

GO HUNGARY – GO INDONESIA:
UNDERSTANDING
CULTURE AND SOCIETY
BOOK 2

Edited by Tamás Novák

Oriental Business
and Innovation Center
OBIC



BUDAPEST BUSINESS SCHOOL
UNIVERSITY OF APPLIED SCIENCES
2017

**Go Hungary – Go Indonesia:
Understanding Culture and Society**

Book 2

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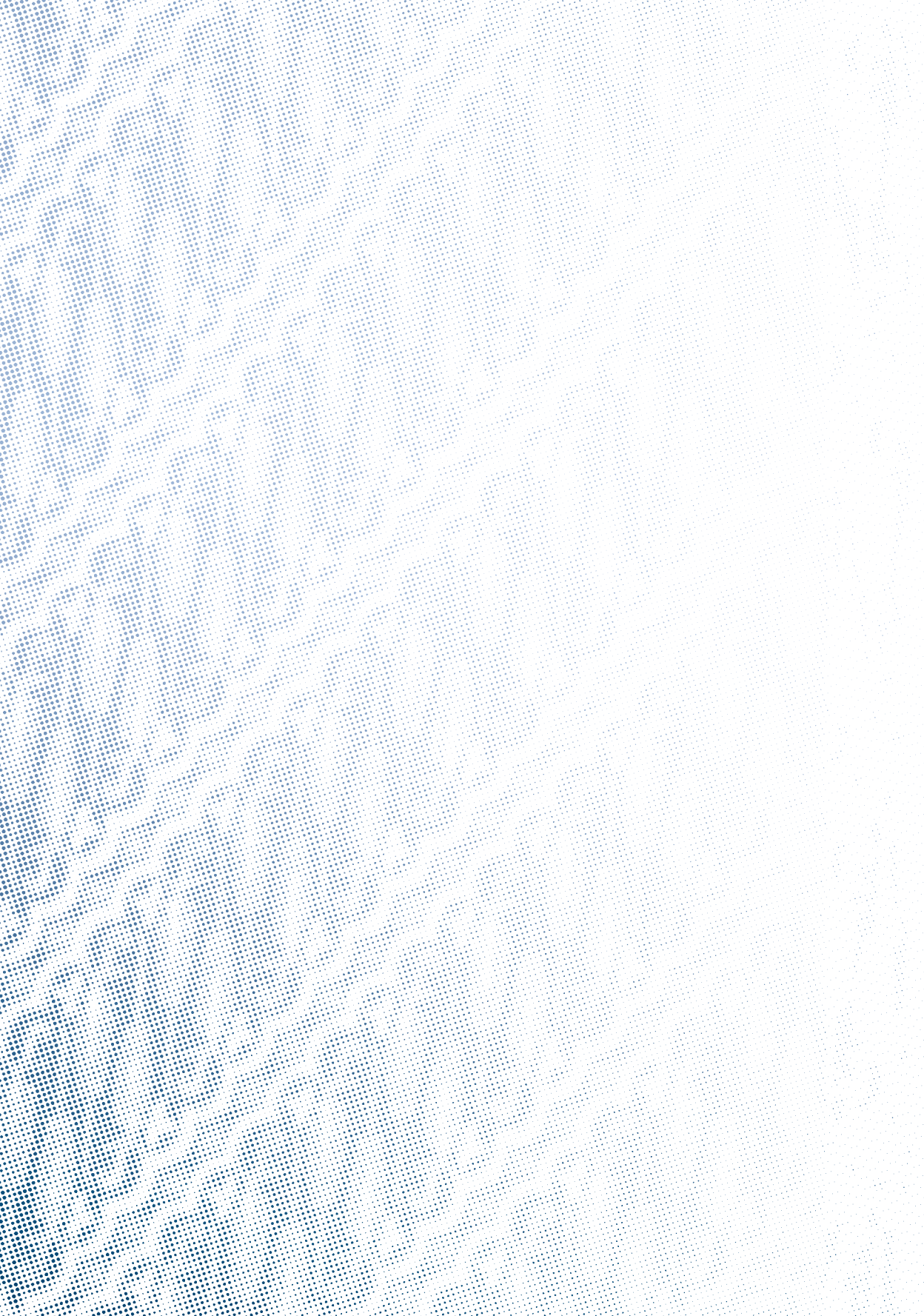
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About the Authors

Barbara BECKERT

Barbara has been a research associate at the Department of Human Geography at the Georg-August-Universität Göttingen, Germany. Her research focuses on development geography, conflict research and migration studies with a regional focus on Southeast Asia. In the past ten years, she carried out several field researches in Indonesia focusing on various aspects of land use and landscape transformation.

Polett DUS

Polett studied gamelan music and the wayang technique at the Indonesian Art Academy in Surakarta, and Theatre Studies in Hungary. Her research field is the "Dilemma of conjuration:" what makes wayang as a theatre act?! She has lectured at the Hungarian University of Film and Theatre and at the Buddhist University. She owns a production company and develops and produces documentary films and animation movies.

Heiko FAUST

Professor Faust has been working at the Institute of Geography, Department of Cultural and Human Geography, Georg-August-Universität Göttingen since 1996 in various positions. He obtained his PhD from RWTH Aachen in 1995. He has been principal investigator of several research projects on social geography, cultural geography and human ecology focusing on South and Southeast Asia, Pacific Islands.

Eko Setyo HUMANIKA

Eko is a lecturer at the English Literature Department of Universitas Teknologi Yogyakarta (University of Technology Yogyakarta) Indonesia. He earned his Bachelor degree from Yogyakarta Education and Teacher Training Institute, and his Master's and Doctoral degree from Linguistics (Translation Studies) Program, Universitas Sebelas Maret, Surakarta, Indonesia. Most of his research focuses on translation studies.

Márta KISS

Márta graduated as a painting restoration artist in 2001 and continued her studies in Indonesia where she studied *karawitan* – gamelan music at the STSI Surakarta. She translated Javanese tales into Hungarian which were illustrated with Marta's paintings. The book entitled *The Flower of the Rocks (Sziklavirág)* was published in 2008. Marta currently is a freelance painter. Her works can be viewed at www.kissmarta.com.

Zsuzsanna LANTOS

Zsuzsanna is a PhD student at the Geopolitics doctoral program, Doctoral School of Earth Sciences, University of Pécs. She is an economist, graduated at the Budapest Business School and obtained her M.A. as a geography teacher from Eötvös Lóránt University, Budapest. After working at various financial institutions in different positions, since 2008 she has been teaching economics and geography for 9-12 grade students.

Zoltán PÁLDI

Zoltán Páldi has been working as Political and Economic Officer at the Indonesian Embassy in Hungary since 2015. Spending three years in Indonesia he studied Indonesian language and cultural studies. Later he worked at various institutions in Indonesia as ESL teacher and lecturer. He has been very active in disseminating information about Indonesia through his comprehensive blog at <http://zolindonezia.blog.hu/>

Mangku PURNOMO

Mangku obtained his PhD in 2011 in Human Geography at the Georg-August-Universität Göttingen. His research interest is local resources governance focusing on political ecology issues. He is a member of the Indonesian Agricultural Economists Association (Perhepi), and the German Society of Geography (DGfG). In 2015, he became head of the Socio-Economics Department, Faculty of Agriculture, Brawijaya University.

Johanes RADJABAN

Johanes is a lecturer of Linguistics at the English Literature Department of Universitas Teknologi Yogyakarta. He earned his M.A. in English studies from Universitas Sanata Dharma, Yogyakarta, and PhD from the Linguistics Program, Universitas Sebelas Maret, Surakarta. His research interest is in indigenous languages of Indonesia. He has documented one of the indigenous languages of Borneo, Agabag.

Anikó SEBESTÉNY

Anikó currently is an associate researcher in Paris at CASE (Centre Asie du Sud-Est) and LESC (Nanterre University). She holds her PhD in Anthropology from Nanterre University and Pécs University and her work focuses on Balinese offering ceremonies. Her first year of fieldwork is presented in a book in Hungarian: *Kakasvér és virágszirom – Egy év Bali szigetén* (*Flower petals and rooster-blood – One year in Bali*) published in 2012.



Preface

Improving economic, cultural and higher educational relations between geographically distant countries is never easy. But this generalization does not rule out exceptions, which means that long distances do not necessarily prevent relatively strong trade, capital relations and developing contacts in fields such as cultural and higher education cooperation and exchange. But in order for this to happen, several prerequisites must be met.

The first in the line of such prerequisites is the responsibility befalling diplomacy. Supporting bilateral relations at the political level always facilitates the expansion of all forms of international relations. Frequent high-level meetings inspire active relationship building endeavors on a lower level as well, such as cooperation between chambers of commerce or universities. Political contacts may also help set up financial funds to facilitate grassroots business development with publicly funded projects.

The second important prerequisite is the existence of shared interests. In the 60 years of bilateral relations between Hungary and Indonesia, we have never witnessed such a constellation of common interests as we are witnessing today. And this interest is related to efforts of opening towards third countries in an era of global economic and power restructuring, when the competition between corporations and countries is steadily increasing. Growing pressure for improving competitiveness has developed along with growing opportunities: rapid economic development, improving transport and communication systems facilitate more and better business and cultural contacts.

