# THE CASE OF THE VILLAGE OF HARAPAN: A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF A VILLAGE IN CENTRAL JAVA, INDONESIA FOR EDUCATIONAL PLANNING AND VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
TARWOTJO
1971

This is to certify that the

thesis entitled

THE CASE OF THE VILLAGE OF HARAPAN:
A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF A VILLAGE IN CENTRAL
JAVA, INDONESIA FOR EDUCATIONAL PLANNING
AND VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT

presented by

Tarwotjo

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

DOCTOR'S degree in PHILOSOPHY

Date May 18, 19

ABSTRACT

THE CASE OF THE VILLAGE OF HARAPAN:
A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF A VILLAGE IN CENTRAL
JAVA, INDONESIA FOR EDUCATIONAL PLANNING
AND VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT

By

Tarwotjo

This is a preliminary case study of a remote Javanese village in which the relationship of the public elementary school to the villagers is given particular attention. The study contains a description of the village, its people, their traditional socialization patterns, and the public elementary school. In conclusion, a theory of village development and educational planning is presented.

The data for this study have been collected mostly through interviewing and observation. The writer did use some additional quantitative methods in conducting his fieldwork, but he feels these were not very successful. The languages used while conducting the fieldwork were primarily Javanese in the villages, Indonesian in the urban areas, a little English and, as any other fieldworker in the Indonesian setting, it was necessary for him to read some Dutch, especially in tracing information

about the ruined Hindu Javanese temples found in the village of Harapan and surrounding areas.

Two of the limitations of a preliminary study of this sort are as follows: (1) Geographically, it does not pretend to be representative of rural areas in Indonesia or even in Central Java; (2) Socio-culturally, the data presented herein represent only one of the many variations in the rural Javanese setting.

This thesis is organized into three parts. PART I is concerned with technical information about why the study was initiated, what is to be covered, and how the data were collected. In addition, a brief review of related studies is given. PART II contains a summary of the findings of the fieldwork, including a description of the village, its people, their traditional socialization patterns and its public elementary school. Here the writer has tried to discuss one specific village in considerable detail, in order to show the complex relationship between village life and the outside world. After seeing the position of the public elementary school today within the village being studied, in PART III, the writer attempted to analyze theories of village development and educational planning. And, using the case of this particular village as an example, the writer examined the role that the village school might potentially play in fostering rural development.

The data collected in Harapan seem to suggest certain areas in which interaction between school and community is needed. The school could serve the community in facilitating a transition between the traditional rural way of life and a modern, urbanized, existence. Education would be essential in promoting improved standards of sanitation, birth control techniques, new entrepreneurial ventures, and identification with the modern Indonesian nation. Curricula should be developed that relate to the real economic needs of the villagers.

In short, the data suggested that one of the possibilities in setting up educational planning in this case for the majority of the people perhaps should be reached by the use of educators in the village setting to enhance the attainment of modernization goals for Indonesian villages, which is still neglected at the present stage of development.

# THE CASE OF THE VILLAGE OF HARAPAN: A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF A VILLAGE IN CENTRAL JAVA, INDONESIA FOR EDUCATIONAL PLANNING AND VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT

By

Tarwotjo

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

College of Education

1971

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

As with any other dissertation, this is the result of a relatively long endeavor, a process in which many individuals were involved. The study extended far beyond the boundaries of a single institution or country; the individuals involved were guided by a common interest, the scientific one. Although there are still weaknesses here and there in this thesis, it represents the realization of an almost impossible dream for me to have done the field-work as I wished; it would never have been achieved without the encouragement and help of many.

This test case was sponsored by: The Government of the Republic of Indonesia, especially Mr. Mashoeri, the Minister of Education and Culture; Dr. Soedjatmoko, the Indonesian Ambassador to the United States; Mr. Soepojo, the Secretary General of the Department of Education and Culture; Major General Moenadi, the Governor Head of Central Java; Mr. Koesnadi, the Director of Higher Education; Brigadier General Charris Soehoed and Mr. Hercutanto, the former and the present Cultural Attachees at the Indonesian Embassy to the United States; Dr. Setijadi, the Director of the National Assessment of Education Project; Mr. Slamet II, the Chief Representative of the Department

of Education and Culture in Central Java; Mr. Moeljono and Mr. Sastrodimoeljo and their staff members; the officials and the people in the subdistricts of Ambangredjo and of Weleri and of the village of Harapan; and

The Government of the United States of America, expecially Mrs. I. Hvoslef, Miss L. A. Doyle, Professor Liddle, and Professor Lawton, the Chiefs of the Agency for International Development in Washington, D. C. and in Djakarta, and in Jogjakarta; at

Michigan State University, especially Professors O. D. Meaders, C. S. Brembeck, A. B. Hudson, and H. L. Case, the Director and members of my Guidance Committee in the College of Education and the Department of Anthropology; and

Other professors, officials, elementary school teachers and individuals, especially Professor M. M. Miller in Colombia, South America; Professors G. Axinn, John and Ruth Useem at Michigan State University; Professor F. L. Cooley, Professor Selosoemardjan, Mr. Slamet I, and Brigadier General Soedharto S. in Djakarta; Lieut. Colonel Kristanto and Mr. Kristijarso in Semarang; Mr. Manggasri in Karawang; Mr. Tjitrasoedjana in Tjilatjap; and Mr. Soehardjo at Ambangredjo.

For their help and that of others I have failed to mention here, allow me to express my deep thankfulness and appreciation.

Special thanks to Mrs. Judith M. Hudson for her spontaneous help in editing the manuscript and improving my English with great patience in the rush of her busy daily life.

And last but not least, to my wife, Endang, and my sons, Edi and Wahju, who were to be left home most of the time during the years between 1968 and 1971, I really thank them for their courage and support and sacrifice.

East Lansing, March 1971.

TABLE OF CONTENTS


Page

INTRODUCTION . . . . . 1

PART I. BACKGROUND FOR THE STUDY

CHAPTER

I. THE NEED FOR VILLAGE STUDIES IN EDUCATIONAL PLANNING . . . . . 4

A General View of Early Educational Planning in Indonesia . . . . . 5
Why is a Rural Study in Depth Needed? . . . 7
Traditional and Progress in the Javanese Setting . . . . . 11
Economics and Education . . . . . 14
Integrated Educational Planning: Education for What? . . . . . 16
The Values of the Indonesian Nation: Pantjasila and the 1945 Constitution . . 17
The Organization of the Study . . . . . 19
Methodology and Procedures . . . . . 19
The Specific Location of the Study . . . . 26
The Limitation of the Study . . . . . 29

II. REVIEW OF RELATED STUDIES . . . . . 30

Studies in rural economics in Indonesia
Boeke versus the others
Looking for pragmatic solution
Previous study in a single village
The writer's interest
The ecological approach in education

PART II. THE CASE OF THE VILLAGE OF HARAPAN

III. THE VILLAGE OF HARAPAN . . . . . 38

Location. . . . . .
Climate . . . . . 39
Landscape . . . . . 39

CHAPTER Page

Isolation . . . . . 40
The Administrative Apparatus . . . . . 42
Settlement Pattern . . . . . 43
Houses . . . . . 48
Population . . . . . 51
The Agricultural Cycle . . . . . 53
Land Holdings and Property . . . . . 55
Per-Capita Income . . . . . 57
Markets . . . . . 60
Transportation . . . . . 61
Communications . . . . . 62
Institutions . . . . . 63

IV. THE PEOPLE . . . . . 67

Appearance . . . . . 67
Language . . . . . 70
Village Solidarity . . . . . 74
Village Orientation Groups . . . . . 77
Abangan, Santri, and Prijaji
The Ethnic-Bound Group, The Religion-Oriented Group, and the Indonesian-Image Group
Economics and the Orientation Groups . . . 85

V. TRADITIONAL SOCIALIZATION IN HARAPAN . . . . 93

Infancy and childhood
Division of labor
Hindu-Javanese vlaues
The concept of "Perwiro"
The traditional place of Javanese women
The concept of "silently watching"
The "Wajang" performance
Three channels for Harapan children to observe appropriate ethical standards
The loss of "Wajang" values at Harapan
Traditional Islamic education
Rukun Iman
Rukun Islam
The population's actual involvement with Islam
Guru Ngadji instruction
Two kinds of Madrassah

CHAPTER Page

VI. THE SCHOOL . . . . . 109

The Building . . . . . 109
The Teachers . . . . . 110
The School Routine . . . . . 115
Curriculum . . . . . 116
The Students . . . . . 118
An Analysis of the School's Problems . . . 119
The Villagers' Attitudes Toward The Teachers . . . . . 120
Village Leaders and Teachers . . . . . 122

VII. THE VILLAGE AND THE SUBDISTRICT . . . . . 126

The Subdistrict and its Population . . . . 126
Subsistence and Per-Capita Income . . . . . 129
Plantations . . . . . 129
The Roles of the Chinese and Citizens from Chinese and Arab Origins in the Economy . . . . . 130
The Government as a Factor in the Economy . 132
The Population of Ambangredjo Town and the Orientation Groups . . . . . 132
Education in Ambangredjo Subdistrict . . . 134
Government Civil Servants . . . . . 135
Development Potential . . . . . 137

PART III. A THEORY OF VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATIONAL PLANNING

VIII. SCHOOL AND DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES . . . . . 140

The History of Education in Indonesia . . . 141
Dutch-built schools
Christian missionary schools
Islamic education
The Taman Siswa school
Education under the Japanese
Indonesian public schools
Educational Quality in Indonesia's Schools Today . . . . . 148

CHAPTER Page

IX. SCHOOL-BASED STRATEGIES IN INDONESIA . . . . 152

The National Assessment of Education Project . . . . . 153
The Case of the Village of Pesisir Urang . 158
Location
Climate
Landscape
The administrative apparatus
Settlement pattern
Houses
Population
Economy
Communications
Orientation groups in Pesisir Urang
Institutions
The school
The Prospect for A School-Based Strategy in the Village of Harapan . . . . . 172

X. ECONOMIC THEORIES IN DEVELOPMENT PLANNING . . 176

Boeke's Dualism . . . . . 179
The Writings of Clifford Geertz . . . . . 182
Owen's Plan for Economic Development . . . 185
Benjamin Higgins . . . . . 187
W. W. Rostow . . . . . 189
Gunnar Myrdal . . . . . 192
Raul Prebisch . . . . . 195
Departmental Strategies: From the Top Down . . . . . 199

XI. COMMUNITY-BASED STRATEGIES OF DEVELOPMENT . . 206

The Comilla Program in East Pakistan . . . 208
Development in Japan . . . . . 211
The Prospect for a Community-based Strategy in the Village of Harapan . . . . . 212

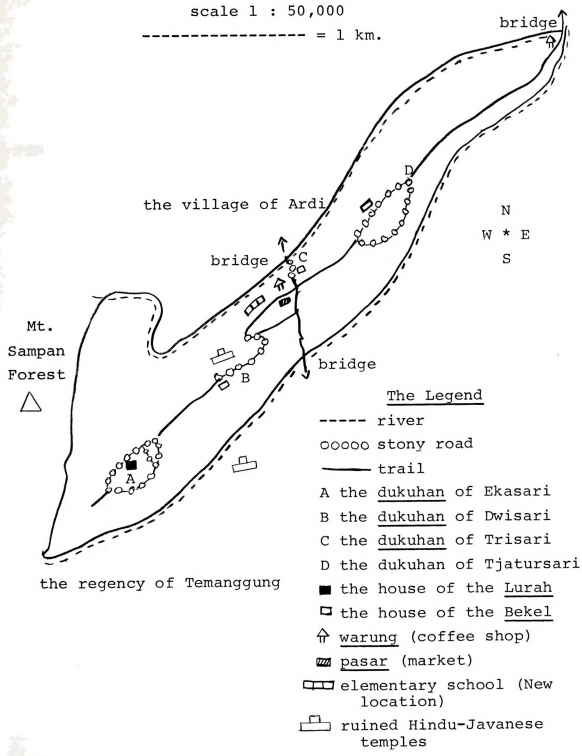
XII. ONE CONCLUSION: THE NEED FOR ENTREPRENEURIAL EDUCATORS . . . . . 216

BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . . 227

LIST OF TABLES


| TABLE | | Page |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | GROSS PRODUCT OF HARAPAN VILLAGE . . . . . | 57 |
| 2. | GROSS PRODUCT OF AMBANGREDJO SUBDISTRICT . . . | 58 |
| 3. | HARAPAN SCHOOL BY GRADE AND SEX . . . . . | 119 |
| 4. | A COMPARISON OF VILLAGE LEADERS . . . . . | 123 |
| 5. | AMBANGREDJO POPULATION BY AGE, SEX AND ETHNIC ORIGIN . . . . . | 127 |
| 6. | AMBANGREDJO TOTAL POPULATION BY YEAR . . . . . | 128 |
| 7. | SCHOOLS IN AMBANGREDJO SUBDISTRICT . . . . . | 134 |
| 8. | ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, STUDENTS AND TEACHERS IN INDONESIA, 1877-1970 . . . . . | 146 |
| 9. | SECONDARY AND COLLEGE EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS . | 147 |
| 10. | ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS AND KINDERGARTENS IN CENTRAL JAVA, 1970 . . . . . | 147 |
| 11. | CHILDREN IN PESISIR URANG'S ELEMENTARY SCHOOL NO. 1 . . . . . | 170 |
| 12. | CHILDREN IN PESISIR URANG'S ELEMENTARY SCHOOL NO. 2 . . . . . | 171 |

THE VILLAGE OF HARAPAN



# INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is a preliminary case study of a remote Javanese village in which the relationship of the public elementary school to the villagers is given particular attention. The study contains a description of the village, its people, their traditional socialization patterns, and the public elementary school. In conclusion, a theory of village development and educational planning is presented.

Should we question just how remote was the village described herein, let us trace the writer's first trip there, since in Indonesia today mileage alone is not always significant, given the present stage of transportation and communications. The writer left Djakarta, the capital of Indonesia in West Java, on Friday, January 2, 1970, driving eastward by car. Many bridges were being repaired, and the roads were relatively narrow, although the number of cars were increasing each year. As night fell, the road became completely dark; there were no electric street lights anywhere between the two towns. Night buses connecting Djakarta with the cities of Tjirebon, Semarang, Surakarta, Jogjakarta, and Surabaja, competed against each other, presenting considerable hazards to the unwary driver. The

relatively cool night grew darker and darker. Along the way, the writer stopped three times at coffee shops or to buy gasoline; by 3:00 a.m. the next morning, he had reached Semarang, the provincial capital of Central Java.

After three days consulting appropriate government officials in Semarang and then in Kendal, the regency capital, some 27 kilometers to the west of Semarang, on Wednesday, January 7th, the writer traveled west again to the small subdistrict trading town of Weleri, 46 kilometers west of Semarang. Here, he turned southward, to the highland subdistrict of "Ambangredjo"[1] about 18 kilometers from Weleri. Local people must wait hours for public transportation between Weleri and Ambangredjo; the vehicles are not buses, but old Dodge or Chevrolet trucks. After seeing the officials in Ambangredjo and making necessary preparations, on the 14th of January the writer began walking, climbing up, following dirt roads or paths which were very slippery, since it was raining at the time. He reached the village being studied, which is about 18 kilometers from Ambangredjo, in five hour's time. Although by another road the village was only a two-hour drive, no one had access to cars or trucks. The term remote used here, then, means just that: there was no transportation other than by foot between Ambangredjo and this village, the most remote in the entire subdistrict.

[1]Quotation marks indicate pseudonyms.

# PART I

# BACKGROUND FOR THE STUDY

# CHAPTER I

## THE NEED FOR VILLAGE STUDIES IN EDUCATIONAL PLANNING

Intelligent educational planning for rural conditions demands a good understanding of the actual conditions in the areas where schools exist. The situation in Indonesia is no exception to this generalization. In 1960, as the youngest official in the central office of the Elementary Education Division at the Ministry of Education and Culture, this writer began to see gaps between what was being taught in colleges at that time and the realities being faced by officials, between national educational planning and the facts of village life that he saw on visits to some of the islands, and between political speeches and a scientific approach to educational problems. These experiences made him interested, on the one hand, in educational planning; on the other hand, he saw a need to develop policies that were relevant to the diverse rural settings found throughout the Indonesian archipelago. In order to become qualified, the writer was strongly motivated to complete a Doctorandus (Drs.) degree in education from the Universitas Kristen Indonesia in Djakarta,

received in early 1961. His master's degree in rural education was conferred at the end of 1962 by Kansas State Teachers College, and in 1968 he began studies as a Ph. D. candidate in Comparative and International Education at Michigan State University.

## A General View of Early Educational Planning in Indonesia

In the first years of any newly independent country such as Indonesia, nation-building assumes great importance. Thus, from its beginnings as an independent country, Indonesian national policy focused on fostering a new national consciousness through its educational planning. One of the early acts of the Indonesian government, during the armed revolution from 1945-1950, was to turn its attention toward education. While the central government was still exiled in Jogjakarta, the newly founded Ministry of Education and Culture drafted a national educational policy which was signed into law in 1950. (The provisions of this law will be discussed in detail in PART III.)

Under the new government, hundreds of colleges and thousands of secondary and elementary school buildings were erected by the government in cooperation with local people, irregardless of the availability of teachers and supplies, the establishment of relevant curricula, or the

organization of effective administrative facilities. The new Indonesian nation could not afford to delay educational development any longer, after having been restricted in the past for more than 350 years by first the colonial Dutch and then the occupying Japanese governments. At this time, also, college graduates were desperately needed as teachers at college and high school levels or in official government posts. In the first years of the new nation, many people without college degrees served in such capacities, the writer among them, when he worked in the Ministry of Education and Culture in 1960-1961, concentrating on elementary education.

Most educational policies that have been introduced in Indonesia have been initiated by the central government; such plans have been implemented from the top-down. Some high officials did begin to realize that the quality of educational planning was especially important at the elementary level. As early as 1953, they were already thinking about compulsory education,[2] about the concept of community schools inspired by those in Flint, Michigan and and Kotabato, Philippines, and about campaigns to eradicate illiteracy.

---

[2]See M. Hutasoit, Compulsory Education in Indonesia: Studies on Compulsory Education No. 15 (Paris: UNESCO, 1954).

Among Indonesia's educational pioneers were such men as Mr. Slamet I, Mr. Hutasoit, Mr. Slamet II, Mr. Sutarman, Mr. Tartib, and Mr. Sadarjun; some had been instrumental in founding the Ministry of Education and Culture itself. These officials, who are all retired now, visited almost all the provinces in Indonesia, including many rural areas in different islands and among various ethnic groups. In his new job in 1960, this writer saw the many brochures and plans these men had prepared, especially with regard to elementary education for both children and adults in the rural areas. However, the political situation was too unstable even as late as 1966 for a truly professional approach to emerge. Also, in these early plans, rural areas with their local schools were still viewed by outsiders who made their observations from vantage points far above the rural setting. In this study, therefore, the writer has tried to see, from the inside, some of the problems existing in a single village setting.

## Why is a Rural Study in Depth Needed?

Some anthropological fieldwork has been done in Indonesian rural areas, on different islands and among various ethnic groups.[3] Thus far, none of these studies

[3]For short summaries of post-World War II fieldwork in Indonesia, see Koentjaraningrat (ed.), Villages in Indonesia (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967).

has been specifically related to educational planning or to the economic problems that must be shouldered by both the nation and the individual in Indonesia today. Nor have the findings of these various anthropological studies been integrated into a coherent village development program. Village development relies upon a number of academic disciplines, but both anthropology and economics have great relevance to the success of any rural development scheme. Economic anthropology[4] is even a subdiscipline within the field of anthropology; this writer has tried to integrate some of its techniques and approaches into what is basically a plan for educational development. Since similar field research has never been attempted in the history of Indonesian education, the writer feels that a study of a specific community in depth should aid our understanding of the villagers, their setting, and the economic problems they face. These materials, in turn, should help us to formulate educational planning that can be meaningful to the villagers.

The term "educational planning" should be understood as only one integral part of overall long-range development planning. Educational schemes should not be separated from other development planning in the village

---

[4]See George Dalton (ed.), Primitive, Archaic and Modern Economics: Essays of Karl Polanyi (New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1968).

setting, as has often happened when the administrative bureaucracies of several government departments have penetrated to an unprepared village, where the necessary preconditions have not been established. The approach to be used in this study, then, is not only a view from the school to the surrounding community. Rather than a scheme generated from either the top down or the bottom up, emphasis is placed on the need for a meeting or a dialogue between both levels.

The vast majority of Indonesia's 120 million inhabitants live in villages today. Thus it seems evident that any type of national development must be concentrated upon rural schemes, and in order to increase the effectiveness of any development plans, we must understand the villager in his own setting.

Only recently have villagers begun to think about developing their home villages. Village officials gradually are learning what should be done to develop their villages, but they do not yet know how to do this scientifically. They have recently realized that their land is very small, and throughout Java, already overcrowded with illiterate, traditionally oriented followers, not greatly different from those ancestors who helped build Java's past glories. These village officials need help, but only from someone who can treat them with understanding. The villagers must learn not only how to survive economically in terms of

subsistence, but also how to participate in the world economy, a right that has been denied them for centuries.

For this reason, Wyn F. Owen, from the University of Colorado, was right in suggesting that any Indonesian development program based on a strategy of agrarian economy should treat both the subsistence sector and what he calls the "commercial sector."[5] Owen, an agricultural economist, wrote as follows after having studied the Indonesian situation:

> There is much to be said for providing specialized education in the science and arts of agriculture for a substantial number of the farm youth in the commercial farming sector to prepare them for assuming the management of farm enterprises in subsequent generations. However, this emphasis on the education of children in the subsistence sector obviously has very little merit. In this case the task is to provide education relevant to the non-farming economic activities wherein alone is to be found the principal long-run economic opportunity for these young people. In any event, to the extent that they must continue to find part of their livelihood in the cultivation of subsistence plots, the type of education appropriate thereto is a world removed from that which has as its objective the production of an efficient commercial farm manager.[6]

The present writer would like to suggest here that the strategy of Indonesian educational planning, especially for those living in the overcrowded island of Java, should

---

[5]Why F. Owen, "Structural Planning in Densely Populated Countries: an Introduction with Applications to Indonesia," in The Malayan Economic Review: XIV (April, 1969), pp. 97-114.

[6]Ibid., p. 112.

follow Owen's ideas; these ideas will be discussed in more detail in PART III.

As a beginning, then, local educational planning needs a rural study in depth to provide information which in turn may be used to help create a model for meaningful development. In this way, perhaps educational goals can be altered so that gradually young people no longer become strangers to their home villages which they have deserted after graduating from school, or lost in large urban centers where they desperately strive to find jobs or to continue their education still further.

## Tradition and Progress in the Javanese Setting

Some general comments about the Javanese and Javanese villagers in particular may help clarify the problems that confront any national development planner in Java.

Historically Java's villagers have been ordered about by colonial officials; they have been treated as inferiors by Hindu-Javanese overlords, and by Dutch and Japanese alike. Among the rural peoples, this has resulted in what the Javanese call sumonggo kerso, and the Sundanese, sumuhun dawuh, or a "yes man" attitude, regardless of whether the villagers understand or even agree. Even if one did not actually want to do something, he still said "yes"; this the Javanese know as inggih-inggih ora kepanggih,

or "lip service." Such an attitude has resulted from their treatment by past kingdoms and colonial governments; following independence, the educational system has tried to counteract this effect of history. Villagers were never given opportunities to develop as entrepreneurs in their own setting. The great stories from history, of palaces, of temples, of building under Daendels almost 800 miles of paved road throughout the island of Java, of Dutch urban development and Dutch-managed plantations, and finally of poor romusha (forced laborers) under Japanese rule, are really the life histories of millions of villagers, who acted for centuries as followers, building and creating without benefit to their daily lives in their home villages.

The peak of traditional Javanese village culture must have been reached centuries ago, at the time when every inch of arable land was cultivated in sophisticated and beautiful rice terraces or, in the hilly regions, corn. The writer has always admired the beauty of the landscape and the hard work of the villagers, from the time of his childhood in his grandfather's village or in other villages he visited. In the traditional sense, the land was productive, and the villagers worked hard physically as they have for centuries. What then are the weaknesses of their tradition, and why does starvation and poverty occur? For here lies one of the challenges

facing those who would attempt to develop the villages and use the public elementary schools as an instrument for development.

Geertz has observed that after Javanese agricultural tradition reached its peak centuries ago, and when colonial rule began, the history of Javanese peasants seemed to stop. Isolated from urban and foreign influences, the peasants "involuted," clinging even more doggedly to their traditions, making the gap between themselves and the outside world wider and wider.[7] To carry this idea further, even though it may be painful for many Javanese, it is necessary to identify the essential contrasts between Javanese tradition and the desired modern Indonesian image.

Rural Java was essentially a community of blind solidarity, while progress toward modernizations seems to require individual thinking, responsibility, achievement, and self realization. It is hard to leave the quiet, peaceful Javanese traditional village setting among the corn, tobacco or rice fields, especially at harvest time; yet how miserable it must be for the younger people, who can no longer survive as their forefathers have done. The stereotype of the traditional rural Javanese is of a good,

---

[7]Clifford Geertz, Agricultural Involution: The Process of Ecological Change in Indonesia (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), pp. 80-82.

loyal follower, but the modern Indonesian needs the vigorous spirit of the entrepreneur, to open new frontiers in nearly every aspect of life. The tendency of the Javanese toward introversion should be changed to extraversion; "involution" should be transformed into "outvolution," if such a term may be coined.

An inspiring economic speech by a respected leader is without much meaning for the rural Javanese and will have little meaning until his agricultural income becomes more assured. In the village that this writer studied, the "case of the goat in the house" gave proof of this. No matter how much advice the officials gave, and how dilligently they worked for modern hygiene, the goats were still kept inside, even when some of the villagers had died from the unhealthy, dirty conditions inside the houses. Even though traditional means are out of date, modern ways are either too vague or too filled with uncertainty for the average peasant. The same types of attitudes prevailed toward birth control, even when they realized they were having too many children.

## Economics and Education

Traditionally the Javanese peasant strives to produce no more food than is essential for survival; historically, he also had to pay taxes, either to Javanese kingdoms or to Dutch and Japanese governments. No thought

was given to the modernization of the villages by various ruling powers, and therefore rural conditions did not change much, although urban life was altered to some degree. The peak for the traditional peasant came several centuries ago, when every family had at least 2 hectares of land, but with the twentieth century, population pressure has been intensive throughout Java. This population growth was, in part, a result of the villagers need for more and more children to cultivate their land, the more the merrier.

Modern economic thought in Indonesia is still being introduced and developed by a handful of Indonesian economists who are setting up national planning; these men have not had time yet to develop local-level strategies. Therefore, instead of waiting for them to be ready, this writer has in his fieldwork tried to study the village economy directly. In connection with the need for relevancy between school and village life, it is very important to understand the economic sector, as it plays a most important role in human life everywhere. The village community cannot devote much of its resources to the education of her children, unless these educational efforts can be made to serve her present economy. The study of economic opportunities should be established and developed in village schools, and studied by all from their childhood. The first priority, in this case, then, is not what the village could and should do for improving the

education of her children, but on the contrary, what the educational institution could and should do for developing the economic sector in the socio-cultural setting of the village community concerned and for helping the children become participants in the community. Who does not want his children to be successful, but does a child who attends the local school learn enough so that he will be able to eat enough food every day?

All aspects of traditional heritages that are in conflict with the concepts necessary for rural modernization should be firmly brought into line with sound economic principles, so that Indonesia can survive as a young nation, and its peoples endure as individuals as well. This is the price of development, and it should be paid. And for those Indonesians from Javanese backgrounds, for support of modernization we can turn to positive traditional values, such as expressed in an old proverb that says, djer basuki mowo bejo, nanging odjo njowo ingkang muspro, meaning, "to achieve something worthwhile, you have to pay the price, but not a soul should be wasted." Or, as Professor Meaders said to this writer last October, the price should not be too high.

## Integrated Educational Planning: Education for What?

The next question we must ask is, what kind of education do we need to promote in our schools? It is

time for us, the Indonesians, to pay attention to the importance of local level planning, to develop plans from the bottom up to meet the present strategies that reach from the top down. Although school enrollment is continuously expanding, rural peoples are not yet ready for the idea of compulsory education. The number of students leaving schools--at all levels--is symptomatic that educational programs are still not relevant to the village community, especially in terms of local economic conditions.

Before we can answer adequately the question, education for what?, we need some perceptive studies of villages from different settings. Only then can we plan technically a national strategy, based on the collected data rather than on approximations or shallow sketches or big myths, as we have often done in the past.

Perhaps here we have to differentiate between two things: the values of the Indonesian nation and the techniques of the educational profession. Since this dissertation concentrates upon the latter, it would perhaps be worthwhile here to mention the national principles that form the basis for the Indonesian national consciousness.

## The Values of the Indonesian Nation: Pantjasila and the 1945 Constitution

The form of the Indonesian government is a democracy, based on the Pantjasila and the 1945 Constitution.

The Pantjasila, or the Five Pillars that form the philosophical basis of the Indonesian state, are composed of five inseparable and mutually qualifying principles, as follows:

(1) Belief in the One, Supreme God;

(2) Just in Civilized Humanity;

(3) Unity of Indonesia;

(4) Democracy which is guided by the inner wisdom in unanimity arising out of deliberations amongst representatives;

(5) Social Justice for all of the People of Indonesia.

