players as low-class footballers. This view and treatment impacted the prohibition of local players from being involved in matches, clubs, competitions, and football federations. This condition urged the initiators to change the situation by forming a new organization that accommodated Indonesian people's interests and passions towards football. After the association of local football clubs was formed in 1930, the discriminatory treatment continued, including the unilateral cancellation of the Gentlemen's Agreement. Such unfair treatment did not hinder the development of football in the archipelago.

The difference in treatment by the Dutch East Indies government towards residents was a form of indirect discrimination. Indirect discrimination occurs when an act impacts members of a protected group disproportionately in comparison with its related groups (Khaitan, 2018). Indirect discrimination that occurred in football in the archipelago took place in the form of different treatment for local players and football organizations formed by local communities. This treatment was classified as indirect discrimination with the argument that there was inappropriate treatment from the colonial government to local football players, such as prohibiting playing on the football field, preventing matches organized by local organizations, and hindering the development of local community football clubs.

The unfair treatment related to the football practice of local communities was a finding that was predictable from the start. This discriminatory treatment was a manifestation of the stratification system of society at that time, which was arranged based on racial distinctions, with the class order of Dutch-European, Foreign Eastern (Chinese, Arab, and Indian), and Indigenous citizens (Wertheim, 1955; Yasmine, 2012). The local people's position in the lowest order of people's lives at that time seemed to make arbitrary treatment of local footballers normal.

Arbitrary treatment of local people was a trend that occurred in various aspects of life in the colony. Such discriminatory treatment also occurred in the world of sports in Rhodesia (the name of Zimbabwe during the British occupation), which applied a distinction in the provision of sports facilities and infrastructure for local people and white immigrants. This condition impacted the quality of white athletes' achievement more than black athletes in national, international, and Paralympic competitions (Novak, 2012).

The development of football in the life of the archipelago people had similarities with some countries in Asia and Australia. Most people from the Asian continent knew football from the army and traded with Europeans (Cho, 2013). Likewise, the increase in football fans on the Australian continent was heavily influenced by British immigrants in the 1920s (Brawley, 2012). The practice of colonialism and economic activity in the early 20th century that connected Europe with Asia, on the other hand, also became the entrance for football to these regions.

Another similarity can also be seen from local football federations in Indonesia with other colonial countries. As was the case in Indonesia during the Dutch occupation, in Kenya, which was then controlled by the British, there was also a distinction between sporting organizations between the local community and the colonialists. The football federation in Kenya also applied racial discrimination in the management of football (Byron & Chepyator-Thomson, 2015). This condition differed from Zanzibar (currently a part of Tanzania) during the British occupation. At that time, the country had only one federation that accommodated local and colonial club football competitions, but the administrators of that organization were representatives of the European immigrant class (Fair, 1997).

Although football in the archipelago had similarities with other regions, the spread of the sport in this region had a distinctive character. Lombard (2008) assessed that accepting the archipelago people, especially Java, towards football as part of Western culture was an engaging attitude. Football as part of the imported sports from the West should be opposed because, at first, the Javanese had a sporting tradition. This thought was supported by the idea that involvement in Western sports was considered harmful and hated because it was a form of acceptance of colonialism. If sports must be done, then 'local' sports should be the primary choice. Ideally, 'local' sports traditions served as filters and resistance for the presence of sports that were foreign as well as colonial culture, as India has succeeded in doing through kabaddi (Brown, 2008).

Acceptance of football as a sport introduced by the Netherlands did not mean eliminating resistance through this route. One of the concrete pieces of evidence was the emergence of PSSI in the Dutch East Indies, followed by other sports organizations that used Indonesia in the name of their institutions. There were three sports organizations founded in the 1930s using that name, namely the Indonesian Basketball Association (PKSBI), the All-Indonesian Football Association (PSSI), and the Indonesian Lawn Tennis Association (Pelti). Then, in 1938, the Indonesian Sports Association (ISI) also chose the name Indonesia instead of the Dutch East Indies (Brown, 2006). The choice of the name became a symbol of resistance to sports organizations that had the spirit of nationalism and differentiated them from the sports groups formed by the Dutch.



The naming of the PSSI football federation using the terminology 'Indonesia' was also a form of resistance to colonialism. The use of the name 'Indonesia' at that time was a form of resistance by the local community against the naming of the colonial nation. The resistance resulted in the Gentlemen's Agreement which placed PSSI and NIVU as collaborators. Instead of using the name 'Dutch East Indies' as the identity of a sports association, PSSI initiators preferred the name 'Indonesia', which carried the spirit of nationalism. The initiators were reluctant to use the name given by the Dutch colonialists as part of the football organization they initiated.