But the third prerequisite is the most difficult one to meet. If we want to capitalize on the opportunities, lots of work and effort is required. This work must include the desire to get to know each other better, to understand the attitudes of the people and the cross-cultural differences, as well as to explore prospective fields of trade, capital and other business relations. Finally, we must facilitate the flow of information between the two countries. If these objectives are achieved, relations can reach a higher level. Without putting in this arduous day-to-day work, the existing window of opportunity will not be utilized.

Based on the above endeavor, this two-volume book "Go Hungary – Go Indonesia" is the result of the joint efforts of Hungarian and Indonesian scholars. Adopting a multidisciplinary perspective this book aims to review the key areas of relations between the two countries. Our objective is to cover the most important fields of mutual interest including economy and trade, investment opportunities, student and teacher mobility in higher education, cultural issues, such as the different but still somewhat similar messages of our folktales, or the special traditions of wayang – just to name a few. Each volume contains chapters, which – according to the editor's expectations – will be of interest not only for scholars, but of open-minded students and businessmen alike.

We wished to perform a pioneering work in the detailed and profound research of important and promising aspects of the mutual efforts of Hungary and Indonesia. By doing so we would like to contribute to the scientific underpinning of the eastern opening of the Hungarian economy and to the strengthening of the Central European focus on the objectives of Indonesian internationalization. Since a multidisciplinary research of the relations between the two countries hardly exists, we had to undertake a thorough fact finding and interest analysis in order to fully understand future perspectives. This volume – Book 2 – largely focuses on cultural and social aspects.

The chapter by Johanes Radjaban and Eko Setyo Humanika investigates the importance of a single national language in a country where cultural background and traditions are extremely different, along with the geographical differences and the ethnic variety of the people and Bahasa Indonesia may have a role to support unity in this multifaceted heterogeneity. As history testifies, the Indonesian language has held the nation together successfully. Religious diversity, however, is another potential problem in Indonesia's effort to effectively manage and maintain its diversity.

Anikó Sebestény provides a valuable anthropological insight into the coexistence of such contradictory values as "Tradition", "Conservatism", "Modernity" and "Progress" in Bali, which appear to be even reinforcing each other. The author also concludes that tourism does not disrupt the local culture and religion, as local institutions and communities do not allow the Balinese to forget about their past and their duties. As a result, Bali showcases a strong and entangled presence of successful international tourism, technology, exotic landscapes and elaborate ritual celebrations.

Zoltán Páldi joins with his chapter at this point to share his experiences by providing a simple survival kit for everyday life in Indonesia, ranging from tips on how to communicate with your neighbors to some advice on how to put up with the predominantly

extreme weather conditions. If a Hungarian/East-Central European reader is planning to spend some time in Indonesia or an Indonesian is curious to know how a “bule” (“non-Asian foreigner”) perceives Indonesia and its people, this chapter also gives several clues to minimize misunderstanding, miscommunication or culture clashes.

A group of excellent researchers, Mangku Purnomo, Barbara Beckert and Heiko Faust overview the role of women in promoting sustainable resource management in Indonesia. Based on qualitative research they found that women have a pivotal role in stabilizing land productivity, rationalizing energy consumption, promoting food security, and taking over men’s duties, as men tend to enter the rural labor market. Following the concept of political ecology, this chapter explains that though women play an essential role in stabilizing resources, they have but a limited role in decision-making processes.

The next chapter by Zsuzsanna Lantos looks at the demographic changes in Indonesia and the trends unfolding in the coming decades. The rapid population growth in many Southeast Asian countries causes several social and economic problems which are hard to be managed. Indonesia, where the already big population continues to grow, and the world’s most densely populated island, Java can be found is not an exception. Solving the problems of the demographic transition is among the most demanding issues in Indonesia, which may hinder the economic development and the provision of social services.

Tündérszép Ilona és Árgyélus (Fairylife Ilona and Prince Árgyélus) – Dongeng Legenda Jawa Tengah: Cerita Timun Mas (The golden cucumber), are two interesting folktales from Indonesia and Hungary collected by Márta Kiss. Folktales are always interesting sources of information about well-known personalities and figures of “Good” and “Evil” in various countries. This chapter tries to give an insight into these beliefs and to help understand the magic, imagined world in which the people in both countries are living. The chapter is illustrated by the author’s own paintings.

In her personal review Polett Dus describes the very special experiences she had when studying the most essential form of traditional Javanese theatre, the wayang kulit. She concludes that from a western perspective it is a daunting task to understand and feel the meaning and content of the Javanese shadow play. Even experienced artists having very wide and deep knowledge of different cultures and traditions would have to face it as a completely new challenge. If someone really wants to have an insight into the world that was incomprehensible before, one must start with a clean slate.

In addition to our excellent authors, we must mention the work of peer reviewers whose comments and suggestions have contributed invaluablely to the depth and clarity of every chapter in the book. Our reviewers included György Csáki (Szent István University), András Hrabovszki (former diplomat in Indonesia), Árpád Papp-Váry (Metropolitan University), Siti Daulah Khoitiati (Universitas Gajah Mada), Pál Majoros and Amadea Balog (both from Budapest Business School). I also would like to thank my assistant editor, Ranin Barakat. We are thankful for the financial assistance of the Budapest Business School, University of Applied Sciences and the Central Bank of Hungary. Without the sustained confidence and support and the leadership of the Budapest Business School, it would have been impossible to publish this book. In addition, the diplomatic missions of both countries played a key role in finding the best strategy to implement this project. Special thanks is owed to APTISI (Asosiasi Perguruan Tinggi Swasta Indonesia – Association of Indonesian Private Higher Education Institutions) and to George Iwan Marantika, Vice-President of APTISI and Hungarian Honorary Consul of Yogyakarta and mid-Java for their continuous support. I am very much indebted to all the people who have contributed to the birth of this two-volume book published within the framework of the Oriental Business and Innovation Center Book Series.

The editor of the book:
Tamás Novák

Indonesia – The Land of Languages and Religions

Johanes Radjaban – Eko Setyo Humanika

The Republic of Indonesia (RI) is a heavenly archipelago situated in the equator, between Asia and Australia continents, and becomes the border between Indian and Pacific Oceans. It is the largest island country in the world. RI consists of about 17,000 islands inhabited by about 265 million people. Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Papua are the five most populated islands. The world's most populous island, Java, is the home to more than half of the country's population. The size of the country, the very different cultural background and traditions along with the geographical, ethnic variety of the people makes the issue of language and religion extremely important and may have a role to support unity in this multifaceted heterogeneity.

Indonesia has about 300 ethnic groups and 742 native languages (Radjaban, 2013), each with their own cultural identities developed over centuries, and influenced by Indian, Arabic, Chinese, and European sources. Traditional Javanese and Balinese dances, for example, contain aspects of Hindu culture and mythology. Five main religions, namely Hinduism, Buddhism, Protestantism, Catholicism, and Islam enrich the construction of the nation. Indonesian history also noted specific contributions of the religions to the diversity of Indonesia in its actual form. Interrelationship among religions, language and culture that shape this huge archipelago is always an interesting issue to explore since it not only contributes to strengthen the unity of the nation but also provides potentials for national disharmony. This short article shares some facts about Indonesia with two dominant identities, languages and religions, and experiences of the nation to maintain the two critical yet problematic identities that uniquely shape Indonesia as a heavenly huge archipelago country in the heart of the globe. When viewed on the globe, Indonesian archipelagos are situated on the equator, which figuratively becomes the center of the globe.

1. Indonesian languages

It is identified that there are more than 700 regional languages spoken in Indonesia's numerous islands (Sudarsa, 2013). Since the native people of Indonesia are Austronesian, most of the languages spoken in about 13,000 islands typologically belong to the Austronesian language family (Soepomo, 1998). As a huge archipelago country, different dialects of the same language family spoken in different islands grow sharper. Since different groups of people living in different islands have a lower intensity of contact, differences of phonology, morphology and syntax become much more extreme and end up forming different languages. This makes different groups of people living in certain islands develop their own dialects which other groups of people do not understand.

Based on this fact, most of Indonesian regional languages belong to the Austronesian language family, with a few Papuan languages also spoken in the island of Papua. National consensus, however, decides that the official language of the country is Bahasa Indonesia (Indonesian language), a variant of Malay, which was already used in the archipelago. It borrows heavily from local languages such as Javanese, Sundanese, Minangkabau, etc. Indonesian is primarily used in commerce, administration, education, and the media, but most Indonesians speak other languages, such as Javanese, as their first language. Almost all Indonesians are bilingual by nature. They speak both their own native languages and Indonesian language.

Indonesian is based on the prestige dialect of Malay, that of the Johor-Riau Sultanate, which for centuries had been the lingua franca of the archipelago. Johor, which is now one of the Malaysian states, and Riau, which is one of the Indonesian provinces, once belonged to the territory of Pagaruyung Kingdom which became the strong ruler promoting a prestige dialect of Malay to become the lingua franca of the territory. Indonesian is universally taught in schools and is consequently spoken by nearly every Indonesian. It is the language of business, politics, national media, education, and academia. It was promoted by Indonesian nationalists in the 1920s, and declared the official language under the name Bahasa Indonesia in the proclamation of independence in 1945. Fisher (1952, p. 32) claimed that most Indonesians speak at least one of several hundred local languages and dialects, often as their first language. In comparison, Papua has over 339 indigenous Papuan and Austronesian languages, in a region of about 2.7 million people. Javanese is the most widely spoken local language, as it is the language of the largest ethnic group. It was identified that the island of Sumatra has about 35 local languages, Java 4, Borneo 144, Sulawesi 148, while Bali

and Nusa Tenggara have 78 local languages (Radjaban, 2013). This huge diversity is expressed by Indonesia's national motto, "*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*" (Unity in Diversity), which literally means "many, yet one" (Sudarsa, 2013). The motto, "*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*", was written in *Pararaton*, an ancient manuscript written by Empu Tantular about the history of *Nusantara*, the kingdom of Indonesia between the 6th and the 13th century A.D.. This motto was then introduced by Soekarno, the Indonesian Proclamator and first President, in the opening board meeting of the preparation of the Indonesian Independence in 1945.