In the past, it was common to say that the Indonesian educational system should always be based on these principles and the 1945 Constitution, and then one would stop there. It is about time for we, the Indonesians, to see these principles as the beginning of our professional planning, and not as the end of a formal popular speech, as they have been. And this professional planning should begin by improving economic sectors, emphasizing agricultural or other economic needs relevant to the individual socio-cultural setting of the village, the place where all of us Indonesians came from, and where most of us still live.

## The Organization of the Study

This thesis is organized into three parts. PART I is concerned with technical information about why the study was initiated, what is to be covered, and how the data were collected. In addition, a brief review of related studies is given. PART II contains a summary of the findings of the fieldwork, including a description of the village, its people, their traditional socialization patterns and its public elementary school. PART III is an attempt to analyze theories of village development and educational planning, and, using the case of the village being studied as an example, to build a theory of developing entrepreneurial educators in the village setting.

## Methodology and Procedures

The data for this study have been collected mostly through interviewing and observation. If we trace the progress of the fieldwork chronologically, in Djakarta this writer relied primarily on formal interviews for gathering information and soliciting advice from concerned officials and scholars. He proceeded similarly in Semarang, Kendal and Ambangredjo. The following individuals were kind enough to discuss the writer's fieldwork with him: in Djakarta, the Minister and the Secretary General of the Ministry of Education and Culture, Professor Selosoemardjan, Professor Koentjaraningrat, Professor Liddle, Mr. Koesnadi,

Mr. Slamet I, and Dr. Setijadi. In Semarang, Mr. Slamet II, and his staff members; in Kendal, regency officials; and in Ambangredjo, subdistrict officials. At the close of his fieldwork, the writer was summoned by the Governor of Central Java in Semarang, and he also had an opportunity to see Professor Lawton at Gadjahmada University in Jogjakarta; he met Professor Selosoemardjan by chance at the Hongkong airport.

The writer went back and forth between Ambangredjo and the village of "Harapan" on the average of once a month, staying in Harapan between 7 and 12 days at a time, depending on the focus of his study, on the quantity of supplies he had, on his psychological condition or on his health. For a period of 9 months, he was almost continuously in Ambangredjo or in the surrounding areas; once in a while he visited Kendal, Semarang, Jogjakarta or Djakarta for consultation with professional people and officials. For purposes of comparison, he also traveled to a coastal village and its surrounding areas some 30 kilometers from Harapan, where he spent 4 days interviewing and recording data.

At the village level, the bulk of the data was collected through the process of informal interviews. Of first importance to the writer's relations with the villagers was the fact that he used his feet for transportation, the same as any peasant. On January 14, 1970, the

first time he left the highland of the subdistrict of Ambangredjo, he walked in the rain for five hours over a distance of 18 kilometers on steep slippery dirt trails, through the villages up to the village of "Harapan" located at the eastern base of Mt. "Sampan," since he had been unable to get any transportation. He was greatly helped by the people in collecting his data, even though he was still a stranger to them for the first months, partially, as he found out later on, because they appreciated his walking right from the beginning. Also the villagers were appreciative that he talked to and listened to his different guides before feeling relaxed enough to walk alone in strange villages and along the lonesome dirt trails. He chatted with strangers he met in coffee shops and along the roads and conversed with different people when he dropped by their homes or met them in their fields where they were growing tobacco, corn and cabbage. He talked and listened to the head of the village and his assistants when he met them, and he chatted with the students and schoolchildren in their classes, when they were playing soccer using a young orange as their ball, caring for their younger brothers or sisters, or while they were collecting grass for their goats. Of course he talked with the teachers and those parents he could reach.

Interviewing was done informally and indirectly, following Javanese cultural patterns. The concept of

politeness in Javanese tradition is essentially based on the categories of "refined" and "rough." The term refined, or alus, in Javanese encompassed informal, brotherly approaches that are indirect and do not hurt the feelings of another. Refined communication is honest and modest; it shows respect for elders and traditional power holders. The term rough, or kasar, means just the opposite of the above. "To tell it like it is" would be considered rough by a traditional Javanese, especially if the relationship were public. Such a communication could only be conducted directly, straight to the point, frankly and rationally, if it were done in private. Within the restrictions of this refined and rough framework, the writer tried to focus conversations firmly on relevant subjects.

Perasaan, or "emotional dignity" plays an influential role in the Javanese setting. Once a fieldworker has been accepted psychologically, another problem arises, since the villagers have yet to distinguish between private and business matters. Therefore, anthropological interviewing in the Javanese setting is really time-consuming; the fieldworker, trying to use the technique of "participant observation" had to be careful not to become too deeply involved so that he would loose his objectivity.

The writer never summoned anybody in the village to be interviewed. He visited them in their homes or

fields, or in other natural or relaxed places. He never took notes in front of them, but wrote up his findings as soon as he arrived in a setting where writing was familiar. In the evenings, however, village officials visited him in turn, talking about what they or he wanted too. In this situation he could write notes without making his informants uneasy.

Data collected through interview techniques fall into what another anthropological fieldworker in Java, Robert Jay, has called "conceptions";[8] Jay has been careful to distinguish such statements of informants from acts or situations that the fieldworker has actually observed himself. This writer has tried to differentiate between data collected by interview and events actually witnessed; he tried to check the reliability of interview data through direct observation whenever possible.

Although not a professional mapmaker, the writer attempted a simple map using the pace and compass technique. He carried his camera nearly everywhere he went, again even though he is not an accomplished photographer. These two devices, he found, made it easier for him to talk with strangers he met. While mapping, he had an excuse to visit people in their fields, whereupon he

---

[8] R. R. Jay, Javanese Villagers (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1969), p. 29.

could question them about their primary concern, growing tobacco, corn, or cabbages. Only after a discussion of such subjects would the writer then be able to pursue other matters that were more hidden or complex.

Observation was also necessary, since the meaning of words were often hidden beneath stereotype expressions. It is considered polite in the Javanese setting, that if you see someone you know from the front of your home, to say, monggo pinarak, or "would you please drop by?" And he would likely answer, inggih, kapan-kapan sowan, or "yes, some other time." Only by observation could one know what is meant, since traditionally it is hard for a Javanese to refuse somebody while talking to him. Verbally you must say "yes" to an invitation, even though both parties concerned know that you actually mean "no." A frank answer could mean a "rough" approach to a traditional Javanese. Javanese culture is really full of this kind of situational context, or "silent language."

The writer did use some additional quantitative methods in conducting his fieldwork, but he feels these were not very successful. He trained five village officials, on a voluntary basis, to conduct a preliminary exploratory census; these five people in turn instructed other people, including the four elementary teachers, one religious teacher and three "madrassah" teachers, so that in all about 40 people were involved in this project.

For almost five days, each house was visited by two people, to ensure the accuracy of the procedure. They tried to explain clearly that the census had no connection with taxation, but was being done for the village's benefit and for scientific interest. The writer must admit that the process was not only difficult, but also quite exhausting as well. The results were checked twice. The government later made a nation-wide census, including Harapan, following this voluntary census. The census official told the writer that the voluntary census had made it easier to conduct the government census. When he left the village, the writer was unable to get the results of the government census, however, since time did not permit his waiting any longer. Although the voluntary census had more information and was based on local initiatives, it lacked the facilities available to the government. Consequently, its accuracy was questionable, both because the writer fell ill on the last day and because in one of the 4 dukuhan, or hamlets, there was no strong leadership, as its head had just died. There were two people competing for election, and this situation made a voluntary census difficult.

The languages used conducting the fieldwork were primarily Javanese in the villages, Indonesian in the urban areas, and a little English when the writer met AID or MUCIA officials or Ford Foundation or UNESCO consultants at a conference held by the Ministry of Education and

Culture. During the 9-month period of the fieldwork, Javanese was spoken with the villagers and even with the local officials informally in the subdistrict. Besides Indonesian and English, the writer, as any other field-worker in the Indonesian setting, had to read some Dutch, especially in tracing information about the ruined Hindu-Javanese temples found in the village of Harapan and surrounding areas.

## The Specific Location of the Study

There were several reasons why the writer chose the particular village that he studied. First, he felt that since communications and transportation are still big problems, a remote village would be more neglected than one located closer to the subdistrict capital. Officials suggested that the writer should observe villages which were located close to the subdistrict capital, since these were considered the best to visit in the area. No one could understand in the beginning why the writer chose the most remote village in the subdistrict, which could not be reached since there was no transportation available from the subdistrict capital inland. The writer also visited two villages chosen by a Teachers College team under the guidance of the National Assessment of Education Project, one to represent the mountainous region and the other, the coastal fishing setting. Both of these villages

were about 6 kilometers from the subdistrict capital, with available public transportation. (The visit to the fishing village is recorded in some detail in PART III.)

Local officials also could not understand why the writer concentrated on a single village for so long, compared with other research that they knew about thus far. Furthermore the writer knew that Koentjaraningrat[9] conducted his research in villages in South Central Java that were not as remote as this one; Wilmott[10] worked in North Central Java, but in an urban setting and specializing on a different aspect. Selosoemardjan[11] worked in South Central Java, in the urban setting, using a sociological rather than an anthropological approach.

Whereas it is generally assumed that all Javanese eat rice, this is not true in the mountainous regions, where corn is the staple. And above all, the village studied is an example of relatively extreme economic sufferings, even though the peasants work hard at traditional agricultural pursuits.

---

[9]Koentjaraningrat, "Tjelapar: A Village in South Central Java," Villages in Indonesia (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967), pp. 240-280.

[10]Donald Earl Wilmott, The Chinese in Semarang: A Changing Minority Community in Indonesia (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1960).

[11]Selosoemardjan, Social Changes in Jogjakarta (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1962).

Geographically, the village studied is isolated, and its physical location has made its people feel psychologically isolated. The Javanese language is still the only reality in this village. How can we develop an intense nationally oriented, democratic attitude in the traditional Javanese rural setting, if we do not start teaching Indonesian to students from the first grade, instead of from the third grade, as is now the case? Modern communications are still scarce. Radios are too expensive, as are their batteries and the taxes that must be paid to maintain them. Even all the village officials did not have radios at that time. The isolation of the village perhaps made it easier for the writer to identify the problems involved, even though they were complicated.

The final factor for choosing this particular village was his family background. The writer's wife is not trained anthropologically, and she could not have survived in such a remote village, especially as they had a small child. Since his grandfather had been the head of a village in South Central Java, the writer planned so that while he was doing his fieldwork, his family could live in a setting familiar to her from childhood. Even so, he eventually took his family back home to Djakarta, some 350 miles away, after seeing how busy a fieldworker was in collecting his data.

## The Limitations of the Study

A preliminary study of this sort has certain limitations, and two of them are as follows:

Geographically, it does not pretend to be representative of rural areas in Indonesia or even in Central Java.

Socio-culturally, the data presented herein represent only one of the many variations in the rural Javanese setting.

# CHAPTER II

## REVIEW OF RELATED STUDIES

In order to understand the background of this thesis perhaps we should review related studies concerned with anthropology, with rural economics in the Javanese setting and those relevant to the methodology used in collecting the data.

It was several years ago that foreign anthropologists who were interested in the Indonesian setting, began concentrating on depth studies of one ethnic group as a professional base, as there are many ethnic groups. This approach was used by Hurgronje on the Atjehnese, Bruner on the Bataks, Cooley on the Ambonese, Geertz, Jay and Koentjaraningrat on the Javanese, Kaudern on Sulawesi as a whole, Hudson and his students on the Dajaks, and many others on the Balinese. Perhaps two anthropologists specialized in studying the same ethnic group, but their specific subjects were different such as Peacock, who concentrated on ludruk performances in the East Javanese setting, the late Claire Holt on Indonesian art, Wilmott and his students on the Chinese in the Indonesian setting,

or Margaret Mead on the traditional socialization of Balinese children, to name but a few.

In the history of applied anthropology in Indonesia, we know that Hurgronje was hired by the Dutch government, resulting in considerable misunderstanding as to the potential of anthropology in the Indonesian setting. And only recently has anthropology been considered to be functional for nation and character building. At the present stage of economic development, all Indonesian college graduates in any field, in one way or another are government officials, including anthropologists such as Koentjaraningrat and his students.

There have been two kinds of foreign scholars studying the Indonesian setting: those who were engaged by the government and those who were academics. The first group have joined Indonesian scholars in building a stronger scientific approach, such as Higgins in applied economics several years ago, and Bruner, the first applied anthropologist in educational planning, one of the Ford Foundation consultants who assisted on this National Assessment of Education project. In this chapter, however, the writer has limited his concern to studies of rural economics in the Indonesian setting and those related to general rural educational planning.

Some scholars who have studied villages in Indonesia have concentrated on rural economics, since

they have been concerned with the poverty of the majority of the people.

Historically, perhaps we have to consider the academic battles between views developed by the Dutch scholar Boeke and others.[1] Since these views will be covered in some detail in PART III, here, the writer would like to give some general introductory notes on them.

Boeke wrote his dissertation in 1910; his other books and articles, especially those written in 1930 and 1953, emphasize the same theme: his theory of dualism between the Western economic system and that of what have now become the new nations born after World War II. According to Boeke, based on his fieldwork in the Javanese rural setting, these two systems can never meet. Therefore he advocated a "slow process" through "village reconstruction" based on a "back-to-the-village policy"; through "sharing the poverty" the ignorant-isolated village would not "disintegrate." At the time, Boeke was very influential in Dutch administration, and one of his followers was G. Gonggrijp.

Only 17 years after his dissertation had been published did Boeke start to be challenged by other scholars. Economists such as J. van Gelderen,

---

[1]See Koentjaraningrat, Villages in Indonesia (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967), pp. 21-23.

E. P. Wellestein, Aboetari and the anthropologist Raymond Firth, denied the validity of Boeke's dualistic theories, but Boeke had not changed his views much even as late as 8 years after World War II had ended. Benjamin Higgins and M. Sadli are other economists who later opposed Boeke's theory.[2]

The setting is now different, since Indonesia is not under Dutch rule any more; Boeke's theory of dualism therefore has lost its power in Indonesia. Since it is no longer necessary to challenge Boeke's dualism, other than on historical grounds, next we must look for pragmatic solutions for the creation of a modern peaceful and prosperous village setting based on Indonesian principles. Here, a scholar like Wyn F. Owen, quoted in Chapter I, assumes importance. Since the writer will follow Owen's ideas in some detail in PART III, here, the writer would only point out that like other traditional societies emphasizing out-dated past glories, in the first decade after World War II, Indonesia seemed to stress extreme contrast, attempting to leap from the painful past to the distant and still vague future, forgetting the present hard realities. And here lies the importance of Owen's strategy, proposing two simultaneous approaches which he called "subsistence and commercial sectors" to be

---

[2] Ibid., p. 23.

reflected in educational planning so that the rural student, not only learns about future tasks in an industrial setting, but also is trained simultaneously to survive individually and economically in his own crowded Javanese village setting as it progresses towards rural modernization.

In this context what Clifford Geertz has written is important. He analysed the rural Javanese economy historically,[3] stating that the Dutch brought Java's produce into the world market, but kept the Javanese people isolated from world events. Thus he sees Boeke's dualism more as the result of past colonial history than as derived from the essential nature of the Javanese, as Boeke had claimed. Another important study by Geertz,[4] is concerned with the patterns of economic entrepreneurship in Javanese and Balinese settings; this will be discussed and developed in some detail in PART III as it relates to local educational planning.

When economists like Widjojo Nitisastro and J. E. Ismail[5] began to study the economy of a single

---

[3]See Clifford Geertz, The Development of the Javanese Economy, Social Cultural Approach (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1956).

[4]C. Geertz, Peddlers and Princes: Social Change and Economic Modernization in Two Indonesian Towns (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1963).

[5]See Widjojo Nitisastro and J. E. Ismail, The Government, Economy and Taxes of a Central Javanese Village (Ithaca: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, 1959).

village they were filling a real need. An investigation of a single village, like the present study, was conducted by these men and their graduate students, who worked several years ago in a South Central Javanese village. This village, called Djabres is not as remote as the village the writer studied. Their study concentrated on village government in connection with the economy and tax collection.

These writers were interested in studying the village economy and then building theories accordingly, while this writer's interest has been how to implement these theories through meaningful educational planning for the villagers concerned. As an example, perhaps, the questions which arise from the review of the literature might be formulated this way:

(1) How can we set up educational planning following Owen's strategy?

(2) How can we assist at the birth of an entrepreneurial spirit among rural Javanese, partially using Geertz' findings in Java and Bali?

(3) How can we build a professionally dignified corps of elementary school teachers, especially those serving in the rural areas, to carry out these two tasks?

Also, the writer has examined related studies to assess methodological studies relevant to his fieldwork.

The techniques of anthropology have been especially influential.

As in any other field, anthropology has several approaches; one approach used here, is called the ecological approach, a method originally taken from the science of biology, which deals with "the functional relationship between organisms and their environment."[6] Geertz states that this term has expanded into other areas, such as "human ecology," used by Bates, Park, and Quinn. It has also developed into "cultural ecology," as used by Julian Steward. In this light, it may be possible to formulate "educational ecology," an attempt to employ an ecological approach in education, as Geertz developed an ecological approach in anthropology.[7] However, the writer is primarily concerned in this study with the functional approach, in this case, of educational planning for a village development, that is relevant for the villagers concerned, rather than only for outsiders alone, as has happened in the past centuries in Indonesia.

---

[6]See Clifford Geertz, Agricultural Involution Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1968), pp. 1-6.

[7]It is beyond the scope of the study to discuss what educational ecology is; however, it is perhaps reflected to a certain degree, as applied by this writer in his analysis of the data discussed in PART II as a whole.

# PART II

## THE CASE OF THE VILLAGE OF HARAPAN

## CHAPTER III

## THE VILLAGE OF HARAPAN

"Harapan," the village where the principal data for this study were collected, is located at the eastern base of "Mt. Sampan," in the province of Central Java, Indonesia. Sampan is a dormant volcanic peak[1] that rises some 2,565 meters (or about 8,412 feet) above sea level. The mountain itself was long ago part of another, much larger volcano that exploded, exposing its large crater and creating a rim of smaller volcanic peaks. This crater, known today as the Dieng Plateau, is the location of various Hindu Javanese temples, dating from c. 800 A.D. The second oldest Shivaite temples in Java, the Dieng structures are of paramount importance to Indonesia's distant historical past.[2] Mt. Sampan itself forms the eastern boundary of the Dieng Plateau. The village of Harapan lies on the eastern slopes of Mt. Sampan, at an altitude of about 1,300 meters (or about 4,261 feet) above sea level.

---

[1] D. C. Stibbe (ed.), Encyclopedie van Nederlandsch-Indie (s'Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, 1919), derde deel, p. 738.

[2] Claire Holt, Art in Indonesia: Continuities and Change (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967), pp. 52-53.

## Climate

Because of its altitude, the average temperature at Harapan is about 67 degrees F., ranging between an early morning low of 62 degrees to a midday high of 70 degrees. Such temperatures seem cool in comparison with the average temperature of 70 degrees (ranging between 70 degrees and 78 degrees) at the subdistrict capital of Ambangredjo (altitude, 600 meters; or about 1,676 feet), some 18 kilometers to the northeast, and positively cold when contrasted with that in humid coastal cities such as Weleri, Semarang, or Djakarta, where the temperature averages about 85 degrees, with a range between 83 and 91 degrees.

Harapan experiences two seasons, wet and dry. Rains from the northwest monsoon begin in September, continuing on roughly into March. Between April and September the weather becomes drier and hotter, and often Harapan's small rivers are reduced to a trickle or disappear entirely.

## Landscape

Harapan is located in a truly picturesque spot. Should we stand at the elementary school, which is built on high ground in the middle of the village's territory, we can see in all directions: to the west, over corn or tobacco fields and past one of the village's hamlets,

rises the peak of Mt. Sampan, with its wooded slopes; to the east, cultivated fields slope down to a river beyond, and a forest stretches to two distant blue volcanic peaks, Mt. Sundoro and Mt. Sumbing. A road winds southward, bridging a river that marks the boundary with a neighboring village that lies in another administrative district. To the north, another path leads downwards, toward the small administrative and market town of Ambangredjo and eventually to the north coast of Java and a number of larger towns and cities.

## Isolation

For the outside observer, Harapan is a beautiful place, and much of this beauty derives from its location in an isolated, secluded spot, far from the heat and crowds of an urban center. Harapan's isolation creates many problems for its 1,411 inhabitants, however: problems of marketing its tobacco and other crops, problems of transporting necessary goods back to the village, problems of communication with the numerous governmental channels responsible for distributing services and disseminating information to the remote rural areas, problems of developing a viable economy, problems of educating its young people to integrate their community into the modern nation of Indonesia.

To reach the small market town of Ambangredjo from the village, one must walk 18 kilometers along narrow, steep trails which are treacherously slippery in the rainy season. For a villager, this trip takes about 3 hours, though one stops in roadside coffee shops (warung) along the way; for the unaccustomed urban observer, the journey took 4 to 5 hours. Although one or two people ride bicycles or horses, the normal means of transport is by foot; men carry crops from a bar balanced on their shoulders, women use a basket suspended in a sling (selendang). There is another, longer road (22 kms.) between Harapan and Ambangredjo that is passable to motor vehicles; it is not so steep, and for much of the distance below Harapan it winds through a clove plantation. This road is wider than the first trail, and for more than a century was used as the access road to a Dutch plantation within Harapan's boundaries. The plantation, first cultivating coffee and subsequently, tea, was established before 1868. At one time the road was paved, but it fell into disrepair during the Japanese occupation. The plantation was abandoned later, after it was burned out in 1948 by Indonesian patriots during the Revolution.

Should a villager wish to carry his goods to trade in a different subdistrict town, the relatively busy center of Weleri lies another 18 kilometers to the north, connected with Ambangredjo by a road crowded with trucks

or buses. To the east 19 kilometers along the highway from Weleri is the regency capital of Kendal, with the provincial city of Semarang still another 27 kilometers to the east.

Harapan must indeed be among the most remote settlements in the entire province of Central Java. Of the 18 villages in the mountainous subdistrict of Ambangredjo (to which Harapan belongs), Harapan is the most isolated; economically, it is also one of the poorest villages in the subdistrict. Harapan was chosen as the focus of this study because it was felt that any village problems, educational or economic, would be more intense, and perhaps easier to diagnose under conditions of such remoteness.

## The Administrative Apparatus

Harapan belongs to the subdistrict (ketjamatan) of "Ambangredjo," in which it is one of 18 villages. It is situated on the easternmost border of the administrative district, and because of its distance from the subdistrict capital, contacts between Harapan's villagers and the Indonesian administrative apparatus are often less regular than those with villagers living in nearby settlements that belong to other administrative areas. Under Dutch rule, Harapan belonged to the district (kawedanaan) of Selokaton, an administrative area included the

subdistrict of Ambangredjo and 3 other subdistricts as well. Following the Japanese occupation, and eventually, Indonesian independence, district-level government was abolished. Today the subdistrict officer (tjamat) of Ambangredjo is directly responsible to the regency head (bupati) in Kendal, who in turn, reports to the provincial Governor of Central Java in Semarang.

## Settlement Pattern

The total land area of Harapan comprises approximately 2 square kilometers. The village territory lies between two small rivers, which define its borders to the north and south. The two streams converge at the northeast boundary of the settlement's territory. Most of the village's land is under cultivation, planted in either tobacco, the main cash crop, or corn, the staple food in the villager's diet. There are no irrigated rice fields (sawah) in Harapan, because the terrain and soil are not suitable. In the western part of the village, at the base of Mt. Sampan, the land is covered with pine forest. From west to east, Harapan's territory extends for about 4 kilometers; its width is much narrower, only about 1/2 kilometer.

The village of Harapan, like many Javanese villages, is comprised of 4 separate settlements, or hamlets, which are known as dukuhan. The dukuhan of Harapan are

connected by paths, and considerable distances (as much as 1-1/2 kilometers) separate the individual settlements. A hamlet consists of a cluster of separate family dwellings built along a stony path. The dukuhan generally maintains considerable independence in its internal affairs, with its own traditional administrative head (bekel).

The westernmost dukuhan in Harapan, "Ekasari," lies at the highest elevation. With about 170 houses and more than half of Harapan's total population of 1,411, Ekasari is the most crowded of the hamlets. Both the village head (lurah) and the village secretary (tjarik) live in Ekasari. The only substantial mosque stands in front of the lurah's house, and there are two other, small Islamic prayer houses (langgar) in Ekasari as well. The only religious school (madrassah) is also found in this hamlet. Historically, Ekasari may be the oldest hamlet in the village; in 1868 the Dutch scholar Brumund,[3] when investigating various Hindu-Javanese remains in the area, mentioned both Ekasari and another hamlet, Tjatursari, as being extant at that time. From its size and prominence today, we may perhaps infer that Ekasari represents the first settlement in Harapan.

---

[3]J. F. G. Brumund, "Bijdragen tot de kennis van het Hindoeisme op Java," Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, XXXIII, 1868, pp. 144-147.

No one today knows exactly, however, who was the leader (tjikal bakal) who originally founded the village of Harapan. Such stories as still exist were told to this writer in 1970 by some of the older villagers; Brumund also recorded something of Harapan's origins in 1868. According to what this writer can piece together from these two sources, there once existed a sacred bathing place or fountain, in Harapan. This site, known as Balekambang, today is found in the central area of Harapan's territory; the fountain probably dates from about the same time as the Shivaite temples on the Dieng Plateau, i.e., c. 800 A.D. Today nothing can be seen at the site except a mound on which the owner grows cassava. That the villagers still believe a statue of pedet, or Nandi (Shiva's carrier, the bull) is buried near this site, helps support the contention that the site was Shivaite and thus from the early 9th century.

According to legend, there was once a prince, from the court of Mataram, in Central Java, who was known as Kusumojudo.[4] According to Hindu-Javanese tradition, often a royal personage would wander incognito through his kingdom, perhaps to view for himself the conditions of his subjects. Frequently a king or prince would turn his back

---

[4] In old Javanese, kusumo means "flower"; judo "war." Kusumojudo, then means a hero, or great warrior.

upon the mundane world of the court, to find temporary refuge in a holy place, perhaps in a temple under the tutelage of a religious teacher (guru). At times, a king or prince might even renounce the material world for a spiritual life as a priest or teacher.

Prince Kusumojudo, it is said, left the court at Mataram to find spiritual guidance among the teachers at the temples on the Dieng Plateau. One day, he visited the sacred bathing place of Balekambang, in what is now Harapan. There he met a beautiful maiden, Dewi Rengganis,[5] who was bathing in the pool at the foot of the fountain. Prince Kusumojudo fell in love with Dewi Rengganis, and asked her to marry him, but the nymph refused his suit. Kusumojudo, who had taken the name Kjai Kertojoso, so that his former identity would not be recognized, is thought to have founded a settlement near the site of the bathing place.[6] The actual origins of Harapan, then, are buried in distant, legendary times, and today's villagers can only claim that Harapan's founding occurred a very, very long time ago.

---

[5] Dewi is a title for heavenly nymph, rengga means "beautiful," and nis is a contraction from manis, "sweet." The implication is that Dewi Rengganis was very beautiful indeed.

[6] Kjai is a title for a priest; kerto means "piece," "save," or "secure"; joso, "to build." The name Kertojoso, then suggests that the prince became a village founder, or tjikal bakal.

From the dukuhan of Ekasari, one follows a trail down the slopes, through tobacco or corn fields, and in about 1-1/2 kilometers reaches the hamlet of "Dwisari." This settlement, an offshoot of the older hamlet Tjatursari, is situated at the crossroads in the center of the village territory, and perhaps grew up because of its strategic location. Here the elementary school was founded in 1953, and here, every five days following the Javanese calendar a small market is held under a tree. Today there are about 40 houses, and one langgar in Dwisari; Dwisari's bekel, or head, is the strongest of Harapan's hamlet leaders, and the best assistant to the village head. There is also a coffee shop (warung) which is especially well patronized on market days. Nearby is the ancient sacred bathing place of Balekambang; 100 meters to the south, one crosses a bridge and enters the neighboring subdistrict of Temanggung.

From the crossroads at Dwisari, the hamlet of "Trisari" lies about 1/2 kilometer to the north, near the village border. Trisari was only built in 1967, on the site of the Dutch plantation. There are about 20 houses in this dukuhan, and most of these are only temporary structures, built from bamboo rather than the typical wood, brick or tile construction of the more permanent village houses. The foundations of the old plantation building, burned in 1948, could still be partially seen in Trisari.

The fourth dukuhan, "Tjatursari," is more than a century old; it is situated about 1/2 kilometer to the east of the main crossroads of Dwisari. Here there are about 60 houses and one langgar. Also there is a coffee shop (warung) at crossroads near the bridge that marks the village's northeast boundary.

## Houses

The houses of Harapan are all single-story dwellings, built on the ground. Only the langgar are raised on posts, more like prayer-house designs in parts of West Java. Harapan's cold climate may have dictated this aspect of its house styles. Floors are made of dirt, although concrete is used by the wealthy. Again, to keep out the chill, there are few windows; a wide central door in front serves as the only entrance. Houses of the families with higher incomes also have a door at the back. The pitched roofs are normally made of tiles, a material not available in the village that must be transported some 50 kilometers from tile or brick factories near the coast. Houses are constructed of various materials, which differ according to the occupants' economic status. The majority of houses are built with walls of interleaved bamboo and tile roofs. Houses of better-off villagers are constructed from wood and tiles, and the dwellings of the well-to-do have brick walls and tile or sheet zinc roofs. As a roofing material,

zinc is considered a mark of prestige, despite the fact that it fails to insulate a house against heat or cold as well as tiles do. Its higher price may account for its desirability.