Resistance to the practice of Dutch colonialism through sports and sports organizations showed the practice of hybridity. The local people accepted the presence of football and imitated the football game played by the colonialists. Then, they also formed football clubs and football federations that housed local community football players and clubs. This practice was a form of hybridity, which imitated the colonized community against the invaders, including a strategy against colonial domination (Lubis, 2016). The local community imitated the footballing practices of the colonialists and then used the football clubs and federations as a path to fight back (Elison, 2014).

The imitation and resistance of the local community to the Dutch colonial government created a condition called the third space or space between. The local communities who formed the PSSI football club and federation 'imitated' Dutch football management practices. Then, they also fought and collaborated with the NIVB in 1937. This condition was called 'in between' space. 'In between' spaces provided the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood that initiated new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration, and contestations, in the act of defining ideas of society itself (Bhabha, 1994). Through 'in between' space, the local community imitated and resisted contests and collaborated with the invaders through the PSSI football federation.

Football became a 'magnet' for local people when played by Europeans. Initially, football in the Dutch East Indies was exclusively played by Europeans. Then, the game began to spread among the Chinese and the Indigenous (Aji, 2010; Dorsey & Sebastian, 2013). The local community became the last group in the Dutch East Indies to know and play football. The chronology of this development was also directly proportional to the layering that occurred in the football practices during the Dutch occupation.

The discriminatory practice that took place during the colonial period left its mark until today. In general, the class difference between foreign players and local players is not obvious. They can be in the same club, compete in the same competition, and be under the same federation. However, the club prefers to choose foreign players that have more experience, especially for the attacking midfielder position. Local players with attacking midfielder positions such as Rahmat Affandi, Syamsul Arif, Jajang Mulyana, and Yongki Aribowo often become the shadow of foreign strikers, such as Alberto Goncalves and Christian Gonzales (Sutton, 2018). Later, Alberto 'Beto' Goncalves and Christian 'El Loco' Gonzales became Indonesian citizens and defended the National Team. Indeed, both of them pushed the local midfielder off the bench. The case is slightly different for Jajang Mulyana, who decided to change positions as defender or stopper. It was a shame that in the National Team at that position, Jajang Mulyana also could not compete with another naturalized player: Victor Igbonefo.

The condition of football in which local players are still marginalized even though colonial practices have ended shows a condition known as post-colonial. Post-colonial is a period, as well as a condition after the colonial system and elements of the old culture brought by the colonial nation, was imitated and used by the former colonial nations as elements of a new culture (Lubis, 2016). The layering football player system during the Dutch occupation placed local players in the lower level after Indonesia proclaimed independence, apparently, such placements are still ongoing. Specifically, the post-colonial condition reflects hybridity, namely the revaluation of the assumption of colonial identity through the repetition of discriminatory identity effects (Bhabha, 1994). The layering system is no longer based on the European-Local racial distinction. However, there is a difference in the name of the skill and productivity of players in scoring goals.

## CONCLUSION

The different treatments of the local communities by the colonial government have raised the issue of injustice. The research findings showed that the problem of discrimination against local communities occurred to players, clubs, and the football federation that housed them. This discriminatory treatment resulted in declining opportunities for football players and clubs with the local community members to develop their abilities due to the restrictions on accessing the field and competitions organized by the federation formed by the Dutch colonial government. Such treatment has occurred until recently, although in different forms and systems.

The concept of hybridity reviewed in this study opens up opportunities for changes to discriminatory conditions as the social stratification system continuation that has existed since the colonial period. Changes in discriminatory conditions are needed so that similar practices do not occur in other aspects of life. The unfair treatment of local communities that continued during the independence period, for example, occurred in the context of providing health services in the former colonial countries. Maori communities as local communities in New Zealand, Pygmy in Central Africa, and San in South Africa were a few examples of local communities who still received different treatment from white immigrants in health services (Ohenjo et al., 2006; Reid et al., 2019).

This research was limited to aspects of discrimination that occurred in the soccer scene that took place during the colonial period. Similar practices that occur today need to be studied further in detail. The discriminatory practice against local footballers stems from recruitment patterns that apply a meritocratic system or are precisely based on certain social networks that need to be studied more deeply. It is important to be studied further with consideration that this condition is related to the collective memory of the Indonesian people. Collective memories contribute to the production and formation of narratives around football clubs and for football-minded countries where the game has resonances beyond the field of play (Bradley, 2021). A detailed study of the current state of football that is connected to the situation in the past becomes a challenge for other studies in the future.

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## CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The Author declared that there are no conflict of interest in writing this article.

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