1.1. Political roles of Indonesian language

In the history of the Indonesian independence, Indonesian language became one of the spiritualities for Indonesian tribes to be bound as one nation. When struggling for independence, different tribes from various geographical locations fought the invaders sporadically as small traditional troops. Therefore, they were easily defeated. It happened for hundreds of years. It was then in October 1928, an idea to unite the power denotatively and politically existed. It was then known as the Indonesian National Awakening. In that national awakening, Indonesian warriors from all different tribes gathered together and made a pledge to unite their powers in order to form a nation with "one motherland, one nation, and one language"; it has become Indonesia. Indonesian language was newly created with Malay language as its main core (Alieva, 1991). Since then, Indonesian language has become a key element of national identity for the whole Indonesian archipelago. Indonesian founding fathers like Dr. Soepomo, Ir. Soekarno, supported by the leaders of Indonesian Students Organizations (PPPI) aggressively promoted the use of Indonesian language for all their formal and informal communication. In the first Indonesian Youth Congress in Jakarta the 27th and 28th of October 1928, Indonesian language was declared the national uniting language. In this congress, the Indonesian National Anthem, *Indonesia Raya*, composed by W.R. Supratman was introduced.

Alieva (1991) further argued that since the Indonesian Independence, the Indonesian language has formerly become the Indonesian National Language. It has become the language of all formal Indonesian documents like the Indonesian constitution, laws, and all governmental decrees and written policies. The Indonesian language has also become the language for all formal speeches in all governmental occasions and educational instructions. Besides Indonesian language as the national language, some areas still use local languages as the second language on special cultural

occasions like Javanese in Yogyakarta, Central and East Java Provinces, Sundanese in West Java Province, Balinese in Bali, and some other languages for other islands of Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Papua, Timor, Flores, and Lombok.

1.2. Problems of Indonesian language as the national language

Since Indonesian language was “newly created”, it develops and accommodates various local languages from their different levels – morphology and also syntax (Alieva, 1991). Its development results in different dialects that need standardizing. Efforts to standardize Indonesian language has been a challenging work for Indonesian linguists since the efforts started relatively long after it had developed. Pros and cons on the efforts always become a hot issue among linguists of different schools which have different ideas of how the standardized Indonesian language should look like. Most of Indonesian people’s fossilized non-standard Indonesian language makes them resistant to the “new” standardized forms. This seems to be another obstacle for establishing the final standardized Indonesian. The establishment of the standardized Indonesian is under the authority of Indonesian Language Board. This Board belongs to the authority of the Indonesian Government the authority of which is based on the Indonesian Constitution. Linguists in this Board are assigned to formulate the standardized Indonesian language based on their researches. Research findings on the efforts to standardize Indonesian language are presented and discussed in national conferences. Linguistic researches in the level of phonology, morphology, and syntax contribute significantly to the effort of standardizing Indonesian language. Based on the research results, the Indonesian Language Board proposed the final state of the Indonesian language to the House.

The decision to make Indonesian language a national one seems to be one of the significant factors for the extinction of some local indigenous languages of Indonesia. When becoming a national language, Indonesian language grows dominant. Everyone from different local language communities makes Indonesian language their priority to master. Families from different language backgrounds condition their children to master Indonesian language. They put their children from very early infancy into a new language context that is Indonesian language. It then makes young Indonesians leave their local languages behind. Most young Indonesians do not speak their local languages any more. It then causes the extinction of some local languages. About 10 percent (70 out of 742) of Indonesian indigenous languages are already extinct and more than 65 percent have been endangered (Radjaban, 2013). To preserve these indigenous languages, the Indonesian government obliges all primary and

secondary levels of education to make local languages a part of the curriculum in schools. However, since languages need regular practice and local language contexts get decreasing in quantity, this way of preserving local languages seems to be less effective.

1.3. Prospects of indigenous language researches

The dominance of Indonesian language also results in various aspects that finally increase the number of endangered local languages of Indonesia. One of them is the political will of the Indonesian government to give priority to the preservation of local languages. The national budget for researches on local languages is very little. It is less than 0.2 percent of the total budget. This condition results in low interest of local linguists to do researches on local languages. It then causes lacks of linguistic documentations on indigenous languages which are basically needed for their preservation (Fisher, 1952). This was also confirmed by the findings of researches conducted by Chaer in 1994 and Mahsun in 2005.

As we all know, one of the effective efforts to preserve a language is by establishing the linguistic documentations. This offers a great opportunity for linguists all over the world to do research and to make linguistic documentations on more than 450 indigenous languages which are available all over the Indonesian archipelago. The big amount of local languages with no basic linguistic documentations offers long term research prospects for linguists and related experts on ethnolinguistic, ethnography and anthropology (Whorf, 1993). It is worth noting that field researches on indigenous languages also involve ethnographical and anthropological researches since a language is always embedded in a given language community with its unique cultural language background. For this kind of research, the author of this article has an experience and therefore access to do field researches that will help much maintain the realization of the joint researches since he has a well-planned list of local language researches in the area of North Borneo. Besides the financial schemes in the forms of grants provided by the Indonesian government, UNESCO also provides financial aids for research projects on indigenous languages because since 2010 UNESCO considers indigenous languages as being part of the world heritage.

1.4. Additional notes on Indonesian dialect differences

Indonesian language has only very recently become the official national language of Indonesia. However, in 1945 the Indonesian language was already officially stated as the formal Indonesian language in the constitution. It meant that Indonesian language which was originally developed from Riau Malay (Fisher, 1952) was actually only one of the hundred indigenous languages spoken in Indonesia. Like the other languages, this language was only spoken by certain groups of people living around the area of Riau. Based on the number of its speakers, the language was not dominant. In 1940 only around 4 percent of the population spoke Malay as their first language, and the vast majority did not speak the language at all. The language however is prominent in trading activities, especially on major trading ports all over Sumatra, Java, Bali, and Sulawesi (Arago, 2015). Besides having been used in most trading activities, the reason to choose Riau Malay language as the main core of the national Indonesian language was somewhat political: to avoid political jealousy when choosing one of the dominant languages since at that time Indonesia needed a language which had the political power to unite nations in their fight against the colonial rulers. In this way, no dominant language speakers felt superior or inferior. For the sake of national unity, this was the way which proved to be effective.

Politically and officially the language has become the core of the national identity. Since national unity was a priority for the Indonesian people, the choice of Indonesian language as a ground for national identity was warmly accepted by all Indonesian people from all different language backgrounds. Consequently, all Indonesian people from different language areas must use the language which was then named Indonesian language to replace Malay language. Since most of Indonesians master Indonesian language after they acquire their own mother tongues, which for most of them are completely different in terms of phonology, morphology and syntax, they start speaking Indonesian language with their own dialects. This is why the Indonesian language shows dialect differences. Different language backgrounds of Indonesian users also result in the linguistic enrichment of the Indonesian language. Some local languages with politically dominant speakers, like Javanese, Sundanese, Balinese, make important contributions to the Indonesian vocabulary. From the origin of Riau Malay, it can be summed up that Indonesian language today is a mixture of different languages which sounds completely different from the core, Riau Malay (Farmer, 2014). It is then more acceptable to say that Indonesian was a newly created language having Riau Malay as its core. It is not only the name that makes Indonesian language a newly created language but the form definitely proves it to be a new one. It is worth to note that some areas with dominant local languages like Borneo, Sulawesi,

Ambon, Lombok, Sumba, Flores, Timor and Papua, speak Indonesian language with such extremely different dialects which make them sound like non-Indonesian languages. Some Indonesian speakers talking to people speaking Indonesian with one of these dialects will definitely have some difficulties to understand what is being said.

Another remark on Indonesian language as a newly "created" language would be the missing of norms and values of the native speakers. Whorf (1993, p. 25) in his language relativity theory argues that not only native speakers shape the language they use, but, on the other hand, the language itself also shapes the speakers. In the way language shapes the speakers, it accommodates the norms and values of the native speakers as the reflections of the mind and then the norms and values shape the grammars of the language. This cause-effect procedure did not happen in the reconstruction of the Indonesian language since Indonesian language was constructed through a pidginization process that it developed from a lingua franca spoken by people with different language backgrounds. At the time when the lingua franca was pidginized, it did not have the native speakers. It was developed from the lingua franca spoken mostly in trading speech events the norms and values involved of which were rather pragmatic than philosophical. In its further reconstruction, moreover, Indonesian language was developed rather on the table by researches than in actual or everyday conversations.

One example of its missing values is politeness. Indonesian language to a certain extent does not accommodate politeness either morphologically or syntactically. To some Indonesian speakers with certain language backgrounds in which politeness is paramount, Indonesian language often sounds rude when used in certain contexts, for example when addressing the second person. Indonesian language has "anda" to address the second person and it is also applied to address more respected people, like ministers or even the president, and used in everyday conversations with ordinary people in general. To some speakers, like Javanese people, to address more respected people using "anda" sounds rude. Javanese people and some other ethnic groups with different mother tongues feel the need to find another lexeme which sounds more polite when addressing more respected people. This is why most Javanese people switch code to Javanese "panjenengan" when addressing more respected people rather than using "anda" (Sarwanti, 2006).