With the exception of the village head's house, which has a separate, attached kitchen and several main rooms, the interior of the typical village house is essentially a single room. Directly in front of the main door is the kitchen area, the central focus of the women's daily activities; here, in the chilly evenings, the family gathers to seek the warmth of the fire. At night the household's goats are brought inside to share the shelter of the house.

The back of the main room may be partitioned to create small rooms where a widowed parent or older children (boys separated from girls) sleep. The placement of such dividing walls, however, is flexible, and depends upon the needs of each individual household.

None of the village houses have either running water or bathroom facilities inside; the villagers bathe, collect their cooking water, and wash their clothes at various bamboo waterspouts where water is diverted from the rivers. These waterspouts serve also as toilet facilities for the villagers. A single waterspout is shared among a number of adjacent households.

It is the kitchen area that is the real center of a villager's activity, for here in the evening the people

gather around the warm fire, visiting each other to share the day's gossip and experiences, to tell local jokes and discuss their plans for the morrow. The mother and father of a family with their youngest children will often sleep near the fire to take advantage of its heat through the night.

For the outsider who comes to Harapan, expecially the urban dweller, even the kitchens do not seem very warm. The walls are full of holes, which admit chilly air, and the mud floor is cold. Smoke from the woodfire makes one's eyes red and sore. By day, the almost windowless houses are dark and dank. The health of Harapan's villagers suffers from these conditions. In the month of April 1970, when the writer arrived at Harapan, a fourth man succumbed to influenza. The writer suggested that the village head report this death, asking that a doctor be sent from the subdistrict capital. The next day, when a new district doctor arrived with some other subdistrict officials in their jeep, only the doctor himself, the lurah, and the writer were willing to enter the houses of sick villagers. The officials objected to the dirtiness of the houses, and it was suggested that the houses be cleaned up. Such suggestions from subdistrict officials had little impact, however, since the villagers were living in their traditional way, bound by the conditions of their culture and their low socio-economic status.

The Javanese villager values his home highly. The better his economic status, the better his house will be, for traditionally he derives status from his home, and from this he gains psychological security. Only the very poor, whose houses are built of temporary materials, will view their homes as just a place for sleeping. Such people may spend most of their time working in the fields, at another's house, or at the mosque; their sons may go to nap or even to sleep at a nearby langgar. But the average Javanese villager looks forward to returning to his home whenever he is away.

## Population

At the time the materials for this study were collected, there were 1,411 people living in Harapan, 669 men, and 742 women. Under the age of 15, there were 585 individuals; between 16 and 56, 755; and over age 57, 71 people.

The population of Harapan lives in about 270 separate households (somah), giving an average household size of 5.22 people. In Javanese society, however, a second family unit, the keluwargo or hearthhold, assumes some importance in daily affairs. A hearthhold is created through marriage, and so long as one partner of the marriage lives, the keluwargo or hearthhold is still counted as extant. Each hearthhold has a specific head

or spokesman; land is owned by the hearthhold. This unit is recognized by the Government in matters of taxation or public works. Thus while it was clear from the records of the village head that there were 293 hearthholds in Harapan, exact statistics on the number of houses standing were not kept. The average size of hearthholds, then, was 4.8. Of the approximately 23 hearthholds who shared the use of a house with another hearthhold, there were various reasons, the most common being the existence of an aged, widowed parent or the presence of a newly married child and his spouse. Occasionally a sibling with a marriage broken by death or divorce would share a house. Normally the members of a household represent a single nuclear family: father, mother, and their unmarried children. Sharing a house is not a stable configuration; it is expected that this pattern will be broken up by the departure of the extra hearthhold. A widowed parent often rotates among the houses of her various children; in the case of newly married children, they are expected to establish a separate household within a year of their marriage.

Most of the marriages in Harapan were monogamous, even though Islamic law allows a man to take as many as 4 wives. It was "impossible" to collect accurate data on any polygynous marriages, but the writer had the impression

that one or two of the wealthy, strong Moslem men had taken a second wife.

## The Agricultural Cycle

The principal crops cultivated by the villagers of Harapan are tobacco and corn, grown in rotation. Tobacco, a cash crop, is planted in January or February, and depending upon the heat of the dry season, harvested in August or September. Corn, the staple food for Harapan's villager, is planted once the tobacco crop has been brought in. It matures during the rainy season, and is harvested in January. Drenching rains in January may delay the harvesting of the corn, and in turn, delay the planting of the new season's tobacco.

A certain portion of Harapan's subsistence comes from other food crops: cassava, tea, coffee, cloves, various fruits such as oranges, bananas and jackfruit (nangka), vegetables, especially cabbages and a type of gourd that is particularly low in nutritional value. Some of these crops are carried to market in Ambangredjo.

Income is also derived from other cash crops, such as the bark of the akasiah tree (kulit kliko) which is used in dyeing leather, and from Harapan's forests, the wood of which can be cut and sawed by hand into lumber or used to make charcoal for sale in Ambangredjo. Although

there are teak forests in nearby villages, Harapan is too high and its soil inappropriate for teak.

Fields are cultivated entirely by hand, using axes, hoes, and knives that are either hand made or bought in the market place at Ambangredjo. Mechanization is completely unknown. Most of the fieldwork is done by men, as women devote a large portion of their time to household tasks and rearing children. When an older child is able to care for his younger siblings, women will help their husbands in the fields or go to the market. In the daytime most of the men are in the fields, and sometimes even have their lunch brought to them there. The more devout adherents of Islam return to their homes for prayer, lunch and possibly a short nap before going back to their fields.

The daily diet of the villager consists mainly of corn, many kinds of vegetables, and hot pepper. In the cold weather, chili peper serves to warm one up, at least temporarily. Rice is scarce and expensive in this mountainous region; the villagers think it is too "light"--too insubstantial--for a staple, and they prefer corn. The corn is ground into rough meal and steamed to make a thick mush. Fish and chicken are eaten occasionally, but not regularly. Tempe, a kind of soybean cake, and salt fish are the principal sources of protein, but diets are nonetheless very low in protein. Goats are too highly valued to be used for food, but their dung is used as fertilizer.

It is hard to find a fat man in Harapan, both because of the diet and because everyone walks back and forth to fields and to market.

Land Holdings and Property

The land held by a Harapan hearthhold averages only 0.5 ha. However, land holdings range between families who possess no land at all (15 hearthholds from the total of 293), those with only 0.25 ha., up to 8 hearthholds with about 5.0 ha. apiece. Only these last 8 families were thought to be wealthy in the local context: the heads of these hearthholds were not forced to borrow money annually from the lenders in Ambangredjo, and, indeed could afford to lend some funds to their fellow villagers.

In 1967, the government distributed 0.25 ha. of land to many families who had none; these people have gradually begun to cultivate the forest land on the slopes above the village. Unfortunately erosion is becoming a problem in these areas once the forest cover has been cut down. The 15 hearthholds who were landless by 1970 had already sold the land they had received from the government, probably sold to reduce their great indebtedness which had accumulated in prior years.

In addition to land holdings, other kinds of property, especially ownership of livestock and crop-bearing trees, served to differentiate the villagers in

terms of wealth. A census of livestock produced the following totals for the village as a whole:

| | |
|---|---|
| goats | 1,482 |
| chickens | 1,144 |
| ducks | 330 |
| geese | 8 |
| horses | 6 |
| cows | 2 |

A number of trees were owned by villagers:

| | |
|---|---|
| tea bushes | 200 |
| jackfruit (nangka) | 316 |
| banana | 5,393 |
| mentoar (cheap lumber and charcoal) trees | 5,393 |
| akasiah trees (dye) | 31,132 |
| orange trees | 375 |

A wealthy family would be distinguishable through its house, which would usually be larger, built of bricks, with a tile or zinc roof and perhaps a concrete floor. Other objects owned by families that were better off included pressure (petromax) lamps, 2 bicycles, and transistor radios (there were 20 radios in Harapan). Even so, the distinction between villagers on the basis of wealth was not too great, for even the wealthiest villager had to walk together with those who carry their crops 18 kilometers to market.

Per-Capita Income

For its income, Harapan depends solely upon produce cultivated by its villagers. On the basis of figures from the 1969 harvest, the gross product of the village was as follows:

TABLE 1: GROSS PRODUCT OF HARAPAN VILLAGE

| Item | Unit | | Value | Total Value |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| tobacco | 9,271 "rigen" | @ | Rp. 300.00 | Rp. 2,781,300.00 |
| corn | 40,910 kg. | @ | 15.00 | 613,650.00 |
| cassava | 354 kg. | @ | 300.00 | 106,200.00 |
| "kulit kliko" | 18,600 kg. | @ | 2.00 | 37,200.00 |
| orange | 56 trees | @ | 400.00 | 22,400.00 |
| vegetables (cabbages, gourd and others) | | | | 125,000.00 |
| | Total | | | Rp. 3,685,750.00 |

With a population of 1,411, this total figure would produce a per-capita income of about 2,605 rupiahs annually (or about $15.00 U.S.). This would break down to Rp. 217.00 monthly or Rp. 7.2 daily. Since not all of these crops are marketed (a large portion of the corn particularly being kept for consumption within the household), this figure therefore is deceptively high.

When we contrast Harapan's gross product with that in the entire subdistrict of Ambangredjo, the following figures emerge:[7]

TABLE 2: GROSS PRODUCT OF AMBANGREDJO SUBDISTRICT

| Item | Unit | Value | Total Value |
|---|---|---|---|
| rice | 38,180 kwintal @ | Rp. 1,000 | Rp. 38,180,000.00 |
| corn | 330,000 kwintal @ | 150 | 499,500,000.00 |
| cassava | 391,800 kwintal @ | 100 | 39,180,000.00 |
| sweet potatoes | 48,600 kwintal @ | 100 | 4,860,000.00 |
| tobacco | 1,200 kwintal @ | 15,000 | 180,000,000.00 |
| | Total | | Rp. 311,720,000.00 |

With a total population of 33,701 in the subdistrict, this gives us an annual per-capita income of Rp. 9,279 (about $60), a monthly income of Rp. 773 and a daily income of Rp. 25.70. Comparative figures from the Wonosobo area, just to the south of the volcanic peaks visible from Harapan, show a daily per-capita income of Rp. 23.54.

[7] Soehardjo, "Alam Sebagai Faktor Produksi Utama" (Nature as the Main Factor in Production), paper presented at the workshop of all Subdistrict Heads of Central Java, Ungaran, March 13-April 5, 1969.

[8] Moenadi, "Modernisasi Desa" (Rural Modernization), a paper presented at the Provincial Congress of Central Java, July 2, 1968.

Thus Harapan's villagers, even by local standards, can be seen to be quite poor. Between 1961-1963, there was even starvation in Harapan; today basic subsistence is better but it is still common to begin the day's work without breakfast.

How then, does a villager in Harapan manage to exist at all? If we examine the economic behavior of the villager, we find that his way of life is totally dependent upon outside sources, upon capital that he must borrow from moneylenders in the subdistrict capital of Ambangredjo. Between January and March when it is time to plant the tobacco crop, the farmer must borrow cash to buy tobacco seed, fertilizer, tools or equipment. He mortgages his new crop to the moneylender, who in September or October returns a fixed price for the villager's tobacco. The farmer, then, never shows much profit when he sells his tobacco, since the greater proportion of the sale price goes to repay his debt. In September or October, too, he must purchase seed corn, since invariably he has eaten up all of his crop from the past year. Through supplementing his income with other cash crops--charcoal, kulit kliko for leather dye, fruit trees, etc.--the villager manages to exist from day to day. But it is nearly impossible for him to amass enough capital to break the cycle. Villagers from the 15 landless hearthholds hire themselves out to the wealthier families, doing fieldwork, helping

market crops and performing household tasks. For a landed villager, however, there are not many employment opportunities in the area.

Markets

Within the surrounding territory, a market cycle operates, based upon the 5-day Javanese week. Market day rotates from place to place, being located in the same place but not on the same day each week. In Harapan itself, there is a weekly market at the crossroads near the elementary school. This, however, is a small affair, attracting only a few petty traders from Ambangredjo who walk the 18 kilometers to Harapan carrying wares. They sell household necessities such as tempe (soybean cake), salt, sugar, corn and various vegetables.

Far more important to the villagers is the weekly market in Ambangredjo. Here the villagers sell their crops, buy various necessities, and borrow money when they need it. On market days, the villagers arise early to begin 3-hour 18 kilometer walk to Ambangredjo, arriving there by 7:00 or 7:30 in the morning. On market days, perhaps as many as 10 trucks, crowded with people and their goods, arrive from the southern towns of Ngadiredjo, Tjandiroto and Parakan or from the market of Weleri to the north. A market is not only a place to trade; it is also a social event for the villagers. There is an air of

festivity and bustle on a market day; there are good excuses to gossip with one's friends, to linger over a cup of coffee in a warung.

In Ambangredjo, raw materials are sold to local merchants, predominantly Chinese traders who operate truck or bus routes from Ambangredjo to other parts of Java. The produce of the subdistrict rice, oranges, wood, kulit kliko for dye, lumber and tobacco, is transported from Ambangredjo to large urban centers. Yet the return the villagers get for their produce is not sufficient to meet their basic needs. Whereas government fertilizer was made available to rice growers in the subdistrict, the villagers of Harapan were forced to buy their own for fertilizing their tobacco and corn crops. And to buy fertilizer, they had to mortgage their crops.

## Transportation

For the villagers there are no transportation facilities other than their own feet between Harapan and either market towns or neighboring villages. Since the roads are steep and narrow, slippery in the rainy season and dusty in the dry season, even a bicycle is not functional. When there was something to discuss with the village head, the subdistrict officer came by jeep to Harapan; otherwise the village official had to walk to Ambangredjo. During the 9 months the writer was in the

area, only 2 small trucks ventured as far as Harapan to fetch vegetable crops. To drive a vehicle into Harapan was indeed a feat of considerable daring.

## Communications

The only immediate link the villagers of Harapan had with the modern world was the radio transistor, with about 20 sets being found in the village at the time of the study. And it seemed that radios were primarily used to blare out music on cold, lonely evenings. In Ambangredjo, radios were common, and there were even a few TV sets owned by Chinese merchants or plantation managers. Even here, there was no bookstore, only a small store that loaned comic books which was always crowded with children. Many adults also read these comics at home. Some people in Ambangredjo subscribed to newspapers and/or weekly magazines published in Semarang or Surakarta, but these were not widely read. As a subdistrict capital, and at the same time as the former district capital of Selokaton, Ambangredjo did have a post office, with telephone and telegraph service as well.

Although Harapan may not have modern communications or transportation, a rural village is not the place for an outsider to hide. Privacy is almost totally unknown, and for those who seek escape from the lonely crowd of an urban setting, the village can be a crowded place.

Villagers maintain their own network of communications, essentially through personal, face to face relations. Local news and rumors travel with incredible speed, and in emergencies, the traditional drums owned by the village officials can be sounded. Such communications networks are not readily apparent to the outsider, however.

## Institutions

Village institutions in Harapan--or in any of the villages of the surrounding area--could only be described as still very weak.[9] The formal institutions found in Harapan comprised the village's administrative bureaucracy; Islamic religious groups centered around the mosque or *langgar* and the *madrassah*, or religious school; the public elementary school; and the weekly market. Informal institutions were not conspicuous; most important of these were the village coffee shops, or *warung*, which functioned as meeting places both for villagers and itinerant traders.

The village as a whole is headed by a single individual, the *lurah*, who is traditionally elected throughout his lifetime by the villagers. The *lurah* has always been elected by all the heads of hearthholds; he is normally selected from certain influential families. The

[9]For a discussion of institution building, see G. H. Axinn, "Teori Pembinaan Institut" (Institution Building Theory), paper presented at the Institution Building Workshop at Scientific Development Center, October 12-16, 1970, Rawamangun, Djakarta, Indonesia.

lurah, whose assistants are now appointed by himself rather than being chosen by traditional election, is helped in village administration by a secretary (tjarik) and the 4 bekel, or heads of dukuhan. The bekel, in turn, are aided by village police and other officials in matters of administration, agriculture and religion.

Since the Japanese occupation, another kind of organization, the neighborhood association, has been introduced throughout Indonesia. Approximately every 20 households are formed into a Rukun Tetangga, with chairman, secretary, treasurer and security officer elected to 2 year terms from among the 20 households. Rukun Tetangga are grouped into larger associations, Rukun Warga or Rukun Kampung, each of which contains about 15 Rukun Tetangga. The Rukun Warga's chairman is elected from the Rukun Tetangga chairmen.

In urban areas, these organizations have considerable strength, but in the villages, the traditional grouping of the dukuhan is predominant. The bekel, or dukuhan head in Harapan hold much more influence and worked more closely with the lurah than did the chairmen of the neighborhood associations.

The village officials, generally, are active in Harapan. But lacking both funds and education, in many ways they seemed incapable of helping Harapan improve its situation. Only the secretary actually seemed incompetent

in his job; developing an efficient filing system for village records seemed completely beyond his abilities. As a leader the lurah of Harapan was handicapped by several factors: by his inefficient secretary; by his own lack of education despite a very high level of intelligence; by economic pressures generated by his 10 children, even though he was appreciably better off than most of his fellow villagers; and by his failure to recieve enough government loans so that he could systematically organize his indebtedness to Ambangredjo's moneylenders. Nonetheless, he was perhaps the strongest of the 18 village heads in the subdistrict, having learned a great deal of political acumen through experience and from government-sponsored courses in village management and agriculture. In addition, about once a month, all lurah in the subdistrict attend a conference in Ambangredjo that is conducted by the subdistrict's head (tjamat). A further advantage held by Harapan's lurah was that he was related, by blood or marriage, to 21 of the 24 village heads in the surrounding area. Kinship ties are more important to a Javanese villager than administrative obligations, and Harapan's lurah gained much experience through visiting his relatives to discuss problems of mutual interest.

Of Harapan's other formal institutions, the weekly market has been discussed above, and the role of religious institutions and of the elementary school will be discussed

in detail below. There were no active political parties in Harapan, especially after 1966, the last national elections having occured in 1956. Political parties had not yet begun to organize support for the scheduled general election of July 5, 1971. The writer observed, however, that the village formerly had both a relatively strong nationalist party and a conservative Islamic party organized on the traditional religious base.

The informal strength of the coffee shops should be mentioned in a discussion of village institutions. A center for gossip and the exchange of ideas, the warung attracts not only the local villagers but wandering traders, and indeed, any visitor to the village. Warung, usually located at crossroads, are ubiquitous in this part of Java, as they are perhaps throughout much of Indonesia. Coffee shops serve as a common meeting ground for all, a place where ideas could possibly be introduced in an informal way, where villagers discuss matters on neutral ground, without having to commit themselves.

The writer was told that soccer games were occasionally held by neighboring villages but during the time of his fieldwork, the soccer field was used only by youngsters who used a green orange as their ball.

# CHAPTER IV

# THE PEOPLE

## Appearance

As one walks from the subdistrict capital up the steep paths to Harapan, one meets villagers enroute to market. Men wear a sarong, pajama shirt, and the black velvet cap (pitji) that has been adopted as Indonesian national dress. Long pants are worn in place of the sarong by more urbanized men--by the teachers, by the local petty traders and by the village officials themselves when they attend conferences in the subdistrict capital. Urban people use pajamas for lounging and sleeping, but wear long pants outside their homes. Rubber sandals are sometimes worn, especially when a man is dressed up, but in the rainy season, neither sandals nor shoes are as functional as bare feet on the slippery dirt roads.

Women wear long batik skirts and long-sleeved blouses, carrying their babies or young children supported in a sling at their hip; younger girls adopt Western-style dresses and skirts, but as they mature, return to traditional dress. The Central Javanese show a marked preference for somber or dark colors, choosing batik cloths in

shades of deep brown, black and blue, with other clothing in either black, white, or other light colors. The bright reds, purples and greens so common among the Sundanese of West Java are rarely seen in daily life in the rural areas in Central Java.

For work in the fields, men and boys normally wear only short black pants, carrying baskets and either knives (arit) or hoes (patjul); women wear their oldest clothes for fieldwork, and transport produce in baskets held in their slings. Physically, the villagers are stronger than urban dwellers. Despite lower standard of nutrition, a villager learns from an early age to carry heavy loads over long distances. Even bearing loads, villagers could average 6 kilometers in an hour, whereas the writer found himself struggling along behind. Once the villagers knew the writer, they would often accompany him as he walked along, but usually only if they were not in a hurry.

The appearance of the Javanese villager today, regardless of his sex and age, shows very little difference from that which the writer could recall from his own childhood, some 28 years ago in his grandfather's village, or even with that seen in old photographs or drawings from over a century ago.[1] The unchanging nature of dress styles

---

[1]See Sir T. S. Raffles, The History of Java (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), Vol. I, plates pp. 84 and 86, for an example.

says a lot about the strength of tradition in governing the behavior of the Javanese villager. A Javanese will say, mbok odjo nganeh-anehi, "it's good not to be different from others." A villager told the writer that he would feel ashamed if the head of Harapan saw him since he was not wearing his pitji when visiting other dukuhan or villages. One's outward appearance, how others see one, is of tremendous importance. Outward conformity to traditional behavior patterns indeed seems more influential with the villager than the expression of his own individual desires and aspirations.

The Javanese is not supposed to show emotion in his relationships to others; his behavior should be calm, and his face almost masklike in meeting the world. One should not be upset in a Javanese situation, for should he become upset, this display of emotion becomes a serious problem not only for the person concerned, but also for everyone else around him.

The Javanese should not be aggressive in his behavior towards others. On meeting a stranger walking on the road, the Javanese villager will watch silently, and it is the stranger who must speak first. "Where are you going?" is the polite greeting, and then the channels of communications are opened. The villager is generally very friendly, but will not take the initiative in starting a conversation. Similarly, one should not ask questions

about another's activities, but rather find out what is happening by indirect observation. A child is supposed to learn from observing situations; he is told kowe kudu tanggap ing sasmito, "you should understand from what you see." Thus, when the writer set up his typewriter in the village, children crowded around the windows to peer at him. Although they had seen and heard a radio transistor, they had never seen a typewriter. Their cultural traditions, however, kept them from asking questions about the new machine, and they were content to stand, staring at this amazing device and its operator.

The more a Javanese has been restricted to his traditional setting, the more culturally bound he is. It is hard to find a rural Javanese who can respond spontaneously to events outside his daily routine. At all times, and in all situations, the rigidity of his traditional culture dictates his reactions, circumscribing his responses and limiting his behavior.

## Language

The Javanese language itself helps to define the villager's relationships with other people. Javanese, the native tongue of Harapan's people, is a complicated language in which status levels are reflected by differing speech modes. Roughly speaking, the language consists of two different levels, known as ngoko and kromo, the former

representing a low-status, rough (kasar) speech style, the latter, a high-status, refined (alus) one. Indeed, much of Javanese life can be viewed in terms of its rough or refined character; it should be emphasized that the refined, alus way of life represents the desired standard that the Javanese strives to attain. The world of concrete reality (lahir) falls into the kasar realm; the world of meaning (bathin) is subsumed under the alus. Ngoko, the rough language, is straight to the point, and deals with concrete events and facts; in ngoko, things are described as they are, without use of flowery metaphor and indirect statement. Kromo, on the other hand, is a sophisticated language, in which circumlocution is the standard mode of expression. It is the language of philosophy and of poetry.

Within this bipartite system there are not just two levels of speech, high (kromo) and low (ngoko), but rather a whole range of status-linked expressions, so that both ngoko and kromo levels may be used with great subtlety to define the appropriate social relationship between any two Javanese.[2]

One might assume that ngoko is the "language of the people" and kromo, that of the sophisticated urbanite or aristocrat. The system is in no way so simple.

---

[2]For an extended discussion of the levels in Javanese speech and the appropriate etiquette surrounding their use, see C. Geertz, The Religion of Java (New York: The Free Press, 1960), pp. 248-260.

Ideally, kromo is used as a mark of respect or as an indication that the speaker feels socially inferior to the individual he is addressing. A high-status person should speak in ngoko to someone of lower status. Thus the more deference one shows, the higher language he uses; the higher your actual status, the lower language you should use. In day-to-day speech between individuals of equal status and among friends and relatives, ngoko is generally used, although kromo could also be employed.

The real difficulty in choosing a language level comes when two people meet. As a rule, when meeting a stranger, it is safer to address him in kromo, and wait for his answer. Should his reply be in kromo, the Javanese would see how refined a degree of kromo has been used, and then adopt a position accordingly. For, even in having uttered a first sentence in kromo, one is taking a position, and this may have to be altered as the conversation is continued. Or, in one's first words, one may manage, unintentionally, to insult another. The language of urban people is usually more sophisticated than that of the rural villager; the unaccustomed villager may use the wrong words in talking with an urban person, and then he will feel uncomfortable, if only it is realized later. Ngoko is used in business dealings between villagers and Chinese merchants in Ambangredjo. Here it serves to foster efficient, businesslike relations, and status differences seem to be overlooked.

Problems of administration can be compounded by the Javanese language. An official might prefer to give an explanation in the direct ngoko style, but cannot do so in the rural setting without offending some of his audience, who have adopted democratic attitude, since it's hard for them to respond either in ngoko or in kromo in such a situation. The most successful young officials are those who speak in refined kromo with authority despite their high status, thus showing respect for villagers who have traditionally felt themselves to be socially inferior to government officials.

Indonesian, the national language, has little of the status-differentiation of Javanese; an easy language to learn, it would seem a possible solution for the efficient conducting of government business. Certainly Indonesian must be used by non-Javanese who are not familiar with the appropriate levels. It is better to use Indonesian than to make the wrong approach. However, Indonesian is not spoken by many of the villagers. Although children learn Indonesian in school, many do not become very fluent in this second language. Not all village officials speak Indonesian well, and consequently Javanese often must be employed by subdistrict officers at the village level. Javanese in official positions are painfully aware of the problems created by their language. As an illustration, years ago this writer accompanied an

Army colonel to Central Java. The colonel came from a different island and ethnic group, and could not speak Javanese. When we met a major, a Javanese, the colonel used Indonesian both for formal and informal situations. Yet the colonel was able to communicate in the straight, direct language an officer must use with his subordinate, and at the same time employ an extreme polite, almost Javanese manner. The major told the writer that he admired the colonel greatly for being able to combine the background of two ethnic groups by his use of the Indonesian national language.

## Village Solidarity

The villagers of Harapan feel a strong sense of identity with others from their own village. Here in Harapan is the land which they farm, from which they derive their subsistence, meager as it may be at times. The land and their homes are the center of their activities throughout an entire lifetime, from birth through maturation, marriage, procreation, daily existence (hopefully to a ripe old age) and death. Whereas a villager derives emotional support from his relationship to others within the village, he feels insecure if he leaves Harapan, even should he only be visiting a neighboring settlement. At home, his contacts with others assume predictable patterns, but in meeting outsiders, the villager inevitably

encounters the unknown. And it is the unpredictable that makes him uneasy.

Kinship ties are of great importance to the villager, for many of his day-to-day contacts are with kinsmen. Since the majority of marriages are arranged within the village, most of a villager's close kin live in the same village, and not in the same dukuhan. Appropriate behavior between individuals, then, is often influenced by their particular kin relationship.[3] In general, age is an important factor, and older people will be treated with respect. The normal deference shown to age can be upset by the use of specific kin terms of address, however. The writer, when visiting his grandfather's village, was disconcerted to be addressed as "Grandfather" by elderly kinsmen, who, as it indeed turned out, were generationally the writer's "grandchildren," despite the relative ages of the individuals involved.

The strongest ties bind a villager to his kinsmen, but there are other social bonds--neighborliness, friendship, or respect for another--that are constantly being reinforced through a network of reciprocal relationships. Reciprocity is indeed a basic principle of Javanese life.

---

[3]It is not the writer's intention to present here a detailed description of kinship in Harapan, as kin behavior generally follows typical patterns, such as have been described by Hildred Geertz in The Javanese Family (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961).

Gotong-rojong or sambatan, as this mutual aid is termed, pervades many village level activities. Large work projects, such as building a new house, are accomplished with cooperative labor.[4] Traditional ceremonies, known as slametan, are given to celebrate important events (at the very least, birth, marriage and death) along an individual's life cycle. Every hearthhold which holds a slametan is rendered assistance by his kinsmen and neighbors. Social status is clearly reflected in these ceremonies, merely by seeing who offers aid or attends and how many people become involved in any given event.[5] The emphasis in traditional Javanese culture upon reciprocity and cooperative endeavors, may discourage individual initiative. A villager, accustomed to undertaking a venture together with a number of kin and neighbors, is often reluctant to engage in an activity by himself.

Villagers make a clear distinction between themselves and outsiders. Outsiders fall into two categories, either wong deso, "villagers," or wong kuto, "urban dwellers." An old Javanese saying even recognizes this

---

[4]For an extended discussion of gotong-rojong in two Central Javanese villages, see Koentjaraningrat, Some Socio-Anthropological Observations on Gotong Rojong Practices in Two Villages of Central Java (Ithaca: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, 1961).