It is worth to be noted that Javanese people as well as some other language communities in Java, Bali, Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Flores, Papua, and Timor have certain systemic linguistic properties on the level of phonology, morphology, and syntax to express politeness in their respective languages. Some languages,

like Javanese, apply different forms for conversations based on levels of politeness. Javanese has three forms of politeness: *Ngoko* Javanese is used between people with same social levels, *Kromo Madyo* Javanese is used by Javanese people to address higher social level people, while *Kromo Inggil* Javanese is applied between noble people in the kingdom. These different levels of politeness are not expressed by the Indonesian language. Therefore, when Javanese people, as well as members of other communities, use Indonesian to address more respected people, they definitely apply politeness norms which are only accommodated in their own local languages and it is done by code-switching.

As a "newly reconstructed" language, Indonesian still needs some more improvements to reach the most ideally-constructed of a national language. There are some grammatical elements in the level of phonology, morphology and syntax which need to be further developed. A lot of work is still ahead of Indonesian or other linguists who are called to share their expertise on reconstructing a language in which more positive values and norms of the speaker can be accommodated not only in terms of morphology but also in terms of syntax. Regular conferences for initiatives to accommodate indigenous norms and values are annually held by the Indonesian Language Board in every October. In these events, proposals of linguistic research findings to promote norms and values to be accommodated in Indonesian language are presented. The improvement, however, seems to be somewhat slow since some linguists resist to accept new changes. If language relativity works well, the idealized Indonesian language will make its users, the Indonesian people, to embrace better norms and values at least in terms of politeness and aesthetics.

2. Religions in Indonesia

While religious freedom is stipulated in the Indonesian constitution, only six religions are officially recognized by the government: Islam, Protestantism, Roman Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. Indonesia is the world's most populous Muslim-majority country, at 87.2 percent in 2010, with the majority being Sunni Muslims (99 percent). The Shias and Ahmadis respectively constitute 0.5 percent and 0.2 percent of the Muslim population (Fisher, 1952). These facts seem to be similar to the data published by the Indonesian Bureau of Statistics in 2015.

Sudarminto (1991, p. 12) summed up that in 2010, Christians accounted for almost 10 percent of the population (among them 7 percent were Protestant, 2.9 percent Roman Catholic), 1.7 percent were Hindu, and 0.9 percent were Buddhist or other.

Most Hindu-Indonesians are Balinese, and most Buddhists in modern-day Indonesia are ethnic Chinese. Even though Hinduism and Buddhism are minority religions, they keep having a decisive influence on the Indonesian culture. Islam was first adopted by Indonesians in northern Sumatra in the 13th century, through the influence of traders, and has become the country's dominant religion by the 16th century. Roman Catholicism was brought to Indonesia by early Portuguese colonialists and missionaries, and the presence of Protestant denominations are largely a result of Dutch Reformed and Lutheran missionary efforts during the country's colonial period. A large proportion of Indonesians – such as the Javanese Abangan, Balinese Hindu, and Dayak Christians – practice a less orthodox, syncretic form of their religion, which also draws on local customs and beliefs (Laver, 1997). In addition, some Indonesian tribal traditions in Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Sulawesi, Nusa Tenggara, Maluku and Papua still practice their own indigenous religious rituals, like "Kejawen" in Central and East Java, "Aluk Todolo" in Toraja, "Parmalim" in Batak, "Kaharingan" in Borneo, "Wetu Telu" in Lombok, and "Naurus" in Maluku and Papua. These tribal traditions are based on local "religions" indigenously practiced by the people and inherited from their ancestors. These local religions are animism-based, meaning that they believe in God represented in certain natural existences like mountains, lakes, stones, and animals.

2.1. Preconditions of religious harmony

Indonesia is so far a good role model of religious tolerance. Although the six religions differ greatly from one another, they still manage to coexist. In some issues, they can even work hand in hand. People in the world might be curious about the religious harmony of Indonesia. How can people of this big archipelago country with huge socio-cultural diversity and different religions live in harmony? The answer is to be found in the history of Indonesian independence. After a very long period of colonization, 350 years under Dutch and 4.5 years under Japanese rule, Indonesian people just wanted one shared ideal, freedom. Indonesian independence was set as a top priority for Indonesia's people. They put aside any differences which can weaken their efforts to gain their independence. This was proved during their struggles against the colonizers, Portuguese in 1511, Spanish in 1527, Dutch from 1602 up to 1942 and against the Japanese from the 8th of March 1942 up to the 17th of August 1945.

People from different socio-cultural background were united as one nation to regain freedom from their colonizers. In 1511, Fatahillah with his troops successfully drove away Portuguese from Sunda Kelapa, now Jakarta. In 1527, Kings of Ternate and

Tidore worked together to fight against Spanish troops and successfully took over the fortress from the latter in Tidore Sulawesi. A lot of national warriors from all over Aceh, Borneo, Java, Bali, Lombok, Nusa Tenggara, Sulawesi, and Papua from 1942 up to 1945 with their united troops fought against the Dutch for one goal: freedom. Indonesian history in the era of colonization between 1509 and 1945 presented various struggles of the local people to get their freedom back from the colonizers (Sudirman, 2014). Since their arrival, different groups of people fought against the Portuguese troops: the Aceh people between 1514 and 1629, and Malukuan people between 1511 and 1574. In the Spanish era, seven big battles against the Spanish were noted in history. It was well-known as Minahasa people's fights between 1651 and 1664. The longest battle took place in the VOC (*Verenigde Oost Indische Compagnie: Dutch Government Representation in Indonesia from 1596-1942*) era. The fights of people all over Indonesia started in 1598 in Aceh and ended in 1942 in Java. The battle against Dutch colonizers lasted for about 344 years. Within the 4.5 years from 1942 up to 1945, national leaders supported by all their followers with different socio-cultural and religious backgrounds sacrificed their lives to fight against Japanese for the Indonesian independence, declared on the 17th of August 1945. In this long history of the Indonesian struggles for its independence, the heterogeneous Indonesian people shared a single mission: to become an independent nation. Since then, there has been nothing more important for Indonesian people than being united as one independent nation, Indonesia.

The idea to be a united independent nation has become a crucial spiritual issue for the Indonesian people in reconstructing the country. This inspired national leaders, Soekarno, Hatta, and others to shape this country as a united nation of Republic of Indonesia with a national spirituality "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika", which means "Unity in Diversity". It means that Indonesia is a republic which is constructed from diversity to be a united nation. Indonesia is a religious country but not based on one single religion since Indonesia has different religions. The national motto also means that Indonesian people put an emphasis on the crucial need for Indonesians with huge diversity to be a unity. This spirituality is the soul of the Constitution of Indonesia. All chapters and articles in the constitution reflect the Indonesian people's "unity in diversity". With this national constitution, Indonesian leaders wanted the further generations to always remember the crucial importance of being united as a single nation, putting aside their own particular identities. It is true that the Indonesian people realized that they have different identities but they also feel bound to each other as all being Indonesians. It is common for Indonesian people to say: "We are Moslems, Catholics, Protestants, Hindus, Buddhists, but we are all Indonesians". On another occasion, people might say, "We are Javanese, Sundanese, Balinese, Dayic, Torajan,

Papuan, but we are all Indonesians". This is possible and supposed to be a must as a nation with huge diversity because the Indonesian people has realized through its history the need for being an independent and united nation. This spirituality seems to be the answer to the question why Indonesian people with multi-ethnic and different religious backgrounds live in harmony as a united nation. Throughout the history of the nation, conflicts either on ethnic or on religious basis arose quite often in the era of Indonesian kingdoms, like the *Singasari War* and *Mataram War*, *Paregreg War* between Javanese and Sundanese (Sasongko, 2015). In the Indonesian national era, some ethnic wars broke out in Sumatra, *Paderi War* between *Minang* and *Padang War*, in Borneo "Red War" among the Dayak tribes (Alfian, 2014). The last tribal conflict broke out lately between Dayic and Madurese tribes in 1996-1997 in Sanggau South Borneo (Indra Achmadi, 2013). It is worth noting that no global conflicts between the followers of different religions have ever broken out, these were rather more local conflicts like those between Moslems and Christians in Papua, Hindus and Moslems in Bali and some other minor conflicts in Central and West Java. These facts, anyway, are a true potential that might be serious obstacles for the harmony of the nation. The spirituality of becoming a united nation proves to be powerful enough to preserve the harmony of the nation.

2.2. The meaning of religions for Indonesians

Indonesians have been well-known for being religious people. It can be easily seen from either symbolic materials existing throughout the areas of Indonesia or formal policies of the Indonesian government in the form of laws and regulations which seem to be obviously religion-based phenomena (Laver, 1997). It is well-known that Borobudur, the biggest Buddhist temple in the world can be found in Central Java in Indonesia. The country also has hundreds of smaller Buddhist and Hindu temples which are mostly found in Sumatra and Java. In addition to this, Indonesia also has thousands of mosques most of which have become landmarks of the cities, hundreds of churches and Confucian shrines which are scattered across Indonesia from Sumatra in the West to Papua in the East. Based on these religious rites, it can be clearly seen that religions play an important role in the construction of the nation. Moreover, Indonesian pre-independence history could also be told based on religions. The Indonesian pre-independence era was an era of kingdoms, which include Hindu-Buddhist Kingdoms between the 5th and 15th centuries covering the areas of Sumatra, Java and Kalimantan, Islam kingdoms between 1267 and 1903 in Sumatra, Sulawesi, and Java, and Christian kingdoms between 1600 and 1904 only in East Nusa Tenggara. The locations and the dates of the rites obviously confirm the existence of

these kingdoms (Sudirman, 2014). The contribution of each religion of the kingdoms to the construction of the nation are varied yet crucial. Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms which have very rich rituals gave rituals to most of Indonesians to practice up to now, while the Islam exerts a significant influence on national laws and Indonesian language, and Christianity has introduced health and education systems to the country. These typical influences definitely enrich the diversity of Indonesia.

People's daily activities are organized around religious rituals all over Indonesia, even in big cities like the capital city of Jakarta (Sudarminto, 1991). Religious practices are the real reflections of Indonesian life orientations. For Indonesian people religious life is a top priority. In their everyday life, Indonesian people live for the afterworld. It implies that accumulating goodness in today's life is a top priority since they think that life after death is more important than the life they are living. Consequently, accumulating materials, money, assets, and careers are needed only if they affect their afterworld in a positive way. This paradigm seems to make Indonesian people live a happy but slow life. Probably Indonesian people tend to be less aggressive in profane business. This is clearly reflected in some mottos of life which are very popular among Indonesian people. One of them says that "life is short, while afterworld is never-ending". Accordingly, another motto says that "it is good to search for a living but it is even better to enjoy life in God".

Sociologically, this paradigm makes Indonesian people live a peaceful life. Competitions, explorations, and aggressivity are not their typical characteristics. They prefer slow movements, social events, and harmony. On the other hand, this modern life needs badly competitions, explorations, and aggressivity in order to seize the opportunity life offers.

The Indonesian way of life is clearly reflected in the way they walk. It is obvious that when Indonesian people walk, they literally walk, which is slow and full of enjoyment, whereas people in other countries do not walk but run. Modern people in big cities tend to "walk in a hurry", if it is not "running". It is true since modern life, full of competitions, in a lot of aspects of life requires fast motions. Therefore, efficiency both in time and energy is a priority. This is why in modern big cities everybody runs and no one walks. In contrast, people living in small cities and other parts of Indonesia tend to focus on "living". They pay much more attention to how they interact with others and nature. This slows them down, makes them patient and peaceful, whereas people in the city tend to be more aggressive and competitive.

Politically, religious life of Indonesian people seems to be full of difficulties. This situation requires the ruler to be attentive to the nation's well-being. It is worth noting that most Indonesians have stronger devotion to religious than to political leaders. When involving religious leaders, this situation often plays very significant roles in the success of the governmental programs that involve people's participation, like family planning programs, health care insurance, and national census on economy, politics, and socio-cultural issues (Martinich, 1996). When the Indonesian government introduced a family planning program in 1972, it was hard for the people to accept it, but the active intervention of religious leaders made most of the people change their minds and accept the program. A similar situation to this also happened when in 2015 the government introduced a national health care insurance program. Most of Indonesian people listened to their religious leaders who supported the program. This situation tends to be a typical socio-political communication pattern between the government and the people. Therefore, the socio-political role of the religious leaders in Indonesia is paramount. This is also one of the reasons why some Indonesian political parties are based on religion and have religious followers. To maintain religious leader's participation, the Indonesian government has a permanent ministerial department, headed by a minister, that accommodates the roles of religions of the country. The existence of this department is somewhat unique since Indonesia is not a religion based country, but it helps maintain the harmony of the country with a socio-culturally diverse background.

2.3. Pancasila as the bond of national unity

It is obvious that organizing and managing a big country with huge differences like Indonesia is not an easy task. Composed of a large number of different ethnics with their unique cultures, habits, traditions and characteristics plus different religions, Indonesia definitely needs a powerful bond which can tie all differences to live together in harmony. Realizing these critical differences, Indonesian founding fathers formulated five principles as a basis for national management and organization. National consensus formulated in five principles called "Pancasila" seems to be the magic potion to maintain the harmony of this huge multi-ethnic country.

"Pancasila" (derived from Sanskrit words "panca", which means five, and "sila" meaning principles) was agreed to be the highest reference for all national laws. Pancasila, which consists of *Believing in God, Humanism, Nationalism, Democracy, and Social Welfare*, is formulated in the preamble of the Indonesian Constitution. This means that all chapters and articles of the constitution are based on those five principles.

From the five principles, it can be clearly inferred that Indonesia is not a secular state, nor a country based on a specific religion. There is no dominant religion which would become the source of national law. From the second principle, it can be clearly seen that Indonesia sets humanism as a priority. Nationalism, the third principle, guides the nation to become united in its diversity. From the fourth principle it is obvious that people have high political roles to decide the lives of the country to achieve national social welfare as the national goal defined by the last principle. It can be recalled that in the first board meeting of the Indonesian Independence Preparation Committee, Ir. Soekarno proposed these five principles to be the national foundation of the state. Long, tough and difficult discussions successfully led to the final formulation of the principles which have been included in the introduction of the constitution as the ultimate ideal of the state.

Pancasila proved to be effective in maintaining the harmony in this heterogeneous state. If people ask how it was possible, the answer should refer to the fact that formal national norms and values are based on the five principles that are conventionally grounded on a particular religion, usually solely accepted by its followers and refused by others. Since national norms and values are not based on a particular religion, all ethnic groups with their diversity feel that everybody practices their own principles. Everybody feels that they need to obey the rules developed from their own traditions and identities. Within this framework, all Indonesian citizens have equal positions. None of the ethnic groups is superior or inferior to others despite the fact that they all have their unique identities.

Another reason why preserving harmony in this multi-ethnic country turned out to be possible is to be found in basic characteristics of Indonesian people who seek to be adaptive and flexible. The native people of Indonesia would rather receive new influences from external world than refusing them. However, Indonesian people never used them to replace the indigenous identities but have kept the original roots and have adapted the new influences to their actual needs. It happened to all kinds of influences, even to those of religions. Indonesia has received and transformed the religions that came from different civilizations. In the case of national language, local people with their own local languages accepted Bahasa Indonesia as their new language while still adapting it in terms of morphology and syntax to their basic needs. In this way, Indonesian people have never totally replaced their own previous identities with new influences coming from the external world. Keraf (1984) mentions that more than 60 percent of Indonesian words are adopted from local languages and 40 percent of its structures also come from local languages. Other linguists like Chaer (2003), Kridalaksana (1988 & 1989), Mahsun (1998), Sudaryanto (1990, & 1993) have

different calculations, but they all agree that most of the lexemes and structures are the results of adaptations and modifications of the local languages.

2.4. Inter-faith dialogue

Every religion, like any common religious paradigm, always has instruments to make its believers remain solid. This often results in intolerance. This is, in fact, another problematic point that must be wisely treated. If not, this might become a real problem that will disturb national harmony and unity in this huge archipelago country. Researches on inter-faith dialogue need to be intensified since results will potentially help authorities to “Unity in Diversity”, also expressed in the national motto. This offers great opportunity for inter-faith researchers to do the researches in Indonesia since Indonesia has really complex contexts of religious practices. Data on intolerance violence index in Indonesia show the dynamic of intolerance based on religions. National Board of Statistics shows that the escalation seems to follow the dynamics of intolerance that happens in the world (Kompas, 2016). It proves that religions have crucial contribution to national as well as global religious intolerance. The fact that Indonesian people have successfully managed to maintain the unity so far can be an example for inter-faith tolerance in the world that seems to have similar contexts.

3. Conclusions

Indonesia as a big archipelago country which has various ethnic groups needs a strong will to maintain its unity. A single national language is an important ingredient to the magic potion helping to manage this diversity. As history testifies, the Indonesian language has held the nation together successfully. Religious diversity, however, is another potential problem in Indonesia’s effort to effectively manage and maintain its diversity. Pancasila or The Five Principles become the national consensus that help preserve the harmony of the nations of Indonesia. These phenomena can be interesting for researchers since they both provide problematic potentials which require treatments based on the finding and results of academic researches.

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Bali – The Island of the Thousand Temples, the Thousand Rice-Fields and the Million Tourists

*A successful encounter between international
tourism and local culture*

Anikó Sebestény

When arriving for the first time in Bali, this world-wide famous island of Indonesia, visitors are usually astonished by the smooth coexistence of tradition and modernity. There is a well-organized tourism, with a wide range of accommodations including homestays for backpackers and luxury five-star hotels, and a great variety of services, such as broadband internet cafes, shops, commercial centers, diving and bungee jumping sites. Yet the landscape is also shaped by intense ceremonial activity. Balinese Hindu temples are visible in the countryside, in urban surroundings and even in the midst of the most touristic areas. Each temple, be it tiny or monumental, simple or lavishly sculpted, is animated by regular “temple festivals” where crowds of participants in elegant ceremonial outfits gather to honor local divinities, often with far-resonating gamelan music and graceful dances, sometimes with cockfights in the neighborhood. Small shrines are built in homes, at crossroads, riversides, and all receive daily offerings of flowers and perfumed incense. Hotels and internet cafés have their protecting shrines, computers and cars receive daily flower so that they work properly. Thus, when arriving to Bali, one may feel as if one had fallen into a time travel movie, where traditions from ancient past and modern technology mix in uncanny ways.