[5]For a comprehensive description of the reciprocal character of the slametan ceremony, see C. Geertz, Religion of Java, pp. 11-85.

distinction: Deso mowo tjoro, negoro mowo toto, "The village knows her customs; the town has its law." Any outsider, either wong deso or wong kuto, who comes to the village is differentiated by the villagers still further as wong neko, a "person who comes." The status of wong neko can be lost if a person settles into the village, but the change occurs slowly, and perhaps only after a generation. The family of the lurah, for example, was originally from a neighboring village; the villagers now consider him a native of Harapan, but it took a generation to accomplish this.

## Village Orientation Groups

The villagers of Harapan, despite the solidarity they display in the face of the outside world, are not a homogeneous group. Certain characteristics, especially with regard to religious beliefs and status, serve to differentiate three basic groups. Geertz, in his study, recognized three types of tradition among the Javanese; he defined these groups as follows:[6]

(1) Abangan are mostly rural Javanese with little or no formal education, whose religious beliefs are syncretistic, combining elements of

---

[6]C. Geertz, Religion of Java, pp. 5-7.

Hindu-Javanese culture and Islam with ancient Javanese animistic tradition.

(2) Santri are Javanese who carefully follow the tenets of Islam, educate their children in Islamic schools, and hope to perform the ritual journey to Mecca (hadj), the fifth pillar of Islam. Often santri are successful traders or merchants.

(3) Prijaji espouse the same syncretistic beliefs as the abangan, but they are of higher social status, probably educated to some degree, and often urban dwellers. More sophisticated in all respects, prijaji are usually oriented to one or another of the great courts in Central Java, if not actually members of the aristocracy themselves. Prijaji often served as government officials under the Dutch colonial regime.

Geertz' terms have been adopted to some degree by other scholars,[7] but in Harapan today, these words do not seem appropriate. Abangan is thought of as "atheistic," or at any rate, to indicate a non-Moslem, and all of Harapan's villagers consider themselves Moslems. Some

---

[7]See, for example, Robert R. Jay, Javanese Villagers (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1969).

Harapan villagers who attend mosque could not be considered as santri, and furthermore, to call oneself santri might be considered boasting, a characteristic antithetical to Javanese ideal behavior. Prijaji has unfortunately feudalistic overtones, making it also an unpopular term.

This writer, therefore, would like to suggest another set of more general categories, which although derived from his experience in Harapan, could be applied among Indonesia's other ethnic groups, in the many different parts of the archipelago. These are:

(1) a group bound by its own ethnicity, which will be called the "ethnic-bound group" hereafter;
(2) a group dominated by its religious orientation, the "religion-oriented group"; and
(3) a group striving for a new national identity, the "Indonesian-image group."

Specific descriptions of members from these groups as observed in Harapan may help clarify these definitions.

Pak Suto, of the ethnic-bound group, is a typical Javanese villager. He works his small land holding according to traditional agricultural practices, cultivating both tobacco and corn. He has had no formal education, although some of his children may attend public elementary school for one to three years. Nominally a Moslem, his religious beliefs can best be described as syncretistic. He is not a leader, nor will he be seen taking the

initiative in any situation. His traditional upbringing has taught him to follow village leaders so long as their demands are moderate.

Hindu-Javanese beliefs are still of considerable influence upon the villager. For example, in another sub-district the writer was shown a waterfall, called "Tjurug Sewu," that has considerable potential for use in developing a hydroelectric plant. Here, he was told, was the very waterfall where Baladewa, the older brother of the great king Krisna and ally of the Korawa had gone to meditate near the beginning of the great war, the Bharatayudha. The guide was certain that this was really the spot, despite the fact that this epic battle from the Mahabharata derives from Indian, and not Indonesian, tradition.

The strength of Javanese tradition can be seen even in the governing of the village itself. A few years ago, the writer was told, the village officials were asked to apprehend a thief who had been stealing cassava in the dark of night. After several unsuccessful attempts, it was decided to follow an old Javanese belief which stated that if a man first fasted, meditated, and then went out at night in the dark without his clothes, he would be empowered to see strange happenings, even ghosts. So the lurah fasted and meditated, and that night he and three other village officials went to the cassava field, all without their clothes. They stationed themselves,

shivering and miserable, at the corners of the field. Around two in the morning they finally heard the thief digging up the tubers. However, since none of them had any clothes on, they were reluctant to arrest the thief on the spot. Instead, they followed him back to his house, returned for their clothes, and then caught him with all the evidence early the next morning.

Pak Kadji Ali represents the religion-oriented group. A devout Moslem (and santri to use Geertz' term), he has carefully tried to observe the five pillars of Islam throughout his life. He has made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and has become a kadji. His behavior is governed more by his religious beliefs than by his adherence to ancient Javanese tradition. Although he is a landowner and knows traditional agricultural methods, he is a trader as well, and one of the few villagers in Harapan with enough accumulated capital to make loans to other villagers. He employs some of Harapan's landless villagers. By local standards, he is well-off. His children, especially his sons, have attended the village religious school, madrassah; several have even studied religious teachings outside the village in the pesantren. These young men, however, have since returned to Harapan and become religious teachers. A strong leader in religious affairs, Pak Kadji is nonetheless as conservative in his own way as is Pak Suto.

Pak Lurah, the head of the village, belongs to the Indonesian-image group. He speaks both Javanese and Indonesian, and in his role as lurah, has constant contact with urban officials and other villagers as well. He is politically conscious, and aware of problems of national as well as local importance. Yet, as illustrated above in the cassava-stealing incident, Pak Lurah is strongly bound by ancient Javanese tradition. Five of his ten children are continuing their education outside of Harapan, most in Christian schools even though he is a Moslem, the son of the founder of the first mosque in Harapan. One daughter almost became a nun; two of his children attend college in Djakarta.

The relative mobility of the respective groups sheds some light upon the different attitudes of their members. The ethnic-bound group is still tied to the home village. Even marriages are still most frequently arranged between young people living in the same village, almost never occurring outside the village. Members of this group do go to the surrounding villages and perhaps even to Ambangredjo once a year, but almost never to spend the night outside their home village. As an illustration, this writer failed to persuade one of his guides to spend just one night at Ambangredjo for practical reasons. The man refused politely, and so he and the writer trudged back to Harapan, departing in the afternoon and only

arriving at Harapan late in the evening. This writer actually did not like walking in the evening or at night between two villages, since there were still tigers in the forests and bushes that killed goats belonging to the people. Even though the tigers did not mind seeing the writer along the lonely, bush-lined dirt trails, the writer did! But he never saw a tiger, only heard that three goats belonging to the lurah had been killed by tigers and carried out to the nearby forests. Thus the people have another reason to bring their goats into the house at night. If the people are lucky, it will not be the goats or themselves that the tigers kill; rather, the villagers will enjoy tiger steak.

The religion-oriented group has been better exposed to the world outside Harapan than the ethnic-bound group. Trading tobacco and other goods, many members of this group have travelled extensively to neighboring villages and more distant market towns. Some have travelled to Mecca on the hadj; some have attended meetings of the conservative religious political party in urban areas. Nonetheless, their orientation is to their home village, which is clearly illustrated by the fact that their sons generally return home after completing their religious education in other towns.

The Indonesian-image group has had wider experience beyond the village. The lurah, with both his kin ties in

surrounding villages and his administrative duties, has seen more than most. Through children attending schools in other towns, the members of this group (who are all village officials) keep in touch with the nation as a whole. Yet, unlike the religion-oriented group, the Indonesian-image group finds that their educated children leave the village to take up jobs and occupations in more urban areas. Capable as these men are, they are not raising a new generation to assume positions of responsibility within the village.

The bulk of Harapan's population could be classed as ethnic-bound. Perhaps 68 per cent of the population, or about 175 hearthholds, belong to this category. At the other end of the scale, only 2 per cent of the villagers, or approximately 20 hearthholds, could be counted as Indonesian-image group. All of these families are headed by village officials. The remaining 30 per cent, or almost 100 hearthholds, represent the religion-oriented group. Within this group, however, there were between 10 and 15 strong leaders, each of whom met the criteria for the religion-oriented group. Each of these men, in turn, attracted a number of relatives, neighbors and friends who followed their lead in nearly all matters. None of these satellites, however, exercised much individual initiative.

Each of Harapan's three orientation groups have distinct characteristics. Yet, in terms of village development, only the religion-oriented and Indonesian-image groups possess any leaders capable of influencing public action. The differences between the Moslem leader and the Indonesian village official, however, are profound. The former is hampered by the conservative nature of the interpretation of his religion; the latter, by the conservative, tradition-bound character of his followers, the members of the ethnic-bound group. Central to any possible rural development are the economic problems confronting the village, and we will now turn to a discussion of the relationship between the three orientation groups and their economic activities.

## Economics and the Orientation Groups

For all of Harapan's villagers, the struggle for subsistence is of overwhelming concern. All are tobacco growers, who spend nearly all their time and energy in their fields. In fact, for the nine months he spent in Harapan, the writer tried to find some form of activity among the villagers other than economic. In most rural areas, usually following the harvest in September and October, marriages are performed and festive celebrations held. Ethnic-bound villagers then stage various

traditional Javanese art forms--shadow puppet or live dramatic performances based on the Indian epics, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana; religion-oriented Moslems choose Islamic musical performances, such as trebangan or orkes gambus. At Harapan, however, there were no festivities, only more talk about tobacco, kulit kliko and corn. Villagers found it hard to understand the writer's purpose in coming to the village; they were constantly asking him the price of clothes and other urban goods, assuming that he could only be a trader. Those with somewhat wider experience, from the Indonesian-image group, realized how poor their village was. An old bekel said, Kito niki mpun merdiko nggih, ning ekonomi rumahtangga kok taksih angel temen, nggih? or "We've gained our independence, but our family economy is still very weak, isn't it?"

All the villagers shared anxieties about the economy, and perhaps this accounts for the serious, quiet character of the village at the time of this study. The men are mostly worried about borrowing money every year, about the rainfall, about the quality of their tobacco, corn and kulit kliko, and about the ups and downs of the market prices. They work very hard physically; they have learned that when they do not, starvation occurs. Even though the illiterate people in the village worry about economics, they are confused. They realize the importance of their crops, but they only know traditional farming

methods which are time consuming and not too productive. Formerly their economy depended on the quality of the tobacco they grew, but now it depends on the price given them by the money lenders, regardless of its quality. They can not eat tobacco, and they have no money to buy corn, since their corn harvest this year was not as successful as usual. Even the price of kulit kliko, usually bought by local Chinese traders, is dropping lower and lower, since leather is being replaced by plastic these days in Indonesian shoe factories.

Should a villager need immediate cash, he can borrow money on what is called sistim idjon, ("the green system"). He sells the entire crop of a fruit tree, while it is still green, to a money lender. But he must deliver the ripe fruits in good condition, and of course the price is far lower than usual. Even the usual in Ambangredjo is way below the price in places where these fruits will eventually be retailed. One whole tree of oranges, for instance, only costs Rp. 400.00 or about $1.10 at Harapan. In Djakarta one big orange costs about Rp. 35.00 or almost 10 cents, and how many fruits are there on the whole tree? The buyers are experienced enough to estimate profits, after calculating the transportation and other costs involved.

Another concrete example is the tobacco price. In August the tobacco is harvested, but if the peasants could

keep the leaves until October, the price would go up, since the longer the leaves are kept, the better the quality. There are many things involved that the tobacco growers fail to overcome. The money lenders, who are also often the buyers, put financial pressures on them. The buyers do not send the tobacco directly to West Java, where the consumers are, but keep it in storage, sending it later when the price goes up. Another big agent from West Java buys the tobacco from the Central Javanese agent, and then does the same thing. Only later do the small Sundanese village traders of West Java buy the tobacco from their local agents and retail it in West Javanese markets to consumers. In 1968 the quality of the tobacco was higher than the previous harvest, but its price fell even lower. The local people, who know traditional agriculture but not economics, could not understand what actually happened; it was ironic for them to see that even though the tobacco price was lower than usual, the local buyer bought another truck. One of the major needs of a community like Harapan is to have more market information; and second to have more diversified marketing opportunities.

Economic affairs affect the ethnic-bound group in several ways. Tied to the village as they are, they are totally dependent upon their land. Disputes about land and the distribution of water are very serious matters.

Most families have many children, forcing division of land into increasingly smaller plots. Over time, they become poorer and poorer, until even their day-to-day income has become uncertain. Two old Javanese sayings no longer hold true in Harapan: Anak kuwi bondo, or "Children are wealth," and ono dino ono upo, "as long as there is daylight, there is still food to be eaten."

Strength can be found in the close kinship bonds among the ethnic-bound group, however. A family will share its profits and losses with close kinsmen, according to the old proverb, mangan ora mangan asal kumpul, "Being able to eat or not, sticking together is still best." Thus any family is dependent upon its close relatives within the village. This traditional sharing of assets among kinsmen raises some obstacles to the economic development of the ethnic-bound villager. Under such a system, better-off peasants do help their less fortunate kin. Such sharing, however, tends to obviate any one individual's accumulating enough capital to support entrepreneurial ventures, a characteristic that Geertz has called "sharing the poverty."[8]

The economic orientation of the religious group contrasts with that of the ethnic-bound group. This group both practices traditional agriculture and trades,

---

[8]See C. Geertz, Agricultural Involution, p. 97.

and in the latter field, they sometimes compete with Chinese traders in the towns. They think about profit making in terms of supply and demand, carrying goods needed by fellow villagers and trading produce with Chinese merchants in market towns. Wealth is important to them not only in terms of their subsistence and amassing material goods, but one of their religious obligations, the pilgrimage to Mecca, can only be accomplished through the accumulation of wealth. They say, Golekko redjeki sing taberi kojo2 kowe arep urip suwe lan amal sarto sembahjango kojo2 sesuk arep mati, or "Make as much money as possible, as if you were going to live a very long time, and give alms and pray as much as possible as if you were going to die tomorrow." The religion-oriented group is more independent and powerful than the ethnic-bound group. From their religion, they gain considerable psychological support for their trading ventures. As skillful traders, they are not totally dependent upon their land and agricultural produce, like the ethnic-bound group. Accumulation of wealth leads to power within the community, and the group has a relatively strong, religiously oriented political party.

The Indonesian-image group has begun to realize that traditional agricultural methods are no longer sufficient for their village. Yet, although they see a need to switch to other fields of economic endeavor, they are

still relatively weak; they need professional guidance in development, and even more, they need capital. As an example, the writer was discussing economics with a man who owned 2 hectares of land. He had only Rp. 15,000 and needed to borrow some Rp. 45,000 more from the money lenders, on their terms. And so it had happened every year. The people are really uneasy in the month of February if they are not sure where they can borrow money, and this situation makes the position of the money lenders stronger. This writer wrote about the situation to the local government, which responded positively by giving peasants credits with relatively low interest. Unfortunately, the information was still vague when it reached the villagers, and this writer observed at the meeting how hesitant the villagers were in deciding whether they would borrow or not. The ethnic-bound group is dependent upon the Indonesian-image group for direction in such matters, but, with strong leadership, could be persuaded to follow the lead of the Indonesian-image group.

Although the village officials receive some training from the subdistrict government in implementing government programs that penetrate to the local level, they need much more assistance. Lack of education among traditional village leaders has become a real handicap for these individuals, and, indeed, the traditional role of village head as a power holder has changed. The writer

was told, "Formerly to be a village head was to be like a king. But now we're supposed to serve the village, leading it to justice and prosperity. That's why it's a tough job."

The subdistrict government tries to support rural development. Each village collects annual taxes, which are then transmitted to the subdistrict, and eventually to the regency. Each village is supposed to submit a village development plan, and if this program is approved by the head of the regency and the Regency Congress, then tax funds are returned to the village.

# CHAPTER V

## TRADITIONAL SOCIALIZATION IN HARAPAN

In the past chapter, we have been discussing some of the attitudes, beliefs and behaviors that characterize the villagers of Harapan. Before turning to our central description of Harapan's elementary school, it would be helpful to outline briefly the traditional manner in which a Javanese child is socialized.

As an infant, a child is given tender care by his mother; he is carried about in a sling, and offered the breast whenever he cries. As he grows older, the young child is often cared for by an elder sibling; gradually, a girl begins to spend her time in the kitchen helping her mother, while a boy learns a man's tasks by working with his father. The writer was told that when children were too young to help their parents either in the fields or by taking care of younger brothers or sisters, they were sent to public school. But the moment they were ready for both, they dropped out, usually at third or fourth grade level. The boys go to the fields, and the girls, to the kitchen. Of the children observed in

Harapan, perhaps 25 per cent of school-aged children were actually enrolled in school, while the others were engaged in child-care or helping their parents.

There is no rigid division of labor by sex, in that both boys and girls learn to perform most field tasks, help care for the family's goats, and assist in marketing produce. Men do not cook, however, and there is even a strong feeling that the kitchen is an inappropriate place for a boy to be. He may be outside, in the fields, or in other sections of the house during the day. After a certain age, usually around 10 years, boys and girls are not together in most activities; they sleep in separate rooms as well. There is no formal sex education, and indeed Javanese culture could be generally called puritanical.

The values a Javanese child are taught reflect the long history of Javanese culture. Particularly among the ethnic-bound group, Hindu-Javanese influence is still felt. The spiritual world before birth and beyond death is more essential than earthly existence. A truly Javanese character, according to old tradition, is very calm and stable in the face of his sufferings; he should be a noble type of man, known as satrio. A boy is taught the concept of perwiro, or dignity; he learns to be ready to help others at any time, but to accept help only from those he loves or respects. They say: Iki dodo satrio, ora awatak buto or "My character is that of a satrio, and not that of

a giant (who is assumed to be rude, rough, greedy and outlaw like)." Some cases might perhaps clarify this Javanese concept of dignity or perwiro:

(1) Since Javanese relationships are personal, it is hard to talk about money and friendship in the same breath. After knowing that kerosene was needed in the village, as it once happened that there had been no light when the writer was staying in the village, this writer went to Ambangredjo accompanied by another man. Since the writer was ill and almost could not walk, he wanted to give the villager kerosene to take back, but the man refused his aid, and money was definitely out of the question in such a situation.

(2) Some of the people, only after knowing the writer better, would accept help and considered him as a very close friend. They used to say in a proverb: Dudu sanak dudu kadang, nek mati melu kelangan, meaning that "although somebody is not one of the family, if he dies, much has been lost."

(3) With a young boy, the concept of perwiro may still be very weak. However, it was not uncommon for a boy to refuse once or twice before receiving something from another spontaneously.

From childhood a boy or girl should understand and practice the concept of perwiro. Those who do not are called ora ngerti isin, or "a person with no understanding of shame." The concepts of perwiro and isin ("shame") are essential to traditional Javanese culture, whereas in more sophisticated modern culture, an individual is faced with his conscience when he has failed to do what he knows he should have done.

Whereas a boy is expected to pattern his behavior upon the noble satrio, a girl is valued not for her beauty alone but for her devotion to her husband. It's said, suwargo nunut neroko katut, or "if the husband goes to heaven, the wife just follows, but if he goes to hell, she will be pulled to follow him." The woman should demonstrate devotion or dedication; as a symbol of this, her hair is traditionally worn long, the longer the better. A husband is called guru laki, or "teacher man."

A Javanese boy or girl learns many things from his parents and his peers by neniteni, or "silently watching." Children are not supposed to ask questions, but watch indirectly. Children in remote villages do not often see strangers, so when small children saw the writer walking back and forth for the first time, they avoided him, hiding behind doors and later peering at him from behind. Seeing a stranger walking through the village was a new experience for them. But once they knew the writer, they

used to follow curiously. From different hills between valleys, they would follow where the writer went with their eyes; even some of the adults did the same. For the first weeks, the writer always greeted almost all the people he met along the relatively lonely slippery or dusty dirt trails. Only later did they greet him earlier when they saw him walking.

In traditional Javanese society, many of the beliefs and much of the values system is transmitted through traditional dramatic performances, known as wajang. Although there are various kinds of wajang (shadow puppets, round puppets, dance-drama), most performances are based upon the same body of Hindu-Javanese literature, with plays derived primarily from the great Hindu epics, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana.[1] Here, in the performance of the shadow play, is the place where philosophical teachings are acted out in detail. A man is supposed to respect his parents, his teacher and his king; he worships his gods. Most of the traditional plays are concerned with kings and princes from Hindu legend; these noble heroes are models for Javanese ideal behavior. The venerated prince is a noble warrior or satrio, whose acts exemplify the refined, alus standards that a Javanese is taught to admire; the wicked enemy, whether giant,

---

[1]For a detailed discussion of the "wayang World," see Claire Holt's Art in Indonesia, pp. 123-150.

demon, or mortal, is a prototype for coarse (kasar) behavior. Yet within the wayang world, there are several hundred individual characters, and each of these is typified by characteristic habits. Ardjuno is a ladies' man; his brother Werkudoro, an impetuous warrior; the great king Kresno, a smooth-talking manipulator of men. It has been suggested[2] that the wajang characters offer an individual Javanese the choice of many different roles or personalities, all of which are capable of existing within the same cultural framework. Thus any child may select a compatible role from among a great deal of diversity; in wajang he learns about his cultural alternatives through the approved method of silent watching, neniteni.

Wajang performances are of great importance in much of the island of Java. An all-night affair, running from nine in the evening until dawn the next morning, the shadow play (wajang kulit) is preferred entertainment for ethnic-bound villagers and sophisticated urban dwellers alike. Radio stations broadcast play performances, reaching a vast audience who cannot even see the action.

In Harapan, as indicated in Chapter IV, there were no wajang performances, and, indeed, it was not a popular art in either the subdistrict capital of Ambangredjo or

---

[2]Benedict R. O'G. Anderson, Mythology and the Tolerance of the Javanese (Ithaca: Cornell University Southeast Asian Program, 1965).

the former district of Selokaton. Nonetheless, traditional approved behavior was much the same in Harapan as it was in areas such as the Weleri subdistrict, where wajang is often performed. Where, then, do Harapan's children learn traditional Javanese values?

In terms of appropriate ethical standards, there are three possible channels in the village of Harapan for children to observe:

(1) There is talk with adults: in the evening, with parents and other adults, around the warm kitchen fire; during the day, the women's talk in the kitchen between mother and daughter, or the men's talk in the fields between father and son.

(2) Young children learn from the example of their older brothers and sisters, since traditionally, regardless of sex, rearing younger brothers or sisters is common.

(3) Among peers, there is talk during the various activities that children engaged in. Groups of either boys or girls collect grass for the family's goats. Girls gather at the water-spouts (pantjuran) for bathing and washing. Boys collect at the neighborhood prayerhouses (langgar), and older boys spend evenings at

the watch posts that guard the entrances to the dukuhan.

The lack of a strong wajang tradition in Harapan and even throughout the larger areas of Ambangredjo or Selokaton leaves something of a vacuum that should be filled positively. The villagers recognize their loss, but do not have any strong tradition to substitute. Thus one finds a child being sent to public elementary school only when he is too young to care for his younger siblings or not yet strong enough to work in the fields. The writer feels this is a negative aspect of the relationship between the traditional system of informal education and that of formal public elementary education in the village of Harapan. Most in need of new educational models are villagers in the ethnic-bound group, the majority of the people living in the villages. Since they are not willing to follow the strong leaders in the religion-oriented group, their only alternative is to follow the lead of the Indonesian-image group.

In Harapan traditional socialization patterns are very little different from those of several generations ago. The enduring qualities of Javanese tradition seem stronger than the ability to accept innovation; it is indeed a static system. How many centuries have Harapan's people depended mainly on the price of tobacco, for instance? They live based on past culture, and this past

then becomes the future for their children. There is almost no room for innovation, especially now, when the land supply cannot support the burgeoning population. The writer was told that a family actually needs 2 hectares of land to survive, but most families now have only an average of 0.5 hectare, and many have only 0.25 ha. Among the 293 hearthholds are also the fifteen families who do not have any land anymore. And this means that the traditional pattern of informal education, of teaching children to subsist from their land in the traditional way, has begun to break down.

In the Javanese setting, there is a second type of traditional education, formal religious education. To understand the religious influence, perhaps we should examine Islam historically to a certain degree. Islam was brought to Indonesia by Gujarati traders, who spread the new religion among coastal peoples, including those on the island of Java. Around 1500, kings became Moslems, while Hindu or Buddhist temples were neglected; most of the population followed their kings, becoming Moslems gradually and syncretistically. Islam must have come more slowly to the mountainous interior, the location of Hinduistic temples. Several thousand Javanese fled into the mountains, where they are now found as the Tenggerese at the foot of Mount Bromo in East Java. Others moved to the island of Bali, which maintained a Hinduistic culture.

Nobody knows when the first Moslem trader came to the village of Harapan to spread Islam. Perhaps, since it is a remote village and because it had been the site of a Hindu-Javanese holy bathing place, this occurred as late as 1600. This writer could only trace how and when Harapan's big mosque came into being. Around 1870, an Islamic leader and his followers came across the border from villages in the regency of Temanggung, and only in 1907 built a big mosque. The present lurah is one of this leader's sons.

In order to understand Islamic education in the Javanese setting, perhaps we should review at least two fundamental principles of Islam. From childhood a Javanese learns about Rukun Iman and Rukun Islam. Rukun Iman covers certain Islamic articles of faith, such as "Allah is the One and Only God," and the belief that Allah sent all the Prophets with the Holy Books, beginning with Nabi ("Prophet") Adam and ending with Nabi Muhammad, the last Prophet. Rukun Iman thus embraces the concepts of religion, while Rukun Islam covers the five teachings, or Pillars of Faith, which a man should uphold if he wants to be a Moslem. These are:

(1) The confession of faith, or Sjahadat: Asjhadu'Allah Illaha'Ilullah, wa'asjhaduanna Muhammadarrasu'llulah" or "There is no other

God but Allah, and Prophet Muhammad is Allah's Messenger";

(2) Prayers, performed 5 times a day;

(3) Fasting in the month of Ramadhan;

(4) The giving of alms, known as Zakat and Fitrah;

(5) The pilgrimage to Mecca, if it is financially possible.

Islam's teachings are based on the Holy Koran and the Hadith; these teachings are indeed complicated and beyond the scope of this thesis to explain. For the purposes of this study, it will be sufficient to see the degree of Islamic involvement among the villagers of Harapan; their "involvement" will be evaluated according to how many of the Five Pillars of Islam they actually observe.

Since Islam is the first monotheistic religion known by the villagers, the majority of the people (in this case from the ethnic-bound group), when asked about their religion, answer that they are Moslems. These people actually fall in the writer's first category, Moslems who observe only the first Pillar of Islam, the Sjahadat. Among such individuals, one sees the meeting of Hindu-Buddhistic Javanese culture and Islam in such rites as praying according to Islamic practices during the traditional Javanese slametan celebrations held for births, marriages and deaths, or the introduction of the Islamic

bedug drum into the Javanese percussion orchestra or gamelan, as seen in wajang performances in Tjirebon, where the Javanese and Sundanese cultures meet. The majority of the villagers of Harapan, indeed the entire ethnic-bound group, falls into this initial, Sjahadat category.

Among the religion-oriented group, there are varying degrees of involvement with Islam. The next largest number of villagers add a second Pillar, the giving of alms and payment of taxes; then come those who observe the fast as well as the first two acts. Daily prayers are performed by even fewer villagers, and finally, there are not more than five people in the village who could claim to be kadji, individuals who have gone to Mecca.

In its teachings, Islam is methodically systematized; by tradition memorization of the Koran is of primary importance. In the beginning a Moslem trader must have come to the village to trade with the people, and his patience and care in dealing with the villagers perhaps eventually made Islam successful in the village. The villagers usually did not have the experience to go beyond nearby villages and after buying goods brought by the urban Moslem trader, they may have listened to his accounts of Islam. After listening more carefully, some villagers became Moslems, step by step, following the Rukun Iman and Rukun Islam. They studied the Holy Koran and memorized it, and eventually these people built the first small mosque

or prayerhouse that is known as langgar. Traditionally, in the evening at the langgar, the children come to memorize the Koran, where they sat on mats around the feet of a guru ngadji, the traditional religious teacher. When the followers became greater and greater, they made a mosque, since all Moslems are supposed to pray together every Friday noon, if possible.

Traditional Islamic education, the memorization of prayers, chants and the Koran, follows a predetermined course. Before memorizing the Holy Koran, instruction is given in memorizing turutan, or simple prayers. Most of the students and quite a few of the teachers, do not understand Arabic; following the correct form of the chants is more important than understanding their content. Should parents want their sons to study religion further, they send them to pesantren or pondok, Islamic boarding schools attached to mosques in larger centers, where young men continue to memorize religious texts under the guidance of a religious teacher or kijai. In Harapan, three young men, after having dropped out of the fourth grade of the local elementary school, were sent by their parents to a pondok in another regency for two years. Upon their return, they established a madrassah in Harapan. Madrassah are schools formed expressly for teaching religion, which are organized along more formal lines than the traditional guru ngadji religious education.

Actually there are two kinds of madrassah, one in which only Islamic religion is taught, with emphasis on teaching the Koran in Arabic. The second type is called MWB (Madrassah Wadjib Beladjar), indicating that in this madrassah not only is religion taught, but also instruction is given in elementary subjects like those usually taught in the public schools. In Harapan, the madrassah is of the first type, with a curriculum devoted only to Islamic teachings. Thus for the dukuhan of Ekasari, where the madrassah is located, the guru ngadji type of informal religious education in the langgar has been supplanted by the formation of the madrassah. Children in other dukuhan still attend guru ngadji instruction. Another difference between madrassah and pengadjian under the guidance of guru ngadji is that boys and girls attend madrassah together, in a formal classroom situation, whereas in the langgar, the pupils are predominantly boys.