Bali showcases a strong and entangled presence of successful international tourism, technology, exotic landscapes and elaborate ritual celebrations. There may be tensions between tradition and modernity, and some elements of local culture do slightly change over time. Yet the general picture is that the local Balinese Hindu religion and culture are strong and alive, with a large number of temples where celebrations are regularly held, and the participation of the majority of the local Balinese, even the young ones. Ceremonies are not aimed at being touristic performances, yet tourists, if dressed and behaving properly, are welcome to take pictures of them, and even to participate. Religious practice in Bali is aesthetic and very visible, adding a special tone and great cultural richness to the island, thus indeed attracting tourism. Yet this ritual activity is deployed *in parallel with* tourism, and not *for* tourism.

This specific situation raises interesting questions for the anthropologist studying the local culture. How do these elements work together? How is it possible that local traditions do not fade away as a consequence of the contact with tourism (as one may, possibly naively, assume), or do not get transformed to comply with the touristic demands to a point where they would no longer be fit to be functional religious ceremonies? Also, how can people be both respectful of past traditions, actively perpetuating them, and at the same time, be successfully open to modernity and tourism? In the Western world nowadays, "Tradition" and "Conservatism" are often presented as opposed to "Modernity" and "Progress". In Bali, these appear to be working well together, even reinforcing each other. In an attempt to understand how the two realms, tourism and local traditions, meet in peoples' lives, I conducted extended anthropological fieldwork in south Bali between 2000-2011, spending 3 years altogether mainly in Denpasar, Sanur and Ubud. I was interested in everyday people's everyday lives, as they form the majority of Bali's population. My main observation method was the classical and distinctive tool of anthropology: long-term participant observation. I lived amongst local people, learned their language, shared their everyday life and participated in their ceremonies.¹

Bali is an island on which the Western world has projected its dreams and desires all through the 20th century, seeing it as a Lost Paradise, as described in Vickers' *Bali, a Paradise Created* (1989). When massive tourism was launched in the 1970's, experts saw local ceremonial culture as a valuable asset, yet they predicted that tourism would have used it up by 2000 (Picard, 1992), leaving the artful ceremonies and delicate dances become part of Bali's mythical past. Yet Balinese ceremonial culture is luckily still thriving.

To successfully face tourism and be able to be a strong enough canvas on which the West can project its longings, Balinese social and ceremonial structures needed to be strong – as they were and still are. Drawing on my own research on urban ceremonial practice in the south of Bali (Sebestény, 2012, 2013, 2015) and previous research, notably on Lansing's (1991) work on rice cultivation and Picard's study of tourism (1992), I am arguing that Bali's long history of irrigated rice-field culture is an important key to understanding today's social functioning and touristic success.

¹ My research led to the publication of a book presenting the main features of Balinese culture and religion based on the first year of fieldwork: *Rooster-blood and flower petals – One year in Bali*, published in Hungarian: *'Kakasvér és virágszirom – Egy év Bali szigetén'* (2012). My PhD (2015) and articles focus on the domestic and funeral rituals, and on the wider cultural and ceremonial coherence these rituals produce.

1. Bali, the island of life-giving volcanoes and thousands of rice-fields

Indonesia has hundreds of islands, 1,904,500 km², over 260 million inhabitants with Islam as the majority religion. Bali, a small island of this archipelago, is home to 4,2 million Balinese, mostly Balinese Hindus. Bali is large enough to have its own religion, music, dances, and even its own language and writing beside the national Indonesian language. Yet the island is also small enough to easily become familiar. It is only 5,780 km², 145 km per 80 km, smaller than Pest region in Hungary.

A huge chain of mountains crosses Bali. Mount Agung, the highest, culminates at 3031 m. Not only are these mountains very salient in the landscape, visible in the mornings even from the sea-side, they are also powerful. The eruption at Mount Batur in the 1960s left black lava still visible in the crater. The eruption of Mount Agung in 1963 took a heavy dead toll, covering the sky in ashes. Yet if Bali's volcanoes can sometimes bring death, they also bring life to the island. They are of foremost importance as they make irrigated rice-field culture possible.

1.1. Rice versus wheat as culture

Research shows (Wittfogel, 1957; Sebestény, 2012; Talhelm, 2014) strong social and cultural differences between communities practicing wheat culture and irrigated rice culture. To cultivate wheat, people do not depend on each other for such a basic commodity as water: the rain falls (or does not fall) independently of human cooperation. Even if neighbors never talk to each other, they can still grow wheat. Irrigated rice requires much stronger cooperation. Farmers have to share the water, regulate its flow from one rice terrace to the other, and keep the irrigation canals clean. Rice culture requires serious coordination and regular meetings. People cannot afford to get so offended as not to talk to each other. This necessity leaves traces on the communication habits even outside of agriculture, contributing to a general tendency to stay diplomatic, keep in contact, smile, and avoid to say plainly "no" as one can observe in Bali. This way of caring about relations can be named Irrigated Rice Worldview as opposed to Wheat WorldView.

Research by Thomas Talhelm and colleagues (2014) supports these observations with statistical data, showing that these differences do not necessarily result from an Est/West dichotomy: they can be detected inside one single country, China. Talhelm showed significant differences in personality between Han Chinese from traditionally wheat-cultivating and rice paddy regions. People from wheat areas were more

individualistic, twice as prone to divorce, and reasoned in more abstract ways than people from traditionally irrigated rice paddy regions, who valued more long-term relationships, were less individualistic and less prone to divorce. It appeared that the two types of agricultural activities lead to two different world-views implying different basic assumptions about the importance of the relation of the individual to his community.

1.2. Rice production in Bali – a thousand-year-old irrigation system

Rice is Bali's main agricultural produce. It is mostly grown in irrigated terraces on the volcano slopes that stretch from the island's center to the south, becoming large, mildly downhill regions of fertile ground. Close to the equator, the temperature is stable, averaging 27°C. Bali is a wonder of nature, as lakes and springs in the mountains collect water during the rainy season and provide for all the rice-fields throughout the whole year without any cisterns needed (Lansing, 1991), at least until recently (Strauss, 2011)². With great talent and hundreds of years of practice, the Balinese transformed the volcano slopes into collections of rice terraces. Water from the heights flows down through rivers, then through man-made canals, entering an irrigation system that brings it to hundreds of villages and thousands of rice-fields. The canals reach sets of layered rice terraces, the water flowing down from terrace to terrace through thin openings. In wide valleys, inundated rice fields can be large and smooth, yet when the slopes are steep, the terraces become thin, undulating, following the curves of the mountain. Rice culture in Bali not only produces great quantities of rice to feed the population, it also transforms valleys into what looks like purely aesthetic gardens.

Steady temperature and water supply allow the rice to grow all year round, independently of seasons. Yet the rice-plants' water needs vary during its growth, so timing is of utmost importance. Water needs are the highest at the beginning of the growth cycle, when terraces have to be entirely flooded to welcome the baby-rice-plants. As the rice gets more mature, less water is used. Before harvest, rice-plants turn dry and the terraces resemble mature wheat-fields.

Bali's traditional breed of rice had a 210 days growth cycle. As large regions share the same water resources, if all the farmers were following identical schedule, the

² The growing use of water for drinking and other tourism-related needs increasingly causes water shortage for rice fields (Strauss, 2011).

beginning of each cycle would create water shortage. Lansing's in-depth study of Balinese irrigation system (1991) reveals that this problem is solved by carefully shifted timing. Regions are divided into sub-areas, each starting the planting at a different date. To use a comparison with music, it works like a choir singing in canon: the same song goes on in cycles, with groups of singers starting with a shifted timing. If at each moment in time, about the same number of rice-fields of an area are at the beginning, at the middle and at the end of their growth cycle, then the water supply needed is constant and predictable. This is how water use was coordinated in Bali for centuries – through *water temples*.

1.3. Ceremonial organization of rice-field farming: water temples, subak and Pakuwon calendar

The social, territorial and ceremonial unit of water management is the *subak*, the association of the farmers whose rice terraces are connected to the same water supply spot. The *subak* manages the connecting of canals, tunnels and dams, and also water-temples of varying sizes built at crucial points of the irrigation system, at springs and important junctions.

Bali's irrigation system is traditionally managed through the elaborate, both ceremonial and agricultural *tika* or *Pakuwon*³ 210-day calendar. The beginning of each growth-cycle not only involves the opening of dams to flood the terraces, but also a ceremony held by the *subak* at the related water-temple to honor the local Goddess⁴. The *Pakuwon* calendar fixes these ceremonial date, so they are not easily shifted. This system allows the orchestration of growth cycles on large areas, dispatching the water evenly between hundreds of villages and *subaks*. In total, Bali has about 1,200 *subak* collectives, and 50 to 400 farmers manage the water supply from one source of water (Unesco, 2012). Many *subaks* depend on Batur temple, other smaller areas are coordinated by smaller temples, but all use the same calendric principles. Clifford Geertz, in his elegant analysis of the Balinese "rice cult", showed how agricultural rituals were "symbolically linked to cultivation in a way that locks the pace of that cultivation into a firm, explicit rhythm" (Geertz, 1972, p. 30).