Harapan's madrassah is a more recent institution than the public elementary school, and although its building is in poor condition, its teachers young and inexperienced, the madrassah gains strength from the village's Islamic traditions. It is an institution dominated by the religion-oriented group, whose sons act as its teachers. Much of its strength derives from the fact that the teachers are villagers themselves, a circumstance, as

we shall see below, that does not hold true for the current teachers in the public elementary school.

The madrassah in Harapan is open only in the afternoons, because its three teachers also teach mornings in madrassah in nearby villages. Since there are only two classrooms, the three teachers take turns. The regular students in the madrassah number about 75, primarily from the religion-oriented group. Also the madrassah serves primarily the people of Ekasari, where it is located. Some of the teachers' salaries are paid by the Ministry of Religion, which supervises madrassah education throughout the country.

Whereas the madrassah is supported by the religion-oriented group and by the Ministry of Religion, the public elementary school is sponsored by the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Provincial Government and the Indonesian-image group. In Harapan, public elementary school is held in the morning, and madrassah in the afternoon, so there is no conflict. But in some surrounding villages, where the religion-oriented group is stronger, the madrassah, with an expanded curriculum, is held in the morning. At the present time the madrassah teachers are less qualified than those teaching in the public school. Moreover, in the public elementary school, religion is also taught as part of the standard curriculum by qualified religious teachers. Nonetheless, most rural

people who face a choice in schools, send their children to the madrassah instead of to the elementary school under present conditions. In some villages the elementary schools are closed for lack of students. The teachers, despite their qualifications, are helpless, since they are not the sons and daughters of the villagers concerned. Since their salaries are low, they cannot overcome the professional challenges in their jobs. Should Harapan's madrassah expand its curriculum to basic subjects and open morning sessions, similar conflict might emerge here, too.

# CHAPTER VI

# THE SCHOOL

## The Building

The public elementary school building in Harapan, as we described before in Chapter III, is situated in a central location at the crossroads in the hamlet of Dwisari, not far from the border with a neighboring village that belongs administratively to the regency of Temanggung. There are only three classrooms in the building, even though it was first established as long ago as 1953. The walls are made of local wood; the roof, of tiles and rusty zinc. The floor is still mud. The facilities inside are even less imposing. Long tables and benches are made from local wood. There are three cubboards, a few textbooks, blackboards, some pieces of chalk, and nothing else.

When this writer first came to Harapan in January 1970, many roof tiles were broken, because the building was located at the edge of the soccer field, and children used to kick the ball onto it. Once he knew the lurah better, the writer suggested that the building could be moved to a higher piece of land, just above its first location. The lurah did not respond verbally to this

suggestion, but in July 1970 he invited the writer to a small ceremony which was attended by all the bekel, six villagers and the religious teacher. (None of the other four teachers had come to school that morning.) The lurah announced that the school building would be moved up, the soccer field made wider, and the road improved gradually. One month later, the building had been moved, and the other two improvements were still being worked on.

In its new location, the school building is surrounded by the soccer field, tobacco or corn fields, and metoar woods. At the crossroads in a warung, and a small river flows nearby. One can also see hills and mountains in the distance. The landscape from this location is really beautiful; the problem is to make a plan so that this beauty has some meaning for rural development. When he left the village in September 1970, this writer felt that at least the lurah and his assistants were beginning to understand what rural development might entail.

## The Teachers

There were four regular, full-time teachers and one part-time religion teacher who were supposed to teach in the school. However, they all had many personal problems, and could not come every day.

The first teacher is a graduate of Teacher Training School, six years beyond elementary school level. Although

he is therefore qualified to teach in an urban elementary school, his supervisor has assigned him to Harapan as "administrative punishment." The man lives in Ambangredjo and has five children. He could not stand living in Harapan, visiting his family only once a week. It is, however, impossible for him to walk the 36 kilometers between Ambangredjo and Harapan daily, and when he did come, perhaps two or three times a week, he would be able to teach less than three hours.

The second teacher, who began teaching in 1969, has completed junior high school in Ambangredjo, three years beyond the elementary school level. He is teaching in Harapan because he could not get another job when he finished junior high school. Still a young bachelor, he leaves Ambangredjo at 5:00 a.m. on his bicycle, eventually having to push or carry it up the steep slopes. In the afternoon, however, he enjoys the ride back down to Ambangredjo. Usually this teacher came to teach four or five times a week.

The third teacher, a junior high graduate from the same class as the second teacher, is also a young bachelor. Although he lived in a village only 7 kilometers from Harapan, he did not come regularly, averaging at most two days a week.

The fourth teacher, an older man with seven children, is less qualified, having taken only a short training

course for a few months beyond elementary school. He lives in another village also about 7 kilometers from Harapan, but did not attend with any regularity.

The religion teacher is a graduate of a religious-teacher training school, six years beyond elementary school. His salary is paid by the Ministry of Religion. Actually he is a native of Harapan, though he lives now in a nearby village for several reasons: first, he also trades, dealing in tobacco, corn, and transistor radios, and he finds the other location easier for traveling back and forth to Ambangredjo. Second, even though he prefers urban living, he finds that he can do better economically in the village; and third, he teaches part-time in two different public schools. Unfortunately, he is a widower. Because his parents are still living in Harapan, he does not want to move back to their house, where he feels he would have to follow his father's lead and could not exercise the independence he has become accustomed to. Among the teachers at Harapan, he is in the strongest position: he is better qualified educationally than most, he knows the people as an insider, he has capital and knows how to trade. He observes local demands and tries to get the particular supplies the villagers want. As an indication of the esteem with which he is regarded, he has been invited to lead prayers at <u>slametan</u> ceremonies. He is clever in his trading ventures; he is easily capable of

"fooling" the villagers or taking advantage of their unsophisticated grasp of economics. He values his own personal profits and has not attempted to spread economic education along with the dissemination of his religion. Nonetheless, he is the only teacher who comes regularly to school, not only because he lives nearby, but also because he is strongly motivated to spread Islam.

The four regular teachers at Harapan seem to face a few common problems:

1. Teaching in a remote village gives them no financial advantage over the teacher in an urban setting, since the government does not offer any incentives to rural teachers. If the urban teachers are frustrated, these are even more so.
2. The teachers, who are mostly still young, know the world outside the village, and if given their choice, they would teach in the towns.
3. The village did not give them either land or houses in which to live. Actually the lurah did offer the teachers board and lodging in his own large house, but there was no privacy, and none of the teachers was willing to put up with it for any length of time.
4. All had accepted the post for the time being, as a stepping stone to some other, better job.
5. All would like to continue their education, but none has had any chance.

6. The teachers did not have any image of the meaningful role that teachers could play, especially in the remote villages. Usually a young man would serve for two years in a remote village and then ask his supervisor for a transfer to an urban area, where most teachers are originally from.

Thus Harapan's teachers found their post a distinct hardship; all were frustrated and most apathetic about their jobs. None was able to see the rural school as a challenge that should be met. The rapid turnover among Harapan's teachers makes the situation worse, since those teachers Harapan does get are usually less well qualified than their urban counterparts. The problem of teacher evaluation was made considerably harder for this writer, since almost every time he visited the school, several teachers were absent, and often school closed completely when no teacher came.

The supervisor of the Ambangredjo elementary school district is responsible not only for Harapan's school, but for some 30 schools, including private schools and kindergartens, throughout the subdistrict. A man of some 47 years, he is prominent in the local teachers' association, and a local politician to some degree. His wife is also a teacher in Ambangredjo. He has been in the job about two years, and because of his post, the subdistrict officer gives him other responsibilities in

connection with other subdistrict functions. His office and the typewriters in it are not government property, but were donated by the teachers' association. In his role as supervisor, he sees all teachers in the subdistrict monthly, at the time when they come to collect their wages. At this time, he gives instruction to the teachers and conveys information to them from the educational bureaucracy. In terms of actually observing his teachers in their jobs, he is hampered by lack of transportation. He has no jeep, but only a bicycle. Thus, whereas he visits his immediate supervisor in the regency capital of Kendal once or twice monthly, he has been in Harapan twice in his entire life--once, in 1947, when the Dutch occupied the towns during the Revolution, and he was escaping from them, and the time, in September 1970 when he came to watch the relocating of Harapan's school. At the time of his visit, only two of his teachers showed up.

## The School Routine

The school-day is supposed to begin at 7:30, with classes lasting until 12:30. Actually each morning the children did come to school; the boys played soccer while the girls played a kind of handball called kasti, as they waited for their teachers to come. When a teacher had not come by about 9 o'clock, the children went home or to the fields where they gathered grass for their goats. If only

one teacher came, he was at a disadvantage. He could not substitute daily for his absent colleagues, but on the other hand, it was hard to teach only his class while the other children were noisily playing ball outside. And when there was only one man in the school, he would feel lonely by himself, and tend to dismiss his pupils early. Thus the school itself operates erratically, and even on days when several teachers are present, some of the students will be outside the classroom.

## Curriculum

The curriculum of Indonesian elementary schools is established at the national level, although some flexibility has been allowed for adaptation to local conditions.[1] In regions like Central Java, the Indonesian language is supposed to be used as the language of instruction beginning at the third grade level. In practice, there are many fourth and fifth grade students whose Indonesian is not yet fluent.

What the children of Harapan actually learn in school depends much upon the moods of their teachers, when the teachers come. Teachers were further handicapped by the lack of textbooks. Despite the fact that the

---

[1]Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudajaan (Ministry of Education and Culture), Kurikulum Sekolah Dasar (Elementary School Curriculum), (Djakarta: Dep.P.dan K., 1968), pp. 1-253.

national government has tried to distribute new mathematics texts to all elementary school students, Harapan had not yet gotten any. Often the traditional Three R's comprised the entire curriculum. Instruction in the first two grades was in Javanese; when Indonesian is introduced at the third grade, it is subdivided into conversation, composition, writing, reading, grammar and vocabulary so that an individual teacher could not cover all of its many aspects well. Once this writer asked the teachers to assign essays to fourth and fifth grade students, about anything they liked. In these two classes, there were 28 children, and all 28 papers were received by this writer. None of these papers, however, was at all meaningful. The children are not trained to express themselves verbally, to offer any individual ideas. Usually the teachers explain or read something and then ask questions which the children are expected to answer.

Some traditional components of urban curricula lack relevance in the rural setting. Physical education seems unessential for children who organize their own games, and where every villager must perform a great deal of hard physical work throughout most of his life. Natural science would be relevant if it were related to agriculture. "Cultural" education is neglected; the children could not sing the common songs used in urban schools. Nationalism was offered, but there was still no flag to be

flown in front of the building. Family education met resistance from the students' home. A curriculum for the rural school, in order to be successful, must have relevance to its surroundings; it must try to meet the daily needs of its local village population.

## The Students

At the time of this writer's fieldwork, there were about 585 children under age 15 in Harapan. Of these 585 children, there were 190 between one day and 5 years old, 213 between 6 and 10 years old, and 182 between 11 and 15 years old. Children begin school at 6 or 7 years. Since children between 11 and 15 could already help their parents, at least by collecting grass for goats or taking care of younger sisters or brothers, let us consider the group of children between 6 and 10, who formed the bulk of the school population. The entire school enrolled 122 children, divided by class as shown in Table 3. Fifteen children from other villages attended Harapan's school, either because schools in their own villages were closed (from competition with the expanded-curriculum madrassah, as discussed in Chapter V) or because they lived much closer to Harapan's school than to schools in their own village.

Thus 107 of Harapan's children were attending the public elementary school, and in the 6-10 year age group alone, at least 106 were not. If we add the 182 children

TABLE 3: HARAPAN SCHOOL BY GRADE AND SEX

| Grade | Boys | Girls | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| I | 23 | 23 | 46 |
| II | 21 | 8 | 29 |
| III | 10 | 11 | 21 |
| IV | 9 | 8 | 17 |
| V | 4 | 5 | 9 |
| | 67 | 55 | 122 Students. |

in 11-15 age group, then it could be seen the village contained perhaps as many as 288 children eligible for school.

An examination of the table above also indicates the frequency with which children leave the school before finishing fifth grade, beginning, indeed, after first grade. Dropouts increase during fourth grade, at an age when a child becomes economically useful to his parents.

## An Analysis of the School's Problems

If only the school were functionally related to village life, it would perhaps become the strongest formal institution in Harapan at its present stage of economic development. But the gap is still too wide between what is taught at school and the real economic needs of the villagers. One thing is certain, however, that in the

village setting, nationalism is fundamentally developed in the public elementary school.

Nonetheless, in the village setting, especially in Harapan, the roles of the materially wealthy and of the young people are becoming greater, and the old people painfully have to learn from them the hard way. One day an old bekel said to this writer that djaman saniki niku kebo nusu gudel, or "in this generation the baby water buffaloes should give milk to the adult ones." He meant that the young men should teach older people to read and write, even though the function of such learning is still not clear in their daily life. In one dukuhan meeting, however, when all the people who attended had to sign their names if they wanted to borrow some money at low interest, the lurah took a piece of paper and said jokingly, "Since the paper is so small, the smaller signature is the better." All the people laughed, and this writer whispered, "What is so funny?" And they said that those whose signatures are big are those who are still illiterate, usually older people, because they use their thumb to make a finger print instead of signing.

## The Villagers' Attitudes Toward the Teachers

The villagers' attitudes toward the teachers are somewhat ambivalent. On the one hand, they respect the teachers, especially in the village meeting, where these

people are verbally skilled and can ask or answer questions, and explain things. Since the teachers have no land in the village, however, they are still considered "outsiders" or wong neko. Furthermore, teachers usually work in the village for only two years, and do not live there, but just come in the morning (if they do come). Teachers go home at noon, and since most of the people begin their work in the fields early in the morning, the teachers do not often see the parents themselves or the community as a whole. Even if the teacher meets a man in his field, they greet each other but not more, since the gap is too wide.

From the teachers' point of view, although they are materially poor compared with some of the villagers, all of them are urban educated to some degree. Their world is wider; they know more and need more. However, they are helpless and restless, and therefore they are frustrated. They teach in a remote village only for the time being; they come to school, if possible, teach, and then go home at least to another village that is closer to urban areas. Lacking supervision as they do, what is to prevent them from not coming to school, or teaching too short hours, or dismissing the children too early? They are aware that actually they could do better if the people in their village, led by the village officials, took their part, but they are not strong enough to encourage this.

What the teacher does know at the present stage is paperwork. He does not know how to grow tobacco or corn, but, thanks to his education, he should be able to learn faster, if only the villagers would give him the support he needs. The teacher does not see his future as part of the traditional village, but he is too weak at the present stage to become an entrepreneur. However, the village officials could ask the teachers' help, for instance, in doing the paperwork connected with the subdistrict administration once in a while, but it is hard if he does not come regularly for a young teacher to request something for the school from the village officials. The village officials do know which teachers come regularly and which do not. And therefore when the roof tiles were full of holes, they did not care. However, once they realized that the school could serve their own needs for rural development, they repaired the building and even moved it to the better location.

## Village Leaders and Teachers

Let us try to compare the status of the teachers with that of the three influential village leaders, the *lurah*, the *kadji* and the *bekel*. The x's in Table 4 indicate increasingly higher qualifications.

TABLE 4: COMPARISON OF VILLAGE LEADERS

| Criteria | Lurah | Kadji | Bekel | Teacher |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| age | xx | xxx | xx | x |
| sex | x | x | x | x |
| social status | xxx | xx | xx | x |
| power holding | xxx | x | xx | x |
| wealth | xx | xx | x | - |
| formal education | xx | x | x | xxx |
| agriculture | xx | xx | xxx | - |
| trading | x | xxx | x | - |
| religion | x | xxx | x | x |

The lurah, the kadji and the bekel are usually older than the teacher. Whereas there are increasingly more women teachers in the urban setting, this is not the case in the villages, where women still work in the kitchen, in the fields, or in the markets, but not in the school. However, if a woman taught in her home village or had married another teacher in the same school, one might see several women teachers in the neighboring villages. From the table above, we can perhaps see that the position of the teacher in the village setting is weaker in all aspects other than that of the formal education. Therefore, until the teacher can survive economically in

the village setting, his status will be too weak. Traditional agricultural methods are no longer sufficient to guarantee economic success, and thus the field of trading, still weakly developed in Harapan, might offer the teacher the kind of economic stability he needs. If the teacher could only use his education to become a successful trader, his principal competition would be only from the kadji.

It seems clear that the rural Javanese, including those at Harapan, are still psychologically closer to the institution of the madrassah than the local public elementary school. Three Harapan dukuhan have built their own langgar, where children attend guru ngadji training, and in Ekasari, there is even more than one. Here too, the madrassah has been established for the whole village, where the children attend by themselves rather than among the adults in the langgar or mosque after prayers. Thus we see that the community has been capable of mountainous cooperative action for a project they felt inclined to support.

The problems of building or improving a public elementary school are more easily comprehended by urban dwellers. However under the leadership of the Indonesian-image group, it would also be supported by the ethnic-bound group if they were once awakened from their long, long sleep. The condition of the village school, therefore,

depends primarily on the quality of leadership exercised by the lurah and his assistants.

The school and village life should meet in a meaningful way. Certain obligations should be fulfilled by teachers and villagers alike. If the villagers are not yet ready to come to the teacher's world, then instead the teacher should come to the village as a starting point.

# CHAPTER VII

## THE VILLAGE AND THE SUBDISTRICT

For the villager of Harapan, the subdistrict capital of Ambangredjo represents his principal contact with the world beyond his traditional village. Here he brings his produce to be traded with local merchants; here he buys manufactured supplies, seeds, fertilizers, and other items; and here, he finds capital when he needs to borrow money. Some trading and some personal relationships may take him to other, nearby villages, but for any administrative needs, he must go to the subdistrict capital. Let us now turn to a brief description of the Ambangredjo subdistrict itself.

### The Subdistrict and its Population

Ambangredjo is a small town in the highlands, situated at about 600 meters (or about 1,676 feet) above sea level. The capital of the subdistrict of Ambangredjo, it was once the capital of the former district of Selokaton as well. Although not as busy as Weleri to the north, these two subdistrict towns act as centers for their surrounding areas, both administratively and economically.

There are 18 villages in the subdistrict, divided into some 7,369 kepala somah or households.[1] In 1968, the total population was divided by age, sex, and ethnic origin, as shown in Table 5.

TABLE 5: AMBANGREDJO POPULATION BY AGE, SEX AND ETHNIC ORIGIN

| | Indonesians | New Citizens | Chinese | Dutch |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Under 16 | | | | |
| Boys | 10,999 | 57 | 21 | 2 |
| Girls | 11,225 | 69 | 17 | 4 |
| Total | 22,224 | 126 | 38 | 6 |
| Over 16 | | | | |
| Men | 5,193 | 75 | 40 | 1 |
| Women | 5,891 | 79 | 27 | 1 |
| Total | 11,084 | 154 | 67 | 2 |

The population has been expanding at about 2 per cent annually, if we consider the figures in Table 6 for the total population over the last 5 years.

[1] Soehardjo, op. cit., pp. 1-6. (Soehardjo also reports 83 Rukun Kampung and 236 Rukun Tetangga, but as we have seen above in Harapan, these neighborhood associations are of less importance in the villages than the dukuhan.)

TABLE 6: AMBANGREDJO TOTAL POPULATION BY YEAR

| Year | Population |
|---|---|
| 1964 | 32,102 |
| 1965 | 32,237 |
| 1966 | 32,462 |
| 1967 | 33,087 |
| 1968 | 33,701 |

Yet if we look at population figures from 1905 for the entire district of Selokaton,[2] the total population then was only about 60,000, and this area now includes some 4 subdistricts.

The population of the subdistrict as a whole, could be broken down according to occupation into the following percentages:

| | |
|---|---|
| 25% | Peasants who own land |
| 50% | Peasants without land, who must work for others |
| 5% | General workers |
| 12% | Traders and local businessmen |
| 8% | Government officials |

[2] D. C. Stibbe, (ed.), Encyclopedia van Nederlandsch-Indie ('s-Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, 1919) derde deel, p. 739.

## Subsistence and Per-Capita Income

The total area of the Ambangredjo subdistrict is 63,285 ha. The harvest of 1968 produced total income as shown in Table 2. The sum of Rp. 311,720,000 does not include figures for additional income that was earned by such products as coconut, randu cotton, oranges, mangoes, sawo fruits, durian, mlindjo, jackfruit, pete, rambutan, djengkol, and some other minor products. Statistics for these goods were not available in the subdistrict office.

Taking the population of 33,701, the gross product of the region would give per-capita income of Rp. 9,279 (or U.S. $23) annually, Rp. 773 monthly, and Rp. 25.70 daily. This total includes the income of the new citizens and the Chinese, who between them control a large percentage of the capital resources of the entire area. Should we exclude their incomes from per-capita calculations, the per-capita figure would be much lower. Cash money is very scarce in the villages, even though some of the villagers could be considered wealthy in their settings.

## Plantations

In the subdistrict of Ambangredjo at the present time, there is only one private clove plantation, which is located between Ambangredjo and Harapan. This plantation actually consists of only 250 ha. of cloves used in the kretek cigarette industry. Although growing cloves is

profitable, it takes 7 years before a crop can be picked, and care for the trees involves certain knowledge. Ambangredjo is one of the best places for raising cloves in terms of its temperature and height above sea level.

But in the villages of nearby subdistricts, there are other plantations, all private or semi-private, that raise coffee, kapok or randu cotton, resins, and teakwood; formerly tea was also planted. In the ex-district of Selokaton, at the time of the Dutch, there were 8 plantations.

## The Roles of the Chinese and Citizens from Chinese and Arab Origines in the Economy

The Chinese and Indonesian citizens from Chinese and Arab origins, play an important role in the economy of Indonesia, including Ambangredjo. This is perhaps most clearly illustrated by a comparison with two other nearby small towns of Patean and Weleri.

Patean is located some 24 kilometers to the south of Harapan. Also the capital of the subdistrict of Patean, Patean, however, was never the capital of a district, and according to Indonesian Law, foreign Chinese were only allowed to live in ex-district or regency or provincial capitals, and not in subdistrict towns or in villages. This regulation was intended to protect the villagers economically from the cleverer foreign Chinese. Should

a foreign Chinese become an Indonesian citizen, he could live wherever he liked, but most of them actually live in ex-district towns such as Ambangredjo.

Weleri is located some 36 kilometers to the north of Harapan. Weleri is the capital of the subdistrict of Weleri, but it was also the capital of the ex-district of Weleri. There are some similarities between Ambangredjo and Weleri. Both were formerly district capitals. Both have foreign Chinese and new citizens as traders and businessmen. However, there are some differences too. As Ambangredjo is a highland town, Weleri is a coastal town. All new citizens in Ambangredjo are originally from Chinese ancestors, while those in Weleri, are not only from Chinese ancestors, but also from Arab ancestors, and some traders or businessmen. Ambangredjo and Weleri, therefore, are relatively busy in terms of local economics, and only government officials really know which Chinese or Arabs are citizens and which are not. Patean then is very quiet economically, because not much cash money is available, and the demands are very low, even though the produce of the area is quite valuable. Those with a sense of humor can still say that the Indonesian local economy has been in Alibaba's hands for centuries--Ali, an Arabic name, represents the Islamic trader; Baba, or babah, is the Chinese merchant.

## The Government as a Factor in the Economy

Most capital not controlled by the Chinese or Arabs comes from government sources. Some government funds have been made available to villagers in the form of loans, but at this stage most of the government's money is being used to improve agricultural production, to build dams, bridges, or roads. As an illustration, the local government has almost finished paving the 18 kilometer road connecting the towns of Ambangredjo and Weleri. The local businessmen have been investing to make their stores bigger; they are buying and operating public transportation. What has happened to the villagers? They still have become consumers. With the government spending about Rp. 1,000,000 or about U.S. $2,600 for every 1 kilometer of road, the benefits, go first to the relatively rich local traders and businessmen.

## The Population of Ambangredjo Town and the Orientation Groups

If we concentrate upon the people who live in the town of Ambangredjo, we find that the ethnic-bound group are primarily small traders, workers in nearby plantations, or workers in fields owned by urban people. These latter workers follow what is called the maro system, in which the harvest is divided in half, one for the owner and the

other, for the worker. These people are usually the descendants of the original villagers of Ambangredjo, centuries ago, before it was built up into a subdistrict town.

In our ethnic-bound category, we include also some new citizens of Chinese nationality, people who are bound to their own ethnic, Chinese origins. These people began trading centuries ago, and under the Dutch were given some privileges which separated them from the local people, based on the "divide and rule" colonial principle. Many of these Chinese are rich by local standards. The children of these people, however, by continuing their education or inter-marriage, have changed their position and are gradually entering another category, the Indonesian-image group. In Ambangredjo, one of the prominent Government figures is a young medical doctor in this changing category.

The religion-oriented group also becomes more complicated in Ambangredjo, because there are several religions here. Strong Moslems are primarily traders or "big" peasants, who have established a large mosque, many langgar, madrassah, and have political parties, associations, and institutions. In Ambangredjo, Catholics own a church and schools up to junior-high level. Protestants (who have some relationship with Satyawatjana Christian University in Salatiga, Central Java, which partially is

sponsored by the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, of New York) also have a church and schools up to junior-high level. The new citizens mostly belong to either Catholic or Protestant groups. And some of the Chinese also belong to this group, worshipping the Buddhist Kong Hu Tju.

In Ambangredjo, the Indonesian-image group is stronger qualitatively than it was in Harapan, since many young adults have graduated from at least junior-high school. The leaders who live in Ambangredjo are graduates of senior high schools or university. Whereas this group is still small numerically, it is stronger than the other two.

## Education in Ambangredjo Subdistrict

The schools found in the Ambangredjo subdistrict are as shown in Table 7.

TABLE 7: SCHOOLS IN AMBANGREDJO SUBDISTRICT

| No. | Type | No. Teachers | No. Students |
|---|---|---|---|
| 7 | kindergartens | 7 | 358 |
| 24 | elementary 1-6 | 147 | 4,860 |
| 2 | junior high | 23 | 483 |
| 1 | religious training | 8 | 187 |
| 1 | agricultural high | 4 | 36 |
| 15 | madrassah | 30 | 1,860 |

Once a week an instructor comes from the provincial capital of Semarang to Ambangredjo where he teaches and gives assignments to elementary teachers who want to continue their education so they can become better qualified.

## Government Civil Servants

Indonesian civil servants, first, are not a homogeneous group insofar as their ethnic origins, religions, education and experiences; in Ambangredjo alone, there were a number of government employees from different islands or ethnic backgrounds, with different religions, levels of education and different experiences. In the Javanese setting, they gradually have learned to speak Javanese and follow local traditions to a certain degree. One such individual is the head of the local post office, a Batak and part-time Protestant Minister. Some new citizens speak Javanese very fluently, and many do not understand Chinese anymore.

Indonesian civil servants, or pegawai negeri, are numerous, yet compared with military or police officers, poorly compensated. Many are young men, and as we have seen, youth is less esteemed than age. Departments with control over monetary resources attract better quality employees, primarily because the opportunities for self-enrichment are to be found in these jobs, with some

exceptions being made for the idealists. From day to day, the civil servant faces numerous problems. The bureaucracy is complicated, the budget limited, and there is more personnel than jobs if the work were being done efficiently. Incentives are not yet given to those who work hard under the salary system. As the head of the family, the civil servant faces problems caused by not receiving enough salary to care for too many children. It is hard for a government official to campaign in the rural areas for family planning, for instance, if he has many children himself. The rural people, rightly enough, cannot separate an official from his personal circumstances. Sometimes his wife may work, or he himself hold several jobs in order for the family to survive economically. A couple which has been educated to a certain degree is greatly concerned with the education of their children and their subsequent retirement.

At one time being a government official or prijaji was a high status position. Under the Dutch, the salary was relatively high, even though it was far lower than that for Dutch nationals of comparable qualifications. Today, however, salary levels are still not encouraging. Since there is no other alternative, young people still apply for posts as civil servants, even though the government no longer accepts civil servants other than college graduates or teachers in certain areas where their services

are needed and the budget permits their employment. But government officials in Ambangredjo are still too weak to work effectively, to conceive and then to implement any long range, systematic planning.

## Development Potential

When this writer came to Ambangredjo for the first time at the end of 1966 for just two days, at that time Ambangredjo was a dead, neglected small town in the highlands. At the beginning of 1970, however, it amazed him, since the bus station had been built and the stores erected according to plan, the road from Ambangredjo to Weleri northward and to Tjandiroto southward was gradually being paved. A brick hospital building and a high school had been erected. The first college graduates to live at Ambangredjo were the medical doctor and the subdistrict head. Thus the town would seem to have potential for development, if the work now begun is continued, and if its development can be coordinated properly. A developmental plan for an area like Ambangredjo depends to a certain extent upon the individuals who will be called upon to administer such a program. And the success or the failure of the village development such as in the case of the village of Harapan, partially depends on the quality, the dedication and the reasonable income of the government

authorities in the subdistrict, who have direct contacts with the villagers to be helped in order to be able to help themselves.

# PART III

# A THEORY OF VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATIONAL PLANNING

# CHAPTER VIII

## SCHOOL AND DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

In PART II, the writer has tried to discuss one specific village in considerable detail, in order to show the complex relationship between village life and the outside world. Within the village of Harapan, we have seen the position of the public elementary school today; now we will turn to an examination of the role that the village school might potentially play in fostering rural development.

The data collected in Harapan seem to suggest certain areas in which interaction between school and community is needed. The school could serve the community in facilitating a transition between the traditional rural way of life and a modern, urbanized existence. Education would be essential in promoting improved standards of sanitation, birth control techniques, new entrepreneurial ventures, and identification with the modern Indonesian nation. Curricula should be developed that relate to the real economic needs of the village.

In the following two chapters, the writer will examine Indonesian educational planning in considerable

detail, giving particular attention to various aspects of the National Assessment of Education Project that is currently underway in Indonesia. As background to this discussion, a brief outline of the history of education in Indonesia will be presented. Finally, the writer will consider the prospect for a school-based development strategy in the village of Harapan.

## The History of Education in Indonesia

For purposes of this summary, the educational history of Indonesia may be viewed against the background of three principal phases in Indonesian political history: (1) the colonial era; (2) the Japanese occupation; and (3) the post-independence period. However, within the colonial era, schools were developed by both foreign and indigeneous educators, each of whom had distinctly different goals in mind.

Dutch-built schools.--In order to govern Indonesia efficiently, the Dutch needed a small number of indigenous civil servants who had received a rudimentary education. Secular education was thus introduced in the form of a few Dutch-oriented, urban elementary schools, in which potential civil servants were educated. These schools, providing 7 years of elementary education in the Dutch language, were known as H.I.S. ("Dutch native schools"), and in the educational hierarchy, fell below the H.C.S. ("Dutch Chinese

schools") which were only open to Chinese, and the E.L.S. (schools exclusively for Dutch or European children). Only in 1901 did the Dutch establish what were called "village schools," with curriculum limited to three years of native-language education in the 3 R's and some basic hygiene. In 1915, a few vocational schools, for developing training in agriculture, some practical skills, and teacher education, were introduced, adding 2 years of education beyond 3-year village elementary schools.

On the basis of educational qualifications, Indonesian society under the Dutch could be differentiated into 5 major groups:

(1) On the bottom, the majority of villagers remained illiterate;

(2) A few villagers, primarily the children of village officials, had graduated from the 3-year village schools;

(3) A few low-ranking civil servants were graduates of the H.I.S. These people were usually sons and daughters of government officials or aristocrats;

(4) Civil servants and businessmen of Chinese descent, graduated from the H.C.S.; and

(5) Dutch children who had graduated at least from E.L.S.

At the end of the colonial era in 1940, there were only 240 Indonesians who had graduated from high school. A mere handful, 37 individuals, had received college degrees.

Christian missionary schools.--The second major sponsors of elementary education in pre-war Indonesia were Christian missionaries. Both Catholics and Protestant missions established elementary schools, often long before any schools were introduced by the colonial government. In Kalimantan, for example, schools were established in the interior as early as 1850's.[1] Mission schools were found in many islands, especially in the Tapanuli region of Sumatra, in Manado, in Sulawesi, in Kalimantan, and on eastern islands such as Maluku and Flores. In Java, both Catholic and Protestant schools were founded, but located primarily in district towns rather than in the villages themselves. For example, there are today both Catholic and Protestant schools in the subdistrict town of Ambangredjo, but there has never been one in the remote village of Harapan. Eventually the Dutch contributed subsidies to mission schools, since the curriculum concentrated on secular education rather than religious instruction. The Indonesian government also subsidizes Christian schools.

---

[1]A. B. Hudson, Padju Epat (Cornell University Ph.D. dissertation, 1967), p. 78. Also "P.N. in historical perspective" Indonesia 4, pp. 40-42.

Islamic education.--Traditional Islamic education, as has been discussed above in our description of Harapan, consists basically of religious instruction, pengadjian, in neighborhood mosques or prayer houses. Successful students at this level continued on to pondok or pesantren, the Moslem boarding schools associated with large mosques. Subsequently, a more formal religious school, the madrassah, was developed. An expanded-curriculum madrassah was eventually introduced in some areas. Under the Dutch, none of these Islamic schools were subsidized; under the Indonesian government, their status is ambiguous. Some Islamic schools are supported by the Ministry of Religion, but the madrassah which teach basic elementary education are not under the supervision of the Ministry of Education and Culture. A few Islamic-oriented urban schools, known as Muchammadijah, do fall under the supervision of the Ministry of Education and Culture, however.

The Taman Siswa school.--In 1922, an indigenous school movement, Taman Siswa, was founded by Ki Hadjar Dewantoro. A reaction to the Dutch-sponsored elitist schools, the Taman Siswa curriculum emphasized traditional artistic expression and nationalism within an educational framework derived in part from Montessori, Dalton, and the teachings of Tagore. The movement later spread throughout the country, until more than 200 schools had been established. These schools were limited to urban areas,

and, understandably, never received subsidies from the colonial government.

Another educator and artist, Mohammad Sjafei, established a private school at Kaju Tanam in Sumatra, in which the arts were emphasized. This school, however, did not flourish and spread to other areas as did the Taman Siswa.

Education under the Japanese.--Under the Japanese, the distinctions between native and other foreign schools were abolished and a uniform curriculum for all elementary education was introduced. Dutch was abolished as a language of instruction, with Japanese introduced instead. In some areas where qualified Japanese instructors were not available, Indonesian was employed in the schools. Queen Wilhelmina was replaced with Teino Heika, the emperor of "Dai Nippon," the great Japan. Every morning school children were taught gymnastics (taiso) in a regimented way, and they were also given some military training. Once a week, students had to clean up the local villages, put in djarak plants, and engage in other public-work type projects. Young people were also trained for various war enterprises, such as HEIHO, PETA; many of these youngsters later formed the core of the new Indonesian army when independence was proclaimed on August 17, 1945.

Indonesian public schools.--The most striking thing about education under the Indonesian government has

been the dramatic increase in numbers of schools. All people now have the right to send their children to the schools of their choice; 6-year elementary schools have been established in most villages. Some small or remote villages, like Harapan, do not yet have full, 6-year primary schools, however. Let us examine some statistics about the growth of schools in Indonesia:

TABLE 8: ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, STUDENTS AND TEACHERS IN INDONESIA, 1877-1970

| Year | Elementary Schools | Students | Teachers |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1877 | 546 | 36,082 | 945 |
| 1882 | 666 | 40,270 | 1,427 |
| 1887 | 654 | 45,507 | 1,567 |
| 1892 | 790 | 63,987 | 1,871 |
| 1897 | 1,203 | 93,111 | 2,902 |
| 1904 | 1,785 | 148,138 | 4,390 |
| 1907 | 2,423 | 190,370 | 5,612 |
| 1938[2] | ..... | 2,266,000 | ..... |
| 1939-1940[3] | 20,819 | 2,266,088 | 45,583 |
| 1941-1945[4] | 5,069 | 2,523,410 | 36,287 |
| 1950 | 23,801 | 4,926,370 | 83,850 |
| 1951-1952 | 24,642 | 6,530,183 | 87,030 |
| 1955 | 30,871 | 7,413,963 | 13,616 |
| 1961 | 35,801 | ..... | ..... |
| 1968 | ..... | 12,574,820 | 288,146 |
| 1970[5] | 61,678 | 15,949,109 | 343,029 |

[2]Foreign Areas Studied Division, "Education" US Army Area Handbook for Indonesia (Washington, D.C.: The American University, 1964), pp. 195-222.

[3]M. Hutasoit, Compulsory Education in Indonesia (Netherlands: UNESCO, 1954), p. 54.

[4]Moerdowo, "Education" Reflections on Indonesian Arts and Culture (Surabaja: Permata, 1963), pp. 289-290.

[5]Britannica Book of the Year 1970 (London: Ency. Britannica Inc., 1970), p. 317.

Secondary education and college education has experienced similar expansion; the following table summarizes the quantitative data.

TABLE 9: SECONDARY AND COLLEGE EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS FOR 1970

| Type of Schools | No. of Schools | No. of Students | No. of Teachers |
|---|---|---|---|
| High school | 5,291 | 999,485 | 39,560 |
| Vocational high school | 2,118 | 454,349 | 28,045 |
| Colleges | 190 | 155,077 | 17,015 |

At the provincial level, let us examine the statistics on elementary schools in Central Java.[6]

TABLE 10: ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS AND KINDERGARTENS IN CENTRAL JAVA, 1970

| Type of Schools | No. of Schools | No. of Students | No. of Teachers |
|---|---|---|---|
| Kindergarten | 3,475 | 136,045 | 5,153 |
| Elementary school | 11,897 | 2,359,400 | 63,321 |

These statistics show some discrepancies with those reported by the provincial government, which pays the

[6]As reported by the Central Java office of the Ministry of Education and Culture.

elementary school teachers' salaries. Their figures list 10,436 elementary schools and 56,886 teachers; the writer has no way of determining which figure is more accurate. Similarly, there is no way of knowing how many expanded-curriculum madrassah with morning sessions exist in the province, and these schools should be considered in any discussion of public elementary schools since elementary education forms a substantial part of their curriculum.

From the above statistics, it is apparent that the quantity of educational facilities has expanded dramatically between 1950 and 1970. The speed with which this expansion occurred has generated other problems, such as the effective administration of so many schools and the quality of education provided by the school system. It is the latter topic, educational quality, that we will examine now.

## Educational Quality in Indonesia's Schools Today

One of the results of the rapid expansion of Indonesian schools in the first decade following independence has been, as I. P. Simandjuntak has observed, that "at present every one (whether he is a layman or a

professional), seems to be dissatisfied with the course education has taken in Indonesia."[7]

C. E. Beeby, although he has no recent personal experience in Indonesian primary schools, was able to make some valid comments on typical weaknesses in the school systems of countries at Indonesia's current stage of development. He describes:

> ...excessive numbers of drop-outs and repeaters, poor qualification of teachers, lack of books and materials, inappropriate curricula, lack of adequate supervision, poor methods of teaching and especially an over-reliance on sheer memorization.[8]

Certainly nearly all of these weaknesses have been observed at the local level in a remote village school.

Of Indonesia's total population, 120 million, perhaps more than 50 million people have received some sort of education since independence. But most of these people have found their limited education has not greatly improved their daily lives, with the result that a high degree of frustration and confusion exists among these people. Until the national government can give educational

---

[7]See I. P. Simandjuntak, "Some Thoughts Concerning Elementary and Secondary Education in Indonesia," a paper presented in the workshop of educational problems in developing countries, on August 26-28, 1970, Tugu, Bogor, West Java, Indonesia, p. 1.

[8]C. E. Beeby "Improving the Quality of Primary Education," a paper presented in the workshop of educational problems in developing countries, on August 26-28, 1970, Tugu, Bogor, West Java, Indonesia, pp. 2-4.

funds a higher priority in the allocation of resources, these frustrations are likely to increase.

Whereas the Dutch schools prepared low-ranking civil servants, and Japanese education emphasized militaristic aspects, schools in Indonesia today are more syncretistic. Religion is important at the elementary level, as Islamic learning has considerable relevance to village life. Children must generally leave their villages for urban areas in order to continue their education at the secondary level, and in so doing, they assume urban values instead of their traditional village way of life. The educational system tends to produce an urban-oriented type of civil-servant, or alternatively, an orientation to an army career, a role that is still attractive to young men in terms of its income, authority and prestige. Elementary education fails to encourage young people to stay in rural areas; it does not help its students cope more effectively with rural conditions.

Recently the problem has become more intense for educated youth, since government positions have been multiplying. The schools have been educating their students to become consumers, but they have not been developing a class of people who are capable of finding new jobs in an already overcrowded market. Once a youth has been educated beyond elementary school, and has failed to find employment in an urban center, he is ashamed to return to

his home village. Traditionally only people who have achieved economic success return to their home villages; if not, they prefer to hide in urban areas where they can preserve some measure of anonymity. Life in an urban center is physically easier, and having adopted shoes and urban dress, they feel they cannot work in the fields as their parents do. Finally, an educated person who has left his village will no longer own land in his home village. Thus it is not surprising that most children in Harapan leave school at the level of the fourth grade, before they have become assimilated to urban ways of life, as the data suggested, from the interviews conducted with both youth or adults who had left Harapan and were now living in a city and with parents whose children had fled the village.

# CHAPTER IX

## SCHOOL-BASED STRATEGIES IN INDONESIA

In the early days of Indonesian independence, one cannot say much about educational planning strategies that are concerned with rural development. A principal hindrance to the development of such strategies was the fact that educational institutions were colored by political struggles; at the time many Indonesian educators were actually also politicians, at least part of the time. Educational policies changed along with realignments among holders of political power. Educators banded into formal and informal associations according to their different political aspirations. Any nascent profession died prematurely, so that before 1968 strategies of educational planning cannot be discussed in a meaningful way.

It was only in 1969 under the present administration that Indonesian education gradually began to see scientific and systematic planning. Some young scholars from universities throughout the country were asked to work in the central government, to set up the steps to be taken in building a desired strategy of educational planning. Thus the National Assessment of Education

Project was established, and with its inception, foreign technical experts and assistance funds came from agencies such as UNESCO, UNICEF, AID, the Ford Foundation and CARE. In the following chapter, the writer will discuss developments of the past two years.

First, the National Assessment of Education Project will be described; second, the report of the American anthropologist Edward M. Bruner which was submitted to the National Assessment of Education Project will be discussed; the case of Pesisir Urang, one of the villages at the beginning of this program will be presented; finally, the prospect for a school-based strategy in the village of Harapan, will be examined.

## The National Assessment of Education Project

Since 1969, the present Minister has taken action on vital educational issues.[1] For example, Presidential decree No. 84, 1969 establishes the Badan Pengembangan Pendidikan, or Board of Educational Development, whose main task is to coordinate all efforts and planning activities undertaken by the Ministry of Education and Culture, and to discuss these in conferences held in such places as Tugu and Malang. This plan might be termed a nation-wide,

---

[1] See the Minister's speeches, on Dec. 15, 1969, June 30, 1970 and Sept. 21, 1970.

school-based strategy. Results from this kind of plan will only be seen over a considerable period of time. It will take years to train competent fieldworkers in order to collect necessary data from so many islands that exhibit so much cultural diversity. The task is enormous; many aspects are still too limited, but the professional challenges are there.

A crucial development has been the establishment of the National Assessment of Education Project, on May 1, 1969. The project, supported by the Ford Foundation, is intended:

> (1) to collect any useful information and problems for a long term national strategy of education in Indonesia.
> (2) to carry out assessment of the items mentioned in paragraph (1); and
> (3) to provide the Board of Leaders of the Department of Education and Culture with suggestions/recommendations concerning the long term national strategy of education.[2]

One aspect of the National Assessment of Education Project has been to enlist foreign experts to help suggest plans for educational development, drawing conclusions from their own experiences. Edward Bruner, professor of Anthropology at the University of Illinois, came to Indonesia in July 1969, charged to help "investigate the attitudes and

---

[2]Winarno Surachmat, Education under Assessment (Djakarta: Ministry of Education and Culture, National Assessment of Education Project, 1969), p. 7.

aspirations of pupils, parents and teachers."[3] Bruner, who had worked extensively in Sumatra among the Batak ethnic group during the 1950's, thus became the first anthropologist who has attempted to apply the technique of his science to Indonesian educational planning. He began his study together with a handful of Indonesian educators, such as Dr. Setijadi from Teachers College at Malang, East Java, Dr. Winarno Surachmat and Dr. Santosa from Teachers College or Padjadjaran University in Bandung, West Java; and Dr. Tilaar and Prof. Simandjuntak from Teachers College in Djakarta. These men worked together in the Ministry of Education and Culture to set up long range educational planning, a development that this writer, who worked in the same Ministry between 1960-1968, feels is progressive and encouraging. In his report, distributed to Indonesian Educators in August, 1970, Bruner made some observations similar to conditions the writer had observed in Harapan during his own fieldwork.

In his proposal Bruner advocated that the first step to be taken should be the collection of fresh data through anthropological fieldwork. He felt that before designing large projects, brief exploratory investigations on specific problems are needed. And since the data were

---

[3]Edward M. Bruner, "Report of Edward M. Bruner," p. 2, a proposal presented in the workshop of educational problems in developing countries, Tugu, Bogor, West Java, August 26-28, 1970.

still to be collected, for the time being, he proposed some general topics, drawn from his own intuitive feelings that need to be discussed before detailed data are collected. Thus he mentioned first the problem of sampling the population, since there are so many ethnic groups in Indonesia. Secondly, as the diverse geographical areas in the archipelago present difficulties, he therefore proposed using universities throughout the country: to represent Java, schools in Djakarta, Bandung, and Jogja; for Sumatra, those in Atjeh, Medan and Padang; for Sulawesi, Manado and Makassar; and finally one area in Kalimantan and another in eastern Indonesia. Bruner also realized that "modern cosmopolitan internationally-minded educated Indonesians are found in all of these cities and hopefully the sample would go beyond this one socio-cultural type." Surveys should include "different social strata, classes, and the various social types in Indonesia," to represent both rural and urban variations. In short, he proposed that the Indonesian educational system should be adapted to the great variety of local, cultural and ecological settings. He suggested 7 projects to be undertaken: (1) a case study of the school system, (2) the dropout problem, (3) the social role of the primary school teacher, (4) educational aspirations, (5) occupational attitudes, (6) educational decision makers and (7) bilingualism.

To this writer Bruner's report is one of the peaks in the school-based strategy of educational planning at the present stage of Indonesian development. But, such plans still have a long way to go, and in order to return to reality, let us examine a model community that has been selected by the National Assessment Project.

The National Assessment of Education Project operates through delegating authority to teachers colleges in the provincial capitals such as that in Semarang, Central Java. Members of the teachers college working together with provincial superintendents and respected regency supervisors have selected villages that they feel typify educational problems within specific regencies. Here they retrain local teachers in the Teachers Training College, and make available new materials from the National Assessment Project for use in the model schools.

The regency of Kendal, where Harapan and Ambangredjo and another subdistrict called Weleri are located, has 606,558 inhabitants. Seventeen local school supervisors control 329 elementary schools, with 2,359,400 elementary school students (1,309,890 boys and 1,049,510 girls) and 63,321 teachers (45,071 men and 18,250 women). The Teachers College in Semarang has selected a number of schools in the regency of Kendal for consideration by the National Assessment Project. The writer visited two of these, one (not the remote village of Harapan) representing

the mountainous region, and one, in the subdistrict of Weleri, chosen to exemplify a coastal, fishing village. This particular village is known here as "Pesisir Urang," and was visited by the writer for 4 days, including the surrounding areas, during the course of his fieldwork.

## The Case of the Village of Pesisir Urang

Location.--"Pesisir Urang" is a pseudonym for a village located on the north coast of Central Java, about 6 kilometers to the north of the small subdistrict town of Weleri. Like Ambangredjo, Weleri is also an ex-district town, and a busy trading center with a substantial number of Chinese and Arab descendents. Pesisir Urang contains 84.645 ha. of wet rice fields, 0.9 of bondo deso or village property, 31.403 ha. of pekarangan or house yards, and 12.06 ha. of bengkok lands, with a total land area of 129.010 ha.

Climate.--In contrast to Harapan's mountainous location, the temperature in Pesisir Urang and Weleri ranges from 85 up into the 90's; the humidity is high, although the sea breezes make it cool once in a while. In the rainy season, it is very wet, like a swamp, and in the dry season, very dusty and quite hot.

Landscape.--Pesisir Urang is a flat, lowland village, where to the north we see the calm Java Sea, and

to the south, along the river of Kali Kuto, hundreds of boats and rafts. The river cuts rice and tobacco fields towards its source climbing up and up to hills and forests, ending on the blue Mount Sampan, which when seen from this distance, is sometimes covered by clouds or fog.

The administrative apparatus.--Like Harapan, Pesisir Urang belongs to the same regency of Kendal, and the same province of Central Java. It lies in the sub-district of Weleri, a town only 18 kilometers north of Ambangredjo.

Settlement pattern.--Pesisir Urang is divided in the western part by the wide river known as Kali Kuto, and in the middle of the village by a formerly paved road leading southward to the town of Weleri.

In the village's southern part are wet rice fields and rather well built houses; along the river and the beach the fishermen live. Sailing boats (prau lajar) and bamboo huts are spread along the beach. In the village center are 51 warung, where the fishermen eat and drink, a busy fish market, a fish auction building, some relatively wealthy local traders' houses, the lurah's house, and a fishing cooperative office.

Houses.--The majority of the houses belong to poor fishermen; these huts, or gubug, usually consist of four bamboo walls with a dry savannah roof. Inside there are no tables but only amben, or bamboo couches, for sleeping.

Houses belonging to people who are fishermen and part-time rice growers, are constructed with more sophisticated plans from bamboo, wood and tiles. Tables, chairs, kitchens, and wells are common in these houses, but there are not yet any bathrooms. Wealthier people such as local traders and the lurah, have similar houses, but these commonly have bathrooms and other signs of modernity such as transistor radios. There were also 2 mosques and 14 langgar.

Population.--There were 6,688 people in Pesisir Urang, 3,368 men and 3,320 women. Older people could still recall that in 1941 there had been only about 4,000 people; in 30 years the population has nearly doubled. Today it is too big for a traditional village, and its administration cannot efficiently serve its changing needs.

Over the years the beach has become shallower and shallower; the sea has been slowly retreating to the north. The land then has grown wider and wider; perhaps the great-grandson of a fisherman now owns land away from the sea and has become a part-time rice grower or trader. New fishermen come to settle in the beach area. It was hard to find a villager who could claim to be an "original" villager; very few knew the history of the village. Pesisir Urang is full of strangers working as fishermen or traders.

Fifty per cent of the people own rice fields; the other half work as full-time fishermen, local traders or provide public transportation to Weleri. In the village life of Pesisir Urang, the ethnic-bound group comes into contact with both the religion-oriented and the Indonesian-image groups. Not all of those residents of Pesisir Urang come from a single ethnic group, a factor that makes the Pesisir Urang setting interesting; many variations of traditional Javanese culture are found between Tjirebon, at the border of the province of West Java, and Demak to the east. Fishermen from several islands come and go as must have happened for centuries. Their boats are decorated in styles distinctive to the different ethnic groups or localities, and these customs have not faded out upon contact with various foreign influences.

The population of Java's north coast can be characterized by their wide chests, strong shoulders, arms and hands developed from rowing their boats; they are darker skinned, having been exposed to the sun all the time. Physically they are bigger and taller compared to the rice growers.

Economy.--According to the data collected, Pesisir Urang has a rice harvest of 28,000 kgs. Villagers owned 29 horses (used for transportation), 2 cows, 121 water buffaloes, 52 goats, and 26 sheep. There were also 704 coconut trees, 214 kapok trees, and a number of coffee bushes.

There was 1 poorly organized brick factory, some repair shops, the 51 warung mentioned above, and 1 fish market.

The principal income of villagers is derived from the fishing industry. The village is the site of a fishing co-operative, established and managed by officials from a provincial-level department. The co-operative is designed to serve the needs of the fishermen: it sells supplies on credit and maintains a clinic. All fishermen are expected to join, and everyone must sell his fish to the co-operative, which in turn resells the catch to local buyers or to Japanese businessmen who purchase shrimp for export. Villagers maintain three kinds of boats: the majang or the big boat, the grajak, a medium-sized boat, and the kementing a smaller boat. The majang is operated by 20 people; it costs about Rp. 300,000 or $1,125. Its owner is called djuragan; its fishermen are divided into the djurumudi or captain, and the djurugidang or common sailors who row the boat and catch the fish. According to information gathered in interviews, there had been 100 big boats, and 120 small ones. But the total number of big boats had decreased to 60, for lack of supplies. Big boats require more men and supplies, but can stay out for extended periods of time. The co-op had formerly supplied these boats, but recently had not been able to provide the needed materials. Consequently, the big boats were no

longer feasible to operate. Nonetheless, the co-operative officials insisted that all fishermen must join the co-op. At the time the membership of the co-operative was increasing, while the price of the fish was lower, although that of the shrimp had gone up.

The fishermen start rowing their boats out to sea at about 2 in the morning; they return home 12 hours later unless they have enough supplies so they can continue to fish for three or four days. Since the boats are still traditionally made, when the wind blows across the bay it is very dangerous for them. Every year about 10 to 15 small boats are lost. Motor boats are too expensive for the fishermen, and moreover, the bay is becoming shallower and shallower all the time due to the silt deposits from the river. Where the river meets the sea, the people say, the crocodiles once lived at the bottom of the water.

Economic life is divided into several groups: the villagers and their officials represent the producers' viewpoint, while the co-op officials, local buyers and the Japanese businessmen stand on the other side.

The villagers are the men and women of Pesisir Urang and their children. The men are either full-time fishermen or part-time fishermen if they own rice fields. The women are full-time fish sellers or buyers in the local market, or if they have to work in the fields with their husbands, they work part-time in the market. All

children are supposed to go to school, but in fact they do not necessarily go. Some children are more attracted to the call of the sea, and especially when the boats return from their expeditions at noon, the children rush to the beach to ask about the many kinds of "strange" fish the men have caught. And this creates problems for the teachers.

The village officials are responsible for developing their village, but at the present stage they cannot, because they do not have any financial resources. The community's resources are all taken by the co-op, and the village owns only an auction building where the fish are weighed before being sold to the co-op. The market and the warung are dirty; the roads are bad, especially in the rainy season. Most of the houses are poorly built, serving only as places to sleep before sailing to sea, since the fishermen generally eat in the warung. The schools' walls are full of holes.

The co-op is actually an urban institution, built by a provincial department. Urban officials are sent to live and manage the co-op. This institution is a good example of negative benefits resulting from departmental strategy penetrating into the village setting. Many other aspects involved with the co-operative have not been given any consideration. Perhaps from the point of view of the department concerned, the co-op shows material profits,

but from the villagers' viewpoint this system hinders their own rural development. Local people should learn to participate in such a venture, and not act just as second rank workers. The village officials in Pesisir Urang are powerless, because they, like the other villagers, are financially dependent on the co-op. The institution may become stronger and stronger if it does well, but the villagers will not change much; their position becomes weaker and weaker as they get older, and this means they will be increasingly poorer in old age.

The local buyers are still divided into small village traders and Chinese traders from Weleri who have more money. These traders can only buy the fish through the co-op, and consequently the price is high. They must resell at an even higher price to the consumers. Both producers and consumers suffer in this system. The Japanese buy shrimps through the co-op, waiting for the catch in Semarang. Shrimps are profitable for the time being at least, but the question is, who makes the profit? Unless the profit comes to the villagers themselves, any development is contrary to the strategy of rural modernization, where people not only should learn how to increase their per-capita-income by making more money, but also, should be taught to spend it wisely. The meeting of different local Javanese cultures creates a special variant of socio-economic cultural setting which needs deeper study

before a workable plan could be set up to overcome it well. Some negative aspects result from such a meeting of various ethnic groups or subcultures in this small potentially profitable coastal center. Thus one finds hidden local gambling and prostitutes, since the fishermen sometimes come from other islands as well. But the worst result is that the money economy of the sophisticated urban centers has penetrated to village life directly before the villagers are adequately prepared for it.

Communications.--Public transportation between Weleri and Pesisir Urang is by dokar (in Javanese) or delman (in Indonesian), a two wheeled carriage drawn by one or two horses. There were 22 dokar in Pesisir Urang. People also used to ride bicycles, since it is not far to Weleri, and the land is flat. There were also 6 Honda motorcycles or Lambretta motor scooters. Trucks journeyed back and forth from Semarang to Pesisir Urang carrying the shrimps.

Orientation groups in Pesisir Urang.--The three orientation groups we saw in Harapan can also be found in Pesisir Urang. The ethnic-bound group contributes Hindu-Javanese theater, such as wajang kulit, wajang wong, ketoprak and sinden. These villagers are fishermen and traditional rice growers. They also practice pentjak or the traditional stylized art of self-defense.

The religion-oriented group contributes to village life by building mosques and langgar; they maintain trading businesses in competition with the Chinese. They also had a trebang musical association.

The Indonesian-image group has helped to spread the idea of nationalism, as well as having some limited influence on elementary education, on dress styles, the use of Indonesian, and introduction of recreations such as chess, volley ball, and soccer. This group has also brought in trucks and motorcycles. However, such modernization is not at all organized, and in the technical sense, the strategy of village development is still neglected. The most potentially impressive economic channel, the Fish Co-op, has resulted from the application of a departmental strategy from the top down. The worst aspect of the co-op was that the villagers were afraid to a certain degree of its power, more than they were afraid of the village administration, which obviously was against the strategy of village modernization.

Institutions.--The village administration is still poorly organized; it remains personal in nature, as do many others in the village setting at the present stage of development. The lurah is about 85 years old, tall and big, but too old to work or even to hear the people he talks to. He was one of those who could claim to be an "original" settler, but when asked by the writer, who used

a microphone connected to hearing aids, about the tjikal-bakal and the history of this village, the old man laughed at the writer, because he had never been asked such a question even by the higher officials he had met. Consequently he had never thought of that, and he said in low kromo style Javanese: "Ngeten mawon, nek sedjarahe dusun mriki kula mboten ngretos, ning nek sedjarah gesang kula, ngeten . . . " or "Well, if asked about the history of this village, I really do not know, but the history of my life is this way . . . ," and he told the writer a long story of his life, full of spice and jokes, without waiting for the writer's response.

He had been a Dutch soldier, and after resigning, was elected lurah in his home village, Pesisir Urang. When the Japanese came, he was put in prison, beaten severely, and at night thrown from a ship into the Java Sea, he told the writer. The Japanese did not know that he was still alive, and he swam back to the secluded shore, helped by floating wood he fortunately found. He returned to his village secretly, at the point, when the Japanese war effort began to collapse. The lurah was an influential traditional leader in Pesisir Urang, a village divided into 12 dukuhan.