³ The *tika* is a wooden plate with the different cycles of the 210 days drawn in a geometric way, showing cycles of different length. Today, the ceremonial calendar sold everywhere is the *Pakuwon* calendar. It contains most of the Balinese ceremonial dates of the 210 day cycle, including the ceremonies of the main temples, and also the celebrations of the other calendars used in Bali: the *Saka* Hindu calendar, the Gregorian and the Muslim ones.

⁴ I will follow Lansing in his use of Deity and Goddess as synonyms.

Lansing shows that this system is highly performant and limits the competition for water. It also sets fallow schedules that result in effective pest management. The high priest (*pedanda*) of the temple at lake Batur is the head of this whole ceremonial and agricultural organization. If a *subak* plans to open new rice fields, or a spring, or if there are any disputes about water management, he is the highest judge. This system has enabled Bali's rice terraces to produce grain and has contributed to Bali's prosperity for centuries. It seems to be at least one thousand years old, as inscriptions describing a very similar, both ceremonial and calendrical system were found on stones dating back to 914 (Goris, 1954). Ultimately, the whole irrigation system is under the custody of *Dewi Danu*, the Goddess of the Lake, who is honored in lavish ceremonies at Batur temple. A manuscript in the temple library outlines the duties of the *subak*: taxes and offerings are due to show respect to Her. "The people of central Bali, if they forget the holy places, will instantly suffer disasters, their work will fail, all that they plant will die, because the Deity is entitled to the essence of the work of the people of central Bali. (...) Because the Deity makes the waters flow, those who do not obey her rules may not possess her rice terraces." (Lansing, 1991, p. 104).

Let us now recall a story that could be seen as a mythical tale about what happens when the Warriors of the Wheat WorldView challenge the Rules of the Goddess of the Lake.

1.4. The tale of the Green Revolution in Bali

This finely tuned calendrical and agricultural system was luckily almost entirely preserved to these days. The Dutch colonizers, who invaded Bali relatively late, first the north in the 1850s, then the south in the 1900s, were unaware of the complexity of the water temple system. They took over Bali's administration, collected heavy taxes, but left the management of religion, culture and agriculture in the hands of the Balinese. The conflicts started later.

The Republic of Indonesia was established in 1945-1949. In the 1960s, the so-called "Green Revolution" program was developed in the Philippines to improve crop yields, and spread through Asia. From 1965, reaching self-sufficiency in rice production became an important goal for Indonesia, so the Green Revolution was welcome, and the "Bali Irrigation Project" was launched in 1979. Bureaucrats, technocrats, international agriculture specialists and Indonesian state officers came to Bali with large investments to reform what seemed to them to be an archaic and retrograde agricultural system. They too were unaware of the complexity, and even of the existence of

the water temple system, yet they had the strong intention and the money to reform Balinese rice production. Backed by heavy loans from the Asian Development Bank, with international management or agricultural diplomas and what appears as a complete lack of either knowledge or interest for the functioning of the local irrigation system, Green Revolution experts pushed local farmers to start cultivating their fields in what we could call *wheat-culture-mode*: with an individualistic, short-term planning, aiming at maximum individual profit. Loans were given to farmers to purchase new varieties of genetically engineered rice, with higher yields and shorter growth-cycles (for instance, 125 days). Pesticides and fertilizers were introduced. Farmers were forbidden to use the native rice varieties. They were pressured to grow the rice continuously, entirely disconnecting from ceremonial schedules. The Green Revolution can thus be considered as a life-size (unintentional) experiment to test the functional role of Balinese water temple networks: let us remove them from the control of irrigation schedules, and see what happens with the crops (Lansing, 1991).

During the first years after the 1979 launch, the yields got higher. Then in 1983, Bali's agriculture crashed. The water supply became scarce and unreliable. Large epidemics destroyed up to 50 percent of the crops. Genetically modified rice varieties were developed by Green Revolution engineers. These new varieties, designed to be resistant to the previous year's pests, were yet vulnerable to new kinds of diseases. This prompted the design of even newer genetically engineered rice varieties, with new vulnerabilities, in a never-ending cycle. Tensions rose between farmers who reported suffering both from the loss of crops and of their good relationships with fellow farmers. – I interviewed a farmer in Ubud who, in those times, often had to spend not only his days but also his nights out on the rice-fields, because as soon as he left, people would close the small channel allowing the water to flow to his rice terrace. His beloved wife came to bring him food every day. – A growing number of farmers wished to return to the ceremonial schedule. Their requests were considered by the Green Revolution experts as signs of retrograde and superstitious conservatism.

In this story, knowledge gained through long-term anthropological fieldwork turned out to be highly useful. Anthropologist Steven Lansing had studied for years the technical, ecological, social and ceremonial aspects of rice cultivation in Batur area. After the onset of the Green Revolution crisis, with professors from Udayana University, he wrote several reports to the board of the Asian Development Bank to inform them about the importance of water temple networks as ecological management systems with deep historical roots. He pointed out the need to consider agriculture in Bali as a "social as well as technical process dependent on the 'hydraulic solidarity' achieved by the temple system" (Lansing, 1991, p. 116). These reports failed to impress the

bank officials in charge of the agricultural decisions. Lansing then worked with James Kremer, a system ecologist and programmer, to create models of the impact of water temple coordination on the rice yields. The calculations produced statistics and graphs showing that the water temple schedule was not only more efficient in coordinating the water supply than the newly introduced individual timing, but it also allowed for the possibly optimal management of the water supply. On top of that, the scheduled fallow periods prevented the spread of rice diseases. Losses upwards of 50 percent during continual cropping could drop to 1 percent with synchronized harvests.

Serious ecological studies also showed that the alternation of wet and dry phases in the rice cultivation not only waters the rice-plants in an appropriate way, but creates a "pulsed" ecosystem that affects the soil's pH levels, as well as the mineral cycles, soil oxygen levels, soil microbe activity, growth of nitrogen-fixing algae, phosphorus levels, and formation of a hard layer of clay that prevents nutrients from leaching out of the water and into the subsoil. Remarkably, this system is self-fertilizing, and does not lead to long-term decrease in yields due to loss of soil fertility and salinization, as seen in other systems of irrigated agriculture (Lansing, 1994, Wei, 2013).

Green Revolution experts finally backed away and left the Balinese agricultural system recover, returning to its original, highly productive state, bringing back the worship of the Goddess of the Lake and peaceful cooperation between farmers. Through this "experiment", the modern calculation methods showed this ancient water management system to be also the possibly most efficient one. This is probably why it had lasted for more than a thousand years.

In this highly exemplary case, the benefits of the traditional ceremonial water management became obvious almost immediately in a very clear, material and quantifiable way: water became scarce, rice pests spread, crops were lost. Farmers also suffered from the "survival of the fittest" new social rules that were destroying traditional forms of cooperation. Yet had it not been for the agricultural and financial disaster, it is doubtful that the negative social impact alone would have been enough to convince the official power holders to back away. Indeed, it can be considered Bali's luck that the "law of the jungle" management of the wide irrigation system turned out so quickly to be destructive.

In the case of more complex and less production-oriented ritual, social, cultural and technical practices, benefits are usually less clear and quantifiable. Whole highly useful systems may be invisible until they are erased and their lack causes a chain

reaction of disturbances. A lesson to take from the Green Revolution experiment in Bali is that if something traditional does not seem to have a clear proximal benefit, it may still be very important, especially if it has been there for centuries. In his teaching and for himself Lansing asks the question: "What are the functioning systems that I may not see?" It is often difficult to grasp all the different levels of knowledge, interaction and truth of one situation. Considering the Batur temple manuscript, its truth content now appears in a new light: the mystical-sounding prediction turned out to be rather accurate. "The people of central Bali, if they forget the holy places, will instantly suffer disasters, their work will fail, all that they plant will die. (...) Because the Deity makes the waters flow, those who do not obey her rules may not possess her rice terraces."

There is an epilogue to this story. After being nearly swept away by the individual profit-oriented Green Revolution technology and ideology, then saved by the work of many, notably an anthropologist and a system ecologist, the *subak* and water temple network gained international recognition. The local relation- and cooperation-oriented ideology also received attention as *Tri Hita Karana*, a concept pointing to the triple importance of harmony amongst people, with nature and with God. The wave of recognition went so far that specific *subak* areas and water temples were declared in 2012 as a World Heritage Site by Unesco. "The subak system as the manifestation of the Tri Hita Karana Philosophy" was pinned as "Cultural Landscape of Bali Province", and received an official "Statement of Universal Value" (Unesco, 2012). It was the triumph of rice culture philosophy over wheat culture philosophy, the victory of 'rice cult' over what we could call "technology cult" – which is a suitable happy ending for a tale about a rice field irrigation system.

2. Bali: the island of the thousand temples and ceremonies

Having seen the fundamental importance of the ceremonial organization of Bali's rice culture, let us consider other aspects of Balinese social life that are also structured by ceremonial practices.⁵

⁵ A general description of a religion is always an approximation. For a detailed presentation of Balinese religion, see Eiseman (1988), Ottino (2000) and Sebestény (2012, 2015).

2.1. Communities organized like *subak* farmers' associations – traces left by rice culture on urban life

Local communities as institutions are fundamental building blocks of Balinese society. While each of them has specific traits, and can present variations from one place to the other, the way they function often shares important features with *subak* associations. They all have a protecting Deity and a temple where regular celebrations are held, usually every 210 days. They hold regular meetings to decide about collective work, payments and similar matters. The decision-making is usually egalitarian, votes count equally independently of nobility or caste, as in *subak* meetings.