The writer did not have an opportunity to meet the bekel; it seemed that village administration was carried on by the wife of the lurah, who performed daily duties

for her husband and by the tjarik and three other officials. These people were intelligent enough, but did not have adequate education to lead the village, especially since authority was in the hands of the old lurah. This lurah was a charismatic leader, powerful in the local setting. This made the development of the village even slower, since he became too weak physically, but maintained a powerful will. Nobody in the local setting dared argue with him, and he mostly rested in bed, going once a week to a doctor in Semarang.

Religious institutions in the village were represented by 2 mosques, 14 langgar and the Arabic Musical Association.

Political parties were not much different from those in Harapan; the lurah was a leader in the nationalist party, and the kadji usually followed religion-oriented parties.

The school.--The school, while potentially good, was basically still neglected. Actually there were three elementary schools in Pesisir Urang, but only one had a full 6-year curriculum. The writer was only able to visit two of the schools.

In the larger elementary school, there were 226 children, divided as shown in Table 11. There were 6 teachers and one janitor. Two teachers had just come back from inservice training at the Teachers College in

TABLE 11: CHILDREN IN PESISIR URANG'S ELEMENTARY SCHOOL NO. 1

| Grade | Boys | Girls | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 31 | 19 | 50 |
| 2 | 18 | 30 | 48 |
| 3 | 19 | 21 | 40 |
| 4 | 13 | 0 | 23 |
| 5 | 24 | 0 | 34 |
| 6 | 18 | 13 | 31 |
| | | TOTAL | 226 |

Semarang, as the first and the second grades in this school had been chosen for the project in curriculum improvement under the guidance of the National Assessment Education Project in Djakarta. These teachers were waiting for equipment, tools, and textbooks promised for the project at that time. The building itself was in poor shape, with walls full of holes.

The second elementary school did not have the sixth grade, and its general condition was poor (Table 12).

Pesisir Urang's teachers mostly lived in Weleri, about 6 kilometers south of the village. They commuted on bicycles. The teachers had realistic reasons for not living in Pesisir Urang, as the village officials still had not given them the piece of land they had promised.

TABLE 12: CHILDREN IN PESISIR URANG'S ELEMENTARY SCHOOL NO. 2

| Grade | Boys | Girls | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 30 | 18 | 48 |
| 2 | 22 | 26 | 47 |
| 3 | 24 | 23 | 47 |
| 4 | 22 | 6 | 28 |
| 5 | 13 | 6 | 19 |
| | | TOTAL | 119 |

When the teachers and village official met at the time of the writer's visit, the writer asked informally: "Assuming that you, the teachers, got all the necessary tools, equipment and higher salaries, etc.--do you feel confident to improve village life here?"

Their answers were uncertain, and full of if's. The setting was indeed complicated, and with the urban-run co-op operating in the village economy, the elementary school teachers became less respected socially by the villagers. Most of the teachers were frustrated, and if they could have continued their educations, wanted to become high school teachers.

We have seen something of the complexities in the Pesisir Urang setting, and we have also witnessed the first stage of a curriculum improvement program that follows the

school-based strategy. Beginning with the training of 2 teachers, and concentrating on the first two grades for several years, the school in Pesisir Urang is operating independently from the community and its enormous problems.

Let us turn now to a consideration of Harapan and the prospect for introducing a school-based strategy in this mountainous community.

## The Prospect for a School-Based Strategy in the Village of Harapan

Needless to say the quality of Harapan's school should be improved before one can gradually introduce any substantial innovations among the villagers. However, there is difference between what should be done and what realistically can be done, in terms of the limited resources in the local setting. At the present stage not much can be done in Harapan, unless the village were chosen as a pilot project so that direct professional guidance and needed funds could be made available.

After seeing the poor condition of the Pesisir Urang school, which was chosen as a pilot project following a school-based strategy of educational planning, the prospect for Harapan's school, which is located in such a remote and neglected village, is then even worse, since there are too many other problems to be solved first.

How can one think about curriculum improvement, if a first step like making teachers live in the village where they serve, is still impossible? The dignity of the teacher must be encouraged so that human beings can be educated as individuals, as Indonesian citizens full of dignity. The villagers as a whole, are capable of collective action to a considerable degree, but as individuals, they are weak, and lack education. An individual villager is afraid to go far away for a long time, even if it means achieving a better existence. This is why transmigration is still a failure for the Javanese, not even considering the many other reasons.

Teaching jobs are not attractive at the present stage of development in Indonesia. Salaries are very low, and who likes to live in a remote village like Harapan after having graduated from high school in Ambangredjo, Kendal, or Semarang, without being paid more? Even the job of principal is not attractive at Harapan, since the salary still does not compensate a teacher's basic needs and aspirations. The oldest son of the lurah, for example, could only stand teaching in his home village for two years, and then he left for Djakarta to enroll in a college. Even the teachers at Pesisir Urang mostly live at Weleri, 6 kilometers from the village, in a town instead of the village, they are supposed to serve, so they do not begin to know the villagers well.

The local supervisor, or even the regency supervisor, cannot do much about such a case. Being responsible for more than 30 schools in the 18 villages of Ambangredjo subdistrict, the supervisor has to be an extraordinarily strong man to visit Harapan more than twice a year. Realistically speaking, there is no such man. Even the office in Ambangredjo was built by the teachers association, and the regency supervisor still borrowed a school building for his office. The need to build a decent office for the supervisors is urgent. Not only is the space really required, but also the structure would build the self-confidence of those who are charged with educating proud citizens. The office is not only a building, but a prestige symbol, especially since other departments have their own, better office buildings.

Being assisted by UNESCO at the present time, the Government is concentrating on giving free textbooks for elementary school children throughout the country, beginning with mathematics textbooks. These books cost a great deal, more than 15 million copies are needed, and transportation is another problem. A school located in a remote village like Harapan still had to wait for its books. But this could be a good starting point, especially to provide reading textbooks that would widen the scope of the village youngsters.

Three aspects of the curriculum should be given attention in the village school: Education for national, modern life, such as civics, the Indonesian language, basic sciences, and history should be provided. Local conditions should be honored by teaching subjects such as ethnic-group languages and other socio-cultural aspects of the diverse regions. Third, the curriculum should include pragmatic skills adapted to fit the local setting, such as animal husbandry, agriculture, home industries, trading business, and various games or other physical education.

Since the size of village and the population varies among the villages, perhaps encouraging stronger leadership and smaller schools would be better. For example, Ambangredjo could be divided to create two supervisor's offices instead of just one. This strategy would make it possible for a supervisor to live in a village, and to be responsible for ten other villages at most. Since many villages do not have more than one elementary school, contacts between teachers and their supervisors would be more frequent.

The prospect for Harapan's school is still dark in the near future, primarily, perhaps because it is too far from the supervisor's office in Ambangredjo town, in this case.

# CHAPTER X

## ECONOMIC THEORIES IN DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

This writer belongs to those who believe that economic planning is a must for young countries that have won their political freedom. However, excessively detailed planning at the national level should be avoided, so that potential entrepreneurs in the local setting will have room to develop. One of the principal problems in Java is that for centuries, the people have not been trained to achieve something new as individuals competing against each other. Their traditional culture stressed the virtue of collective cooperation and consensus, in such concepts gotong rojong and musjawarah untuk mufakat; the Javanese could not compete with Chinese and Arab traders who had had generations of experience building economic entrepreneurship. For this reason public elementary schools, especially those located in the rural areas should emphasize entrepreneurial aspects in their curriculum, as it relates to the potential of the surrounding area.

Since World War II various theories of economic planning have been applied in the newly independent

countries. Only those which have some relevance to the Indonesian setting are discussed here.

After some preliminary historical remarks, the dualistic economic theory of Boeke will be discussed. Then ideas of three Americans writing specifically about the Indonesian situation will be presented--Geertz, Owen, and Higgins. Finally, the development theories of 3 international economists--Rostow, Myrdal and Prebisch will be introduced. The chapter concludes with a brief examination of data from schemes currently being employed in Central Java.

In 1817 Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, former British Lieutenant Governor, who governed the Indonesian archipelago between 1811-1824, when England held sovereignty over the East Indies, wrote an extensive history of Java, described the Javanese with sympathy, seeing them to a certain degree as they exist today. His interpretation was in conflict with the way Dutch administrators had viewed them for centuries. Raffles, when writing about Javanese character, discussed not only their weaknesses but also emphasized their strengths and potential. He, too, felt the Dutch had characterized them unjustly.

Below, the writer would like to quote some interesting comments made by Raffles, who includes an official

report written by Resident[1] Dornick, a high Dutch official in Djepara in 1812, a town located at the north of Semarang, Central Java. For those Indonesians, who still respond emotionally to what Dornick wrote in his official report, perhaps it is better to change the word "the Javan" into "the Dutch," since after two centuries being colonized by the Dutch there was nothing good left about the Javanese in the eyes of Dornick and other Dutch administrators, even as late as 1950, 138 years later.

> . . . Thus far I have given a faithful representation of the people as they appeared to me; but it may be amusing to the reader to read the Javan character, as transcribed from the impressions of the Dutch. The following is an official account of this people given by a subject of that nation, which has contributed so much to depress and degrade them. "If the Javan is a person of rank, or in affluent circumstances, he will be found superstitious, proud, jealous, vindictive, mean, and slavish towards his superiors, haughty and despotic towards his inferiors and those unfortunate beings that are subject to his orders, lazy and slothful.
>
> The lower class is indolent and insensible beyond conception, and although certain persons, who presume to be perfectly acquainted with the character of the Javan, maintain the contrary, still I am convinced by daily experience, that the Javan in general is most shockingly lazy, and that nothing but fear of his superior, and apprehension of being punished, or momentary distress or want, can compel him to labour. If left to himself, he will do no more than what is absolutely requisite to furnish the necessaries of life, and as he needs but little, his labour is proportionate: yet as soon as he has a sufficiency for four days, or for the next day only, nothing will put him in motion again but force or fear.

---

[1]The Resident was a Dutch government position similar to Lieutenant Governor representing and coordinating 4 or 5 Kabupaten or regencies. A Governor was assisted by 4 or 5 Resident in his provincial administration.

> Cowardly, vindictive, treacherous, inclined to rob and to murder rather than work, cunning in evil practices, and unaccountably stupid (supposed intentionally), if any good is required of him. These are the principal traits of the Javan character."[2]

The vast majority of books written by the Dutch about the Indonesian people under their rule, regardless whether they were supposed to be scholarly or not, that the writer knows so far fall into Raffles' category, "it may be amusing to the reader to read the Javan character, as transcribed from the impressions of the Dutch."

However, the writer feels that Dutch scholars were sometimes in conflict with themselves at that time, since their scientific findings, analyses and conclusions about the Indonesian people were not always in the interest of the ruling Dutch government. Often what they wrote in their official books was inconsistent with what they discussed at scientific conferences.

And now let us see the dualistic theory of the economist J. H. Boeke.

## Boeke's Dualism

J. H. Boeke[3] based his economic theory on research findings collected in certain Javanese villages. Perhaps

---

[2]Sir T. S. Raffles, The History of Java (London: Oxford U. Press, 1965) Vol. I, pp. 253-4.

[3]J. H. Boeke, The Structure of Netherlands Indian Economy, (New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1942).

here we should characterize him both as a Dutch colonial economist and as a humanistic scholar, so that his works seem to fulfill two functions.

Boeke, the Dutch colonial economist, stated that the Indonesians, and particularly the Javanese, could not participate in the world economy, because of the dualism existing between:

(1) town and village, between the world market and the village economy, and between capitalistic and pre-capitalistic economy. By the word "town," he meant a "court, royal center, military or consumer, living as a parasite on the village economy,"

(2) between East and West, as Kipling once said, that separates Europeans and Asians;

(3) between natives and foreigners. Boeke observed that between 1911 and 1921, Europeans represented 12 per cent of the India's population, but between 1921 and 1931, they dropped to only 4.5 per cent. Boeke concluded that dualism in India was then decreasing. In Indonesia, between 1905 and 1920, the Dutch increased by 109 per cent; between 1920 and 1930 there was another increase of 42 per cent, Boeke then concluded that dualism in Indonesia was increasing;

(4) between economic dualism and cultural pluralism.

Boeke expanded his principle of dualism to encompass Asia, Africa and Latin America in general, stating that the Indonesian people had to be under Dutch economic rule because they could not manage without Dutch supervision. Entrepreneurship was of course out of the question. In Boeke's book, he never attributes the Javanese inability to participate in the world economy to the economic isolation in which the Dutch colonial government kept the native peoples; Geertz has observed[4] that certainly Dutch policies contributed greatly to the development of the dualistic society.

Boeke, the humanistic scholar, however, presented a paper at the meeting of the Indisch Genootschap, in the Netherlands, on October 13, 1922, entitled "Auto-activiteit naast autonomie" or "Auto-activity next to autonmy," in which he said:

> . . . All this has broken down the existing social organization, has pulverized without moulding anew, misery without generating new strength and the result has been a degradation of the human spirit.[5]

---

[4]See Clifford Geertz, Agricultural Involution, p. 142.

[5]M. Hatta, "Past and Present," an address, upon receiving the degree of doctor of honoris causa from Gadjah Mada University at Jogjakarta on November 27, 1956, p. 4.

Indonesians really appreciated Boeke for this. In 1956, Dr. Hatta, the former Vice President, and an economist, wrote about this statement by Boeke:

> . . . This is not the pronouncement of an Indonesian revolutionary, but the result of a scientific analysis by a colonial economist, a man of deep human feelings.[6]

As late as 1953, Boeke's books were still being translated into English for American readers by the Institute of Pacific Relations in New York. In the same year, however, a team of American scholars from M.I.T. began to study the Indonesian people directly without depending on Dutch sources.

## The Writings of Clifford Geertz

Clifford Geertz is an anthropologist who first went to Java as a member of the M.I.T. team. He has studied Javanese people from different perspectives but here the writer will concentrate only on his research connected with entrepreneurship.

Geertz' conclusions are drawn from his observations in two very different small towns in Indonesia--"Modjokuto" in East Java, and Tabanan in Bali.[7]

---

[6] Ibid., p. 4.

[7] Clifford Geertz, Peddlers and Princes: Social Change and Economic Modernization in Two Indonesian Towns (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1963).

Geertz' conclusions can be summarized as follows:[8]

(1) Innovative economic leadership (entrepreneurship) occurs in a fairly well defined and socially homogeneous group, among Moslem traders in Modjokuto and the ruling family in Tabanan.

(2) This innovative group has crystalized out of a larger traditional group which has a very long history of extra-village status and interlocal orientation.

(3) The larger group out of which the innovative group is emerging is one which is at present experiencing a fairly radical change in its relationships with the wider society of which it is a part.

(4) On the ideological level, the innovative group conceives of itself as the main vehicle of religious and moral excellence within a generally wayward, unenlightened, or heedless community.

(5) The major innovations and innovational problems the entrepreneurs face are organizational rather than technical, the prerequisite for success is rather organizational and administrative skill.

---

[8] Ibid., pp. 147-151.

(6) The function of the entrepreneur in such transitional but pretake-off societies is mainly to adopt customarily established mean to novel ends.

From the writer's experiences in Harapan, Ambangredjo and Pesisir Urang, he would basically support Geertz' conclusions, though with the following qualifications:

(1) In Ambangredjo and its counterpart, Weleri, entrepreneurial positions are commonly held by Chinese and/or Arabs; the strength of traditional ruling families is fading out, to be replaced by certain civil servants.

(2) Especially with regard to Chinese and Arab entrepreneurs, no opportunity is given for the villagers to develop themselves.

The writer would like to suggest some additional steps:

(1) Entrepreneurship can be developed, though a long process, therefore entrepreneurial educators in the village setting are important.

(2) Taking certain risks is a must in introducing innovations.

(3) Loans are essential.

(4) Education for the villagers is really important, so that they understand and develop the

> necessary skills to cope with the money lenders. Even adult villagers were afraid to borrow money, unless it was inevitable. They need to understand the meaning of loans, investments, and banking; if they then have the opportunity to use these skills, indirectly they would realize that the school has really been important in teaching them about economic development.

## Owen's Plan for Economic Development

Another American, an agricultural economist, has made a recent analysis about economic planning in Indonesia. W. F. Owen, from the University of Colorado, suggests that "unless and until the basic validity of a two-sector approach to rural economic development planning is recognized in countries like Indonesia, it will not be possible to proceed very far with relevant policy formulation"[9] based on the facts that low population density and industrialization and commercial farming are essential. He distinguishes two sectors, especially in Java which is too crowded.

---

[9]Wyn F. Owen, "Structural Planning in densely Populated Countries," p. 112.

First, there should be a program to handle what he calls the "rural subsistence sector" in order to create more and more employment opportunities for the population in rural areas. Secondly, he suggests a program in the "commercial farming" sector to "develop manufacturing, processing and service activities that are complimentary to the farm production process itself."

He also advocates:

(1) The role of the commercial sector to maximize the marketable produce;

(2) The role of the subsistence sector to maximize social welfare purposes;

(3) The role of the plantations should be that of "a commercial farm and not as a population supporting institution" so that they could compete economically with the small holders;

(4) The importance of geographical distribution of commercial and subsistence farms, "as one of the most strategic long-run planning questions for long-range planning in Indonesia." In this light, he suggests opening new lands in the outer islands of Indonesia; which should be restricted for maximizing commercial farms; migration should be located near the potential new urban industrial growth resulting from these commercial farms, as it is

> better to concentrate migrants in these areas rather than spreading them out. He advocates promoting rapid amalgamation of the farms so that they are continuously important economically in the long range, and the restriction of the production of industrial crops to commercial sectors. "Finally, all things considered, a substantially greater share of the rice lands, especially in the outer islands, but also in Java, undoubtedly should be assigned to optimum sized commercial farms."[10]

Owen's suggestions are primarily restricted to the agricultural sector. However, he realizes that a radically new approach, that of developing agricultural resources outside the overpopulated islands of Java and Bali, is the only solution for improving Indonesia's agricultural production over the long-range.

Benjamin Higgins

Benjamin Higgins, an economist,[11] was once an economic advisor to the Indonesian government. While

---

[10] Ibid., pp. 106-112.

[11] Benjamin Higgins, Indonesia's Economic Stabilization and Development (New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1957).

Geertz was more interested in economics in a local setting, Higgins concentrated on national scale planning.

Higgins divided the Indonesian people and their complex setting into two categories, those who belong to the economics-minded group, stressing production and national income achievements and distribution of wealth, and traditional values of village life.[12] Higgins also states, "The notion that 'baking a larger pie' is more conducive to increased prosperity than cutting more equal slices out of a small pie has yet to penetrate Indonesian political consciousness."[13] Much of what Higgins wrote in 1957 is still valid today. At the present time, Higgins' main points are now beginning to receive professional attention from those economists who have high positions in the present Indonesian administration.

Let us now turn to an examination of more general development theories that are relevant to the Indonesian situation.

Leaders of most Asian, African and Latin American countries have tried to set up intelligent economic planning for their countries and then apply these ideas directly and gradually. This has indeed been a difficult and painful trail, difficult because these countries could not compete

---

[12] Ibid., p. 118.

[13] Ibid., p. 103.

with the technological European and North American societies. Secondly it is a painful road for these countries because they seem to be standing in the middle of a long bridge, above a rough mainstream that sees many revolutions within a single generation; they can still see and feel the stone age bank on one side of the stream as they move towards the moon age bank on the other. After leading their peoples successfully to gain political freedom, it is interesting to note how their leadership has been transferred to the next generation in terms of development. Assisting these countries have been economists who have studied possible strategies of development in young countries. Rostow, Myrdall and Prebisch are such scholars.[14]

W. W. Rostow

Rostow is an American economist, who has studied young countries, concluding that a young nation should establish the following preconditions in order to achieve economic success:

(1) stabilize her government;

(2) improve her education;

(3) organize innovators and businessmen to mobilize and use savings in effective investments;

---

[14]Daniel R. Fusfeld, The Age of the Economist: The Development of Modern Economic Thought (Illinois: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1966), pp. 117-120.

(4) expand trade;

(5) reach at least 10 per cent of national income in savings and in investments; and

(6) build industries to reach higher living standards, economic maturity and mass consumption.

He also suggested that the rich nations should give larger aid to the still poor nations so that they can reach the take-off period, and then gradually reduce the aid so that these nations begin to help themselves economically.

If only the leaders in both the young countries and the rich countries could follow Rostow's strategy, perhaps the present world would have another, better picture. Unfortunately, history has told a different story. It has taken millions of lives to free young nations after World War II. Stabilizing their governments has taken even longer. There are not many economists, that the writer knows, who have assigned education a second priority. Ministers of Education and educators in young countries might support Rostow, ideally, but in the first years of their history, young countries, usually spend too much time, energy, funds and resources pursuing ideological and political quarrels. More often they have only bought more and more weapons with their resources than devoting them to economy and education.

In Indonesia, it took years before a balanced budget was considered important. Since the beginning, ironically, education has been regarded as important in Indonesia, except when the budget has been discussed. It will take years before the national budget could look something like this:

A. Expenditures:

25 per cent for defense and public security.

25 per cent for education and health.

40 per cent for economic activities such as agriculture, trade, industries, financing services, transportation and communications, public works and electric power.

5 per cent for religious and social welfare.

5 per cent for improving administration.

B. Income: internal revenues (taxes), export, foreign grants and loans.

This budget perhaps could still be improved, but at least budget priorities have been assigned. The current differentiation of the budget into routine as opposed to development expenditures, although far better than it used to be, is still vague in the national budget. This is partially because routine expenditures are still based on an inefficient and ineffectively structured system of public administration.

There are several reasons why the national budget should be professionally studied in young countries, since the nation uses funds that belong to all the people; and, moreover, money is borrowed from rich nations in the form of aid, grants or loans with some 3 per cent annual interest that must be paid back within a specific time. The spending of this money should be economic, and applied for the good of all the people. Getting loans or credits is a must in terms of economic development but spending money improperly and having public debt for generations more than necessary, is not sound traditionally, religiously, economically or educationally. Especially when rich nations give loans, grants and aid to the poor countries, partly for economic, political or ethical reasons, economists like Gunnar Myrdal and Raul Prebisch give less optimistic assessments.

Gunnar Myrdal

Myrdal, a Swedish economist was a student of the brilliant Swedish economist, Kunt Wicksell, who advocated birth control and planned parenthood. Wicksell influenced John Maynard Keynes, the noted British economist, in the field of national income.

Myrdal[15] says that the rich nations buy raw materials and products from poor nations at low prices, consequently making local markets unstable and producing low income for the producers. Then the rich nations sell manufactured goods back, at high prices, giving loans to the purchasers. The rich nations build common markets, partially because of the high wages of their workers and tough competition between big industries. Big industries are not too attracted to invest in poor nations because although their labor costs would be far cheaper, skilled workers are scarce, their governments still unstable, bureaucracies too complicated, and these investments are not profitable compared with those put into rich countries where technological advancement has occurred.

Myrdal, who successfully assisted the Swedish government in developing her national income, wrote three thick volumes, titled Asian Drama, about the poverty of the majority of the Asian people. His earlier work, An American Dilemma, treated racial problems in the United States.

In Asian Drama, he wrote:

> But even if a certain "education mix" were assumed, the output of education--both in the importing of abilities and the improvement of attitude--would bear no definite relation to the inputs of resources. There is great wastage in all forms of education in

---

[15]Gunnar Myrdal, Asian Drama (New York: The 20th Fund, 1968).

> South Asia; much of it is plain miseducation--given modernization and development as the goals, the wrong attitudes are imported or preserved. This implies that improvement of education requires a better use of resources, not simply an increase in the volume of resources for that purpose. Any attempt to analyse the impact of health or education measures without taking other policy measures into consideration involves the logical fallacy of illegimate isolation. The effectiveness of such policies can be increased by directing educational efforts toward the same goal. Thus a propaganda campaign, directed toward a specific purpose--for instance, the spread of birth control--may be launched. If the purpose is achieved, this is of course, an educational improvement, even though brought about by means not usually thought of as educational efforts.[16]
>
> . . . . . .
>
> The judgement that the South Asian countries would be well advised to devote more resources to improving health and education is probably correct as far as it goes, but it is vague and it does not clarify the really important issues, namely: where should health and educational programs be directed, how far should they be pushed, what means should they employ, and what other policy measures are needed?[17]

Like it or not, Myrdal makes some strong points. Education indeed costs money and is expensive in Indonesia for the majority. After finishing schools, their future is still vague; the educational system should try to solve these problems. It is interesting to note that after 1968 some key positions in the Ministry of Education and Culture that had been held by army generals or officers have been gradually replaced by college graduates in Law, Economics, Philosophy, Agriculture, and others but unfortunately not yet in Education. One of the reasons perhaps is because

---

[16] Ibid., p. 1535.

[17] Ibid., p. 1551.

Indonesian Colleges of Education usually concentrate on the insides of the "school building," talking about teachers, administration, curriculum, facilities, and then demanding more funds for those. Education is seen as a spending institution, rather than an investment in human beings or as a producing institution. Usually the educators reply that education is a non-profit institution, that educational planning needs other disciplines to supply the quantity, quality and the kinds of manpower that need to be "produced." Other disciplines still cannot answer these, at least for the time being.

Myrdal's realistic view of the slow and complicated process necessary for development is expanded by Raul Prebisch.

## Raul Prebisch

Prebisch is an Argentine economist who once worked with the United Nations. He has advocated that the poor nations should:

(1) eat and use what is produced domestically;

(2) reduce their dependency on foreign manufactures;

(3) organize economic cooperation among other young nations by building tariff protection, common markets, free trade areas, and industrialization.[18]

[18] Fusfeld, The Age of the Economist, p. 120.

Theoretically, this is a good idea, but practically it is hard. Even people in remote villages like to buy radios, and many urban dwellers want television sets, cars, watches, and shirts, almost all of which are imported. More crucial is the problem of providing spare parts for equipment already purchased. These problems will be faced repeatedly, until domestic industries are gradually built. The solution perhaps, as the government is doing now, is to introduce assembly factories like those being started for radios, television sets, and cars. Educational planning should respond to these new needs.

Assuming that someday 25 per cent of the national budget will be allocated for education and health, what should the priorities be then? The Ministry of Education, under the National Assessment of Education Project, should certainly design programs to follow the country's stages of economic development. Considering the varying needs of different localities, the writer would propose an allocation of budget resources as follows:

70 per cent for the school-based strategy, concentrating on:

40 per cent for 6-years of compulsory education, to support:

(1) teacher education for the elementary village schools;

(2) in-service training for present teachers;

(3) improving the teachers' salary system;

(4) improving school facilities, textbooks, libraries, and curriculum;

(5) improving office and supervision facilities;

(6) recruiting new teachers from surplus civil servants now unnecessary to an efficient administration;

(7) providing health services for all students;

(8) developing migration propaganda textbooks and the skills needed for migration.

20 per cent for improving semi-skilled vocational high schools, which would become the only high schools that received government financing. These schools would serve the manpower needs of clients in the private sectors of the various communities, such as industries for bicycles, radios and cars. Placement programs following graduation should be made available to students. All high schools other than the government vocational ones would be closed gradually, so that private sectors could build them if they need them.

10 per cent for Universities, which should be development based:

- What kind of colleges does Indonesia need most at the present stage of development?
- What kind of Colleges of Education should Indonesia have?

- Research and processing the data should have priorities, libraries should be expanded, and private universities subsidized.

25 per cent for the community-based strategy, concentrating on:

(1) training programs for village officials;

(2) adult education in the villages with various facilities and libraries.

(3) gradually sponsoring loans and savings programs in the villages;

(4) sponsoring cooperatives in the village setting;

(5) sponsoring market buildings in the village setting;

(6) sponsoring home industries and/or animal husbandries in the village setting;

(7) physical, recreational and cultural programs in the village setting;

(8) health services that provide birth control and planned parenthood;

(9) gradually sponsoring subdistrict radio stations.

5 per cent for general administration, in which the bureaucracy would be streamlined by building achievement-based procedures, reducing paper work, centralizing policy decisions but decentralizing their implementation to fit the local settings, reducing wasted energy by recruiting civil

servants into teaching jobs once compulsory education has been established, and economic rationalization of routine expenditures.

Stabilizing the administration is very essential regardless of any changes in legislative, judicial, and top executive officials; it should be a conditio sine qua non in Indonesia at her present stage of economic development.

We have been discussing possible development priorities for educational planning in Indonesia. Now let us examine the current stage of development in Central Java; such data should help us to determine the starting point for educational development at the present time.

## Departmental Strategies: From the Top Down

Current Indonesian development plans call for increased productivity and per-capita-income; the people are to be trained in various practical skills. Capital formation and investments should be encouraged, without producing confusion in the traditional socio-cultural setting. In five years, beginning in 1968, agricultural production should reach a level to make the people self-sufficient in foodstuffs, although this plan depends also upon controlling population expansion and the introduction of industry. These, then, are the goals of the top

Indonesian economists serving in the central government, but there are many difficulties in implementing these ideas. Not only is it hard to control all sectors of economic life, so that development plans are coordinated, but also the current administrative bureaucracy in some ways intensifies the problems of integrated action. Each administrative department maintains its own channels for implementing plans down to the local level, and more often than not, these channels act independently without co-ordinating their plans. Thus it becomes hard for power holders at the local level to administer a coordinated plan which is working harmoniously towards a single goal.

In Indonesia today, city modernization is being pioneered and developed by Governor Ali Sadikin of Djakarta.[19] Rural modernization is being systematized by Governor Moenadi of Central Java.[20] This last program has been promoted to the point that even the lurah in the remote village of Harapan could report that "the strategy of rural modernization is the agricultural based economy." Let us examine the present development strategy as it relates to the province of Central Java, in an attempt to

---

[19] See Willard A. Hanna, "Pak Dikin's Djakarta," AUFSR, Southeast Asia Series, 1969.

[20] Moenadi, Strategy used for Developing the Rural Modernization (Semarang: Tjitra Aksara, 1968).

see what progress has been made and what problems are being encountered.

The province of Central Java[21] comprises about 32,456.89 square kilometers. The total population of the province is about 22,979,500 with an annual increase of approximately 2.8 per cent. The total area is divided into the following administrative districts:

| | |
|---|---|
| Municipalities (kotamadya) | 5 |
| Regencies (kabupaten) | 30 |
| Subdistricts (ketjamatan) | 498 |
| Villages (desa) | 8,466 |

The government itself, down to the level of the subdistrict, employed 100,128 people in 1969, and in 1970, 97,496 people. This total does not include village officials, who amounted to another 111,742 individuals. Of this number, 52,742 received some financial support from the government, while the others were compensated for their services through use rights to bengkok land, or fields that are held by the village. Of these bengkok lands, they were cultivated in the following categories:

| | |
|---|---|
| Wet-rice fields (sawah) | 139,959,488 hectares |
| Dry fields (tegalan) | 119,478,642 |
| Fish ponds (tambak) | 1,087,428 |

[21] These figures are drawn from a speech given by the Governor on July 2, 1968, to which statistics were appended.

The villages also own additional lands, as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Wet-rice fields (sawah) | 16,713,969 hectares |
| Dry fields (tegalan) | 12,920,879 |
| Fish ponds (tambak) | 171,746 |

For the province as a whole, the provincial budget between April 1, 1969 and March 31, 1970, was as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Income | Routine: | Rp. 5,243,976,152.03 |
| | | Development: | 646,501,564.48 |
| 2. | Expenditures: | Routine: | 4,794,836,332.49 |
| | | Development: | 793,476,696.05 |
| 3. | Foreign Exchange | | |
| | | Income: | U.S. $1,112,400.40 |
| | | Expenditures: | 124,040.14 |
| 4. | Export values, first term 1970: | | U.S. $2,700,424.00 |
| | Imports: | | 2,940,257.31 |

One of the primary goals of the Indonesian national development scheme is to increase domestic rice production to the point that the country is self-sufficient. Could Central Java possibly expand its rice production to provide adequately for its population? For the province as a whole, rice production in 1970 was 1,885,890 tons, an increase of 3.49 per cent over the 1969 harvest. Yet, calculating each person's annual rice consumption at 100 kilograms, the province as a whole would require some 2,297,950 tons of rice, resulting in a shortage of

approximately 612,060 tons. The population in fifteen of the 35 municipalities and regencies indeed often does still suffer from malnutrition due to this shortage of rice, and even increasing rice production to its maximum capacity may still fall far short of the demand within the province.

To cultivate its fields more efficiently, tractors could be used rather than the traditional labor-intensive techniques; the cultivation of some 300,000 hectares of land could conceivably be mechanized. Currently, in the whole province, there are 11 tractors, each capable of finishing about 16 hectares a month. Under traditional methods, 3 people must work for 15 days to prepare a single hectare of land; one tractor could complete 15 hectares in 25 days. But each tractor costs about Rp. 2,300,000, or almost U.S. $6,000, a price far to expensive for the province as a whole.

In the case of Harapan, for example, 10 tractors would be needed to complete cultivation of its nearly 150 hectares within the month of January, when the land is customarily readied for the tobacco crop. Work formerly requiring the full-time labor of 700 men and women could be completed by 10 people. And this leads us to still another problem, what of employing the peasants put out of work by mechanization. The land-holding pattern throughout Central Java compounds the problem still further, for it would be exceedingly difficult to mechanize agricultural

roduction when the average land-holding is about 0.5 ectare; often too, such small holdings consist of several eparate parcels of land.

Thus it would seem that for Central Java, a development scheme should not concentrate upon increasing agricultural production on land resources that are already heavily used. Perhaps the government would be better advised to introduce mechanized rice cultivation in the less populous islands of Sumatra, Kalimantan and Sulawesi, building rice production into a big business. Such a plan would also necessitate improvement of inter-island transportation facilities, something which deserves a high priority in any national development scheme. Skilled and planned migration to the outer islands could accompany such schemes. Finally, to increase protein consumption in the daily diet, fishing industries should be expanded. These three big industries--rice, transportation, and fisheries--should be given top priority in the national budget. For Java, national planning should try to develop other economic alternatives for its people.

Currently every department at the central government level has its own development program. The proliferation of plans demands inter-departmental coordination, and although theoretically everyone is agreed on this, in practice coordination at the local level is difficult to observe. It is necessary to integrate development schemes

o as to combine technical expertise (derived from scien-
ific knowledge) with administrative efficiency and
inancial solvency. Too often today each of these aspects
as either its own officials or even its own separate
institutions, making cooperation even more difficult to
achieve.

# CHAPTER XI

## COMMUNITY-BASED STRATEGIES OF DEVELOPMENT

Perhaps to begin with, we should clarify the term "community-based strategy." A community-based strategy is local planning, that is integrated and meaningful, in which an approach from the bottom meets one from the top. It is village planning on the one hand, and national planning on the other. Community-based strategies are not departmental ones such as the school-based strategy of the Ministry of Education and Culture or the Fishing Coop we have seen in the village of Pesisir Urang that was established under the administration of the Department of Fisheries. Local needs become more important than bureaucratic administration, but national demands should not be neglected. The essence is more important than the forms.

Some departments have established different projects with many kinds of specialization, but the writer has never heard of a project that follows the community-based strategy of development in the Indonesian setting. The community development programs that now exist are actually model projects based on departmental strategies, such as the rural community education project at Ungaran,

Central Java, under the Ministry of Education and Culture. The Ministry of Social Affairs has several projects, called Lembaga Sosial Desa or "Village Social Institution," the Ministry of Home Affairs has established Pembangunan Masjarakat Desa or "Village Community Development"; the Ministry of Religion has founded the expanded-curriculum madrassah, and the provincial governments have set up family education programs. Many strategies or programs, from various departments, penetrate to village life, but without exception, the gap between these programs and the villagers seems unbridgable, and even most of the village officials do not understand the aims of such schemes.

By contrast, the community-based strategy begins by stressing better quality among village leaders. Any departmental program that neglects soliciting participation by village officials to help set up planning and to learn its operation does not follow a community-based strategy. Community-based strategies, then, vary from one community to another, depending upon local needs, the level of development, and the socio-cultural setting. Capital formation, as an example, is a broad economic term, that must include many other related concepts such as savings, money economy, banking systems, investments, the spirit of exploring for new profits or of breaking down traditional barriers to development. None of these terms would have any meaning for the villagers today, but if in the case of

Harapan, for instance, these were translated into meaningful, specific concepts such as corn and tobacco storage, getting loans with very low interest from the government, systematized tobacco selling to take advantage of higher prices, or the encouragement of chicken breeding, these ideas, because these are relevant to the specific situation could gradually be understood even by illiterate peasants.

Here it might be worthwhile to examine two cases in which community-based development strategies have been successful: The Academy at Comilla, Pakistan, and Japanese methods used in the 1850's. Whereas the specific details of these cases do not necessarily fit the Indonesian settings, both are worthy of consideration.

## The Comilla Program in East Pakistan[1]

The Comilla program is a rural development program in East Pakistan sponsored by the Government of Pakistan, and assisted by the Ford Foundation, Michigan State University, and a number of other agencies.

To a certain degree, the rural areas of Pakistan exhibit some similarities with the Indonesian setting, especially in terms of the religion-oriented group. Conditions of poverty, of over-population, of money lenders, of

[1] A. F. Raper, H. L. Case and others, Rural Development in Action; the Comprehensive Experience at Comilla, East Pakistan (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970), pp. 1-351.

literacy, and of the madrassah are found in Comilla, bangredjo and Harapan alike, although there are certainly ny differences.

The Comilla program dates from 1956; its history s been well recorded. Comilla was intended to be a com- ehensive experiment in agriculture, in saving, in banking, loans, in village-based cooperatives, in rural education, irrigation and rural electrification, in the use of actors, in women's and family planning programs, and in ay kinds of research in rural areas.

One of the essential ideas of this program, which tes it relevant to our purposes in this study, was that ral development programs must be based upon a careful lysis of village needs, and on enlisting the efforts of village people in the objectives of the program. This a has been stated by David E. Bell in his foreword to al Development in Action (op.cit., viii):

> The central concept of the Academy from its beginning therefore has been to regard Comilla thana as a laboratory for social and economic research, and to enlist the people of the thana, the staff of the Academy, and the local officers of government in a joint program of research and experimentation. And the staff members of the Academy--Pakistani and foreign alike--had to start by listening to the villagers, because that was the only way to find out where the process of change had to begin, and--furthermore--the only way to persuade the villagers the people from the Academy might be worth listening to.

The story of the Comilla Academy for Rural Develop- t is really impressive, although there do seem to be e questions which have not been answered:

(1) How successful have Comilla people actually been in improving their standard of living?

(2) How effectively have the ideas spread to other villages in East Pakistan?

(3) Have the costs been excessively large to be duplicated economically? (From 1960 until 1968, the Pakistani Government has spent $2,367,153, and the Ford Foundation $1,935,082; other agencies have also invested substantial sums.) This is really an enormous amount of money, especially for countries such as India, Pakistan or Indonesia, where per-capita income is generally around $60 per year.

It is interesting that the Academy at Comilla for ral development has been visited by officials from a rge number of countries, but not by anyone from Indonesia t. Perhaps it would be worthwhile for the majority of e people on earth to study the experience of such a pro- ct--the accomplishments as well as the problems involved.

Whereas the story of Comilla was not known in donesia (the writer only learned about it in 1969, from . Case, Dr. Luykx and some Pakistani students), but the ory of Japanese development has been known in Indonesia r a considerable time.

evelopment in Japan

Many Indonesian people have been impressed by Japnese economic development since the end of World War II. ow was it possible after losing a big war, that a crowded, mall island nation could become so prosperous in such a hort time? Many factors, of course, contributed to this tory; the quality of Japan's people, as the result of ducation and successful investments following savings and pital formation; help from the United States and almost l the western European countries; and the fact that Japan s been a free country for centuries, at a time when other ian and African countries were colonialized.

Geertz[2] has stated that Indonesia, or more specifilly, Java, was actually economically comparable to Japan 1870, this is not really true, since a colonial country d a free nation are incomparable in many ways.

Japan started its development in 1850; in 1868 the panese emperor ordered young people to seek foreign owledge to create new leaders. In 1872 compulsory educaon was started, and in 1890 strong nationalistic feelings re disseminated by the militaristic Meiji administration. s Japan, in terms of development, has exhibited the e of sycretism that we have seen in Javanese tradinal culture.

---

[2]C. Geertz, Agricultural Involution, pp. 131-143.

> What has been taking place is by no means simply a process of foreign stimulation and borrowing, although that is important. More significant is the amalgamation of native and alien elements to produce entirely new patterns. What is old in Japan is by no means immutable; what is new not necessarily transitory. The Japanese to a remarkable degree have displayed a capacity for cultural borrowing, but they have kept little which they have not reworked and made their own.[3]

As Indonesia has just begun her development in 968, she is still exploring which way she should choose. et us consider the prospect for a community-based strategy n the village of Harapan, which, despite many uncertain- ies, may hold one key for economic development in the ation as a whole.

## he Prospect for a Community-based trategy in the Village of Harapan

We have seen already that a school-based strategy n the village of Harapan faces many problems. The pros- ect for a community-based strategy may seem equally iscouraging, although the government's granting of loans ith low interest to Harapan villagers may be viewed as a entative, shaky first step.

Let us identify the problems faced by the villagers, onsidering first the field of village administration. he dukuhan of Ekasari is too big in comparison with the

---

[3] L. G. Harris and others, US Army Area Handbook or Japan (Washington D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 964), p. 1.

ther three hamlets. Perhaps it should be divided in two, ith the replacement of the bekel who just died as well as he appointment of a new bekel with the agreement of the ajority of concerned family heads. The tjarik should be eplaced, perhaps on the grounds that he has earaches and ound it difficult to hear others. The current tjarik is he of the lurah's relatives from one of the traditional lder groups so that according to tradition, the lurah ust respect him. With regard to his position, the tjarik hould follow the lurah's administrative policies; in ractice this man did not. Therefore the responsibilities f the tjarik, or the lurah's secretary, should be clearly efined to specify that he is not in a position like the ead of the dukuhan, the bekel. A new tjarik, bekel or ther village official should not be chosen from the older roup of the lurah's relatives, so that the position of uch a man does not conflict with tradition.

Perhaps one of the best solutions would be for the urah to discuss this problem with the tjamat and the eachers' supervisor and then to make an announcement to he teachers that applications are being taken for tjarik f Harapan on a contract basis. Then they could select he best man, and this teacher would be paid for two jobs, n the morning to teach, and in the afternoon and evening o work as tjarik on improving the administration of the urah's office. The writer thinks the job would be

attractive, since as a teacher a man would receive both salary and rice and from the tjarik job, he would be paid in the form of bengkok land, so he could live in the village and strengthen the position of the elementary school in the village life. This method perhaps could be implemented in any village that needs such an innovation.

Secondly, let us consider ideas for a loan program, development of corn storage facilities, market building and family planning program. These schemes need a better quality of people, but until the prospect for a school-based strategy improves, the village officials should try to solve these problems on the village level instead of only waiting for help from above.

Thirdly, it is necessary to increase the village income by means other than increasing the tax paid by each hearthhold. Every hearthhold could plant banana trees, as this is very easy, and once every year every hearthhold could pay a tax equal to the sale value of just one banana tree. Another idea is that the people could plant trees along the roadsides of the whole village, to fulfill three purposes at once to make the road cooler in the heat of the dry season, to prevent erosion and make a better view, and to be sold for their fruits or their wood.

Fourth, in order to get financial support from the subdistrict and the regency, it is necessary to make a good program for village development. Here again the

nowledge of a teacher who became a tjarik could help the illage considerably. And if the village officials need ore teachers, one of the best ways is to give them houses nd land so they would live in the village and make com- ulsory education a reality. The village could do this, nd the school-based strategy could concentrate on in- reasing the salaries of those teachers who are willing o serve in the remote villages.

There are still many other possibilities, but hose should be handled from the top down rather than from he bottom up, since both need to be treated simultaneously.

# CHAPTER XII

## ONE CONCLUSION: THE NEED FOR ENTREPRENEURIAL EDUCATORS

Realizing that the difficulties faced by either school-based or community-based strategies in the village of Harapan, or in any other village throughout the country or that matter, the writer will make one proposal based not only on the analysis of this particular fieldwork, but also on his previous experiences in dealing with elementary education in Indonesia. He sees the need for a systematic, nationwide in-service training program for the elementary school teachers who serve in villages in order to create a new class of teachers, the entrepreneurial educators. This proposal marks the closing of this thesis but hopefully it will be just the beginning for those who are interested in developing the idea.

As anthropologists studying Indonesian ethnic groups have remarked upon the diversity of socio-cultural settings and the variations in many localities, and as economists have talked about setting up preconditions in the pretake-off period of economic development, this writer

advocates in educational planning the need for developing "entrepreneurial educators."

As in any other field, educational planning needs certain preconditions to be well applied. In the Indonesian setting, these preconditions are just being established to follow the agrarian-based economic strategy that has been in operation since 1968. Why should education participate in setting up these pre-conditions, instead of waiting until after they have been established by the politicians or the economists or the army? There are several reasons for this.

It is a fact that teaching is just one part of the essence of education, by profession. An "educator" is a broader concept than a "teacher." An educator is not only supposed to know how to teach certain subjects, as many Indonesians thought at the time of the writer's field study, but he is supposed to know the reasons for teaching certain subjects and why a specific subject should be taught in the elementary school, the school of the majority.

What happens at home and in the society at large are reflected in the student's world. A school, then, is a part of the community; it is also a social institution or a social force. It can become an agency of change or innovation or a progress or entrepreneurship, that can strive towards modernization of attitudes to achieve something worthwhile in terms of long range development. A

teacher then is essentially a social leader. An educator therefore, in the Indonesian setting, is called upon by profession to participate in setting up national development planning.

And since there have been many complicated problems in the process of Indonesia's national development as a whole, it has really taken many years for Indonesia to succeed in writing a relatively good national educational law which covers many basic things in a few short pages. At first many people preferred to choose the hard way, deducing concrete ideas from abstract, broad premises. Perhaps this has something to do with the previous background of education. On November 11, 1947 in Jogjakarta, where the Indonesian Central Government was located when the Dutch occupied Djakarta during the armed revolution, the Minister of Education took the initiative to set up an Advisory Committee to draft an educational law. The main principles set forth in the Indonesian Education Law were nationalism and democracy. National education meant that Indonesian education should be based primarily on Indonesian culture, although it should also incorporate selected foreign influences without creating a new "cultural bondage" to foreign influences as had been experienced under the former colonial rulers. Therefore Indonesian history was

to be reviewed again,[4] based on Indonesian sources rather than the one-sided foreign views that destroyed Indonesian self-confidence. The Indonesian language should be used in all schools, with a bridge from a child's mother tongue between the first and the third grades of the elementary school. Artistic expressions, such as dances should be recreated in the various settings.

Indonesian education should be democratic in nature, as found in the relationships among students, between students and teachers, whose instruction was to be based on auto-initiative and freedom rather than on orders as in colonial times. However, anarchy should also be avoided. Scholarships should be made available to help those who were capable but without financial support. The freedom to build private educational institutions should be guaranteed, and even the Government should assist those which need financial support. This draft, which consisted of 30 articles was passed into law at the "Badan Pekerdja Komite Pusat," and signed by the President, the Minister of Education and Instruction, and was known as Law no. 4, 1950. Later, in March, 1954 this law was activated continuously by the Parliament and signed by three top executive officials, when it became Law no. 12, 1954. The

---

[4]See Soedjatmoko and others, (eds.), An Introduction to Indonesian Historiography (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1965).

story of this law continues, since some controversial issues have not been solved yet. This writer follwed its progress at the "Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat Sementara dan Madjlis Permusjawaratan Rakjat Sementara" or Parliament (something like Congress and Senate), for two years between 1966 and 1968; in 1970, at the time of his fieldwork, a new and better law had not been born yet.

Since there were not many college or high school graduates, under both the Dutch and Japanese administrations, elementary school teachers became the leaders of the country during the armed revolution between 1945 and 1950. They were the first officers in the army, and sometimes they were teachers in the daytime but army officers by night, since their soldiers were partially high school students. In 1949 there were those who continued to serve in the army, but also those who went back to teaching or serving in the Ministry of Education and Culture at all levels. Most of these men retired in 1968, since civil servants must retire at the age of 56 years, unless they are politicians, Ministers, professors, or generals who are still needed. Even the father of the army himself, Indonesia's first general, the late General Soedirman, was an elementary school teacher. Many Ministers and Generals were actually teachers before World War II or under the Japanese. Another interesting thing is that many prominent

figures of the Indonesian nation have been the children or grandchildren of elementary school teachers.

Indonesian elementary school teachers therefore have participated in building the country and the nation from its conception. Today, then, they should be called to participate in setting up the pre-conditions in village life so that the country can reach the take-off stage of economic development. They are needed now, since at the present time, they are the first educated young people who have frequently visited the villages.

As an illustration, in the village of Harapan in 1970 the villagers were still basically what they had been for centuries: sycretistically religious corn and tobacco growers. Only 8 out of 293 Harapan families have part-time traders, and these were the economically stable families in Harapan. The religious teacher in the elementary school was one of these. He taught religion but after school hours was a skillful trader, using his high school education among the illiterate corn and tobacco growers. He is not tied by the land in the traditional sense. His education is far beyond that of the village officials or the kadji, the Moslem-oriented leaders. He borrows money to form capital, and then invests in corn, tobacco or radios, and sells them when the price is right. When the writer asked him, why he lived in the village, while most of the educated young villagers did not go back to their

home villages, his answer was short but convincing. He said he could not compete in the urban areas, but in the home village and its surrounding area, even the old people would respect him, since he was considered to know much about religion. Often he was invited to lead the prayers at "slametan" ceremonies. He knew much more than the villagers about the implementation of the law of supply and demand. He was the only young man in the village who had the initiative to invite the writer to visit his home, whereupon he asked many questions about the camera, radio, typewriter and any other urban goods that might aid his trading business in the village setting. Even the house he lived in, had been chosen with economic rationale.

In Ambangredjo the writer used to observe how the elementary school teachers spent their time after school was over. There were three kinds of elementary school teachers in this respect. First came the part-time politicians, and secondly, the sports activists, who played soccer, volley ball, badminton, or became instructors at the "karate" club. Once a week in the afternoon, about 25 young people under the guidance of the elementary school teachers circled the town of Ambangredjo in their karate costumes, before or after going to their gymnasium. The third category contained part-time traders or businessmen. Here the writer saw two attitudes, those who quit teaching, and those who stayed. In Indonesia actually many private

employers or army officers who have teachers diplomas have quit teaching in order to earn better incomes or more prestige. In Ambangredjo there was one who had become a butcher, and sold his meats in the market. He married a woman trader; his house is big and made out of brick; he owns cars and other luxury items. And the other teacher, who continued teaching also is not unique, as the writer can recall such teachers in other localities and among different ethnic groups. The man in Ambangredjo was actually a principal, a quiet middle-aged man. After school was over he went directly to his store located near the market the way the Chinese do. He only went home in the evening. Both were too busy to talk but did the business. They were like local Chinese, who talk about recreation but actually only have time for business. They were also like Pak Kadji in matters of religion, but spent their effort on the business. The trading business involves more hard work and economic decision-making; it is more demanding than preaching the way the priests or the kijai, religious teachers do, than talking the way the politicians did, or than explaining the way the teachers must.

These thoughts still need to be developed more systematically, especially in setting up in-service training programs for elementary school teachers. The Indonesian teachers have learned religion(s) and politics and even how

to fight for independence as others did, perhaps it is high time now for them to learn how to build private business among the villagers so that their teachings are more functional economically, since traditional agriculture is not sufficient anymore. Although the elementary school teachers are organized locally and nationally as a member of the World Confederation of Teaching Profession,[5] these organizations still cannot do much in terms of improving their professional specialization or their salaries. Traditional culture says that teaching is really a "mission sacre," and thus they could not strike. Business and teaching does not fit, they say. But they do not realize that those who teach religion, are also good businessmen. And various foreigners are good businessmen; those who colonialized Indonesia were good businessmen. Frustrations and complaints alone do not solve these problems. Though they ask to have their salaries raised, the Government is still too weak financially. In 1967, the public debt was more than U.S. $2 billion caused by mismanagement; when the first five-year plan began in 1968, the Indonesian Government had to borrow U.S. $2 billion more from foreign countries, so she started not from zero but from U.S. $2 billion below zero. Therefore elementary school teachers

---

[5]See The World Confederation of Teaching Profession, Education Panorama (Washington, D.C.: WCOTP, 1969), vol. XI, No. 2.

should learn to pioneer in building economic entrepreneurship in the village settings who they serve. The Government should give loans instead of raising salaries all the time, and these loans should be used to form capital together with the villagers. Experience could teach us which teachers can become entrepreneurs after they have attended in-service training programs for this purpose. Loans should be based on potential planning for the local setting; those who succeed should be encouraged to develop, and those who do not, should be stopped.

For the next decade and perhaps more, the villagers' progress depends greatly on what the role of elementary school teachers is in the villages. Indonesian history has taught us that, aside from village leaders, the first army officers or political leaders were the elementary school teachers in the local setting. The teaching profession would develop "naturally," in the right time, if the economic pre-conditions have been properly set up. Most elementary school teachers who left the army in 1949 to go back to the educational profession, were still colored by the political world. Perhaps it is time now to help the maintenance of stable government, by building economic entrepreneurship in the village setting.

A human being only lives in one generation and not every man is successful, but educational planning for village development which does not include building

entrepreneurship in the economic sense will result in many generations of failures. Who are the first relatively educated people who have had contact with village life for years, beginning with independence and continuing into 1971?--The elementary school teachers, from whom village children learn to understand the economic urban setting.

We, the Indonesians have to succeed in overcoming our economic problems, so that our children or perhaps our grandchildren, as yet unborn, will have to pay the smaller, and not the bigger, part of the public debt which they did not make.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderson, Benedict R. O'G. Mythology and the Tolerance of the Javanese. Ithaca: Cornell University Southeast Asian Program, 1965.

Axinn, G. H. "Teori Pembinaan Institut." (Institution Building Theory). a paper presented at the Institution Building Workshop at Scientific Development Centre, October 12-16, 1970. Rawamangun, Djakarta, Indonesia.

Beeby, C. E. "Improving the Quality of Primary Education." a paper presented in the workshop of educational problems in developing countries, on August 26-28, 1970. Tugu, Bogor, West Java, Indonesia.

Boeke, J. H. The Structure of Netherlands Indian Economy. New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1942.

Britannica Book of the Year 1970. London: Encl. Britannica Inc., 1970.

Brumund, J. F. G. Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. Batavia: Lange & Co., 1868. deel XXXIII.

Bruner, Edward M. "Report of Edward M. Bruner." a proposal presented in the workshop of educational problems in developing countries. Tugu, Bogor, West Java, Indonesia.

Dalton, George, ed. Primitive, Archaic and Modern Economics: Essays of Karl Polanyi. New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1968.

Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudajaan (Ministry of Education and Culture). Kurikulum Sekolah Dasar (Elementary School Curriculum). Djakarta: Dep.P.dan K., 1968.

Foreign Areas Studies Division. US Army Area Handbook for Indonesia. Washington, D.C.: The American University, 1964.

Fusfeld, Daniel R. The Age of the Economist: The Development of Modern Economic Thought. Illinois: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1966.

Geertz, Clifford. Agricultural Involution: The Process of Ecological Change in Indonesia. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963.

_____. The Development of the Javanese Economy, Social Cultural Approach. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1950.

_____. Peddlers and Princes: Social Change and Economic Modernization in Two Indonesian Towns. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1963.

_____. The Religion of Java. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1960.

Geertz, Hildred. The Javanese Family. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961.

Hanna, Willard A. "Pak Dikin's Djakarta." AUFSR, Southeast Asia Series, 1969.

Hatta, M. "Past and Present." an address, upon receiving the degree of doctor of honoris causa from Gadjah Mada University on November 1956.

Harris, L. G. and others. US Army Area Handbook for Japan. Washington, D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1964.

Higgins, Benjamin. Indonesia's Economic Stabilization and Development. New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1957.

Holt, Claire. Art in Indonesia: Continuities. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967.

Hudson, A. B. Padju Epat. Cornell University Ph.D. dissertation, 1967.

Hutasoit, M. Compulsory Education in Indonesia: Studies on Compulsory Education No. 15. Paris: UNESCO, 1954.

Jay, R. R. Javanese Villagers. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1969.

Koentjaraningrat, ed. Villages in Indonesia. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967.

Minister's speeches, on Dec. 15, 1969, June 30, 1970 and Sept. 21, 1970.

Moenadi. "Modernisasi Desa." (Rural Modernization). a paper presented at the Provincial Congress of Central Java, July 2, 1968.

Moenadi. Strategy Used for Developing the Rural Modernization. Semarang: Tjitra Aksara, 1968.

Moerdowo. Reflections on Indonesian Arts and Culture. Surabaja: Permata, 1963.

Myrdal, Gunnar. Asian Drama. New York: The 20th Fund, 1968.

Nitisastro, Widjojo and J. E. Ismail. The Government, Economy and Taxes of a Central Javanese Village. Ithaca: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, 1959.

Owen, Wyn F. "Structural Planning in Densely Populated Countries: an Introduction with Applications to Indonesia." in The Malayan Economic Review. Singapore: MPH Printing & Supply Sdn. BHD., April, 1969.

Raffles, Sir T. S. The History of Java. London: Oxford University Press, 1965. Vol. I.

Raper, A. F., H. L. Case and others. Rural Development in Action: the Comprehensive Experience in Comilla, East Pakistan. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970.

Selosoemardjan. Social Changes in Jogjakarta. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1962.

Soedjatmoko and others, eds. Introduction to Indonesian Historiography. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1965.

Simandjuntak, I. P. "Some Thoughts Concerning Elementary and Secondary Education in Indonesia." a paper presented in the workshop of educational problems in developing countries on August 26-28, 1970. Tugu, Bogar, West Java, Indonesia.

Soehardjo. "Alam Sebagai Faktor Produksi Utama." (Nature as the Main Factor in Production). a paper presented at the workshop of all Subdistrict Heads of Central Java, Ungaran, March 13 - April 5, 1969.

Surachmat, Winarno. Education Under Assessment. Djakarta: Ministry of Education and Culture, National Assessment of Education Project, 1969.

Stibbe, D. C., ed. Encyclopedie van Nederlandsch-Indie. s'Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, 1919. derde deel.

Wilmott, D. D. The Chinese in Semarang: A Changing Minority Community in Indonesia. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1960.

World Confederation of Teaching Profession. Education Panorama. Washington, D.C.: WCOTP, 1969. Vol. XI, No. 2.