A basic social unit is the *banjar*, a territorial group linking around 50 to 100 neighboring families. *Banjar* communities manage their local residence area in similar ways as *subak* manage their irrigation system. They decide about communal work, for instance about improving the roads or the sewer system. Each *banjar* has a protecting temple with a Deity to honor, ceremonies to organize and celebrate. Meetings are held in the adjacent communal building (*balé banjar*). A *banjar* usually owns a ceremonial *gamelan* orchestra. Ceremonial music and dance classes are organized by and for *banjar* members, together with a variety of traditional and non-traditional activities for the different age groups. In the *banjar* I stayed in in Denpasar, there were, amongst others, ceremonial music classes for the adolescents and aerobic sessions for the elderly ladies. Even in the most touristic areas, one can see these communal buildings with their temple, holding regular meetings and *gamelan* practices. Every Balinese belongs to a *banjar* from birth to death. These communities are important for children and adolescents to socialize, and people go back for bigger ceremonies even when working afar. *Banjar* communities sustain networks of ceremonially backed local solidarity, a sense of reciprocal obligations, of respect for the common divinity, thus they strongly contribute to the preservation of lasting shared values and obligations. *Banjar* communities are the vibrant building blocks of Balinese society.

The *desa* (translated as “village”) is a larger territorial unit, constituted of a few *banjars*. It can be an autonomous village or an area inside a larger city. The *desa* also has its temple, its protective divinity, regular ceremonies, obligations, and it also organizes communal work.⁶

⁶ For a detailed and still valid review of the different forms and variations of local communities, see Geertz (1959).

Descent communities bind people through common ancestors. The smallest unit is the family, usually three or four generations living together. This unit, the main focus of my PhD research (Sebestény, 2015), also has a local temple with shrines for the ancestors and other divinities. The larger descent unit is the *dadia*, linking various families through a common origin temple and ceremonies. Nobility and caste groups also have their origin temples, ceremonies, meetings and duties. Finally, on the highest level, Bali as a whole is considered both as a territorial and ancestral unit. The temple festival at Besakih temple, the highest and most valued temple in Bali on Mount Agung, unites all Balinese in one great celebration every 210 days.

Every Balinese is member of at least three, usually more local communities. This gives Balinese society a strongly integrative social structure, where people are bound by common duties, rituals, shared worship of Deities, and have countless "socio-ceremonial" gatherings where they meet. Based on this presentation, I coin the term "socio-ceremonial", as social and ceremonial practices cannot be separated from each other in Bali. This is indeed a crucial characteristic of Balinese social life.

2.2. Basic concepts of Balinese Hinduism: caste, reincarnation and karma phala

Bali's religion, Balinese Hinduism, has similarities with Hinduism in India, but also major differences concerning two basic concepts in particular: caste and reincarnation.

Caste system is profoundly hierarchical (Dumont, 1967), *subak*, *banjar* and *desa* collectives are profoundly egalitarian. Thus, in Bali these two antagonistic social principles coexist, sometimes conflicting, mostly connected to distinct areas of life. Balinese use the Indian caste categories. The three highest castes are the *Brahmana* (priests), *Satria* (kings, warriors) and *Wesia* (traders, clerks). These three form the Balinese *triwangsa* nobility. Commoners belong to the fourth *Sudra* caste. In India, further groups are considered "outcasts", impure even to touch by caste people. In Bali there is neither such a category nor such a marked social segregation. Caste is important in certain domains of life, as only *brahmana* can become high priests (*pedanda*), nobles tend to marry nobles, and politeness rules highlight social hierarchy. Yet caste does not shape daily and professional life as deeply as in India. Balinese mostly define themselves by their ancestral origin group, not by their caste. In local communities, decisions are taken collectively, independently of caste or nobility.

Reincarnation is also conceived differently than in India. In Bali it is a family affair: at each birth, an ancestor spirit is believed to come to dwell in the new-born (Ottino, 2000). This is also not the case in India, thus ancestors play a much stronger role in Balinese than in Indian Hinduism.

Because of these major differences, Guermonprez (2001) suggests not to define Balinese religion as Hinduism. Nevertheless, I will still use these terms, as Balinese do. Yet rather than seeing Balinese Hinduism as another branch of Hinduism, as for instance Catholicism in Hungary and Indonesia are arguably the same religion, we should consider Balinese Hinduism as a religion unique to Bali. It is shared by most Balinese and smaller groups of people on nearby islands, mostly on Java and Lombok.

Balinese worship the main Hindu trinity: Brahma the creator, Vishnu the preserver, Shiva the destructor. They worship the first creator, Sang Hyang Widhi. Balinese intellectuals tend to be closer to Indian Hinduism, giving high importance to Hindu Gods. In common people's everyday life, the local protective divinities and especially the ancestors play a major role.

Karma phala is the one spiritual term that I have most heard used in Bali. It can be translated as "result of actions". Balinese mostly believe that individual deeds have an effect on fate, bad deeds bringing hardships in the present or future life. People proudly state that Balinese do not steal, as they believe in *Karma phala*.⁷

2.3. Bali as a microcosm, balancing the "above" and the "below"

First, we have to understand Bali as a unity. Materially, it is an island, surrounded by the sea, with its own volcanoes, its own language and religion. It had its kings, its internal wars. In its religion, Bali is a whole, complete universe (Ottino, 2000), with its center and periphery (Basset, 2015), its upper and lower end, its protecting Gods.

Secondly, Bali is dual. Balinese perceive the world as composed of the visible world (*sekala*) and the invisible world (*niskala*) (Eiseman, 1988). Both are perceived as

⁷ In the exploration of Balinese culture and religion, we are now moving away from observable social behaviour to the mostly subjective domain of belief, where personal interpretations can vary (Fox, 2015). "The Balinese belief" is a generalization, and is always understood as "most Balinese". The level and content of belief is understood as variable and personal. With all these reservations in mind, I will resort to generalizations for the sake of clarity

continuously present and real. The invisible world is populated by invisible beings: ancestors are believed to dwell in the ancestors' shrine, guardian spirits in *tugu* shrines. One focal point of my research was to analyze how this invisible realm is made indirectly visible through daily offerings of flower and incense in family compounds and public urban spaces (Sebestény, 2012, 2013, 2015).

Thirdly, the Balinese world is composed of three horizontal layers. Gods and ancestors dwell at the highest level. The middle level is where Balinese people live, balancing their relations to the above and the below. Below them is the world of rather indefinite, potentially harmful beings.

These different layers of the Universe, visible and invisible, *sekala* and *niskala*, material and spiritual, are seen as deeply connected and reflecting each other. Bali rests on two big *naga* snakes, themselves resting on a giant turtle. Traditionally, the king warrants the balance of this cosmos, bringing good health and peace for his people. If the king's power is shaken, the balance is broken, and volcanoes explode. Balinese explain the 1963 eruption as caused by political turmoil (Eiseman, 1988). In old times, kings had to have good relation to the mountains. In royal temples, shrines with many layered *meru* rooftops are dedicated to honoring the mountains. Two crowned giant snakes and a turtle appear at the base of many carved altars.

The importance of balance is made visible by the chessboard-like black and white (*poleng*) fabric used to decorate temples and dress statues on ceremonial days. Balinese are not dualists in the sense that they do not believe in an omnipotent God that would be only good, and Demons that would be only bad. They also do not suppose that all evil can be fully erased or ignored. We have discussed the general social rule linked to irrigated rice culture implying that people should communicate and be in good terms with their neighbors. Through ceremonial practice, this general rule is applied in Bali not only to relations with visible human neighbors, but also with the invisible beings dwelling in the *niskala*, and with the environment in general. If respect is shown to the beings above and below, if good and peaceful relations can be established, then it should be possible to get along. A state of peaceful balance, *selamat* (Indonesian), or *Hita* (Sanskrit) can thus be reached, implying peace, security, health and wealth. In the term *Tri Hita Karana* (Sanskrit), the 'three causes of *Hita*' recognized by Unesco (2012), the three causes referred to are harmony among people, harmony with nature (or environment) and harmony with God.

This concept of peace is not something one can reach once and for all, and stop caring about. It is a state of temporary, dynamic balance that needs to be worked on

continuously. Most Balinese have a sense of shared responsibility for the good relation with the spiritual world. Balance implies that everything is at its right place, so that white and black, positive and negative are in harmony, as on the black-and-white *poleng* ceremonial fabrics.

Harmonious relationship with the environment, be it material, social or spiritual, is achieved through regular ceremonial activity involving a great variety of offerings.

2.4. Temple ceremonies (*odalan*), *tirta* holy water and offerings to the realm above

Ottino (2000) refers to the Balinese religion as the religion of *tirta* water. As the mountains provide water and fertility for the rice-fields, life-force and purity are conceived in Bali as cool energy flowing down with water from the realm above. *Tirta* is holy water that has been blessed at a ceremony and brings purity and life force to the receiver. At temple ceremonies, Deities are invited in the altars and presented with offerings of food, aesthetic decorations and, depending on the occasion and the wealth of the community, more or less fatuous dance and music performances. Participants sit and pray with petals and incense in front of the altars while the priest recites mantras and rings a ceremonial bell. At the end of the prayers and mantras, as in exchange for the offering, participants receive blessings through the *tirta* water. They also receive a few grains of uncooked rice to swallow and to place on their head, forehead and temples.

At important ceremonies, for instance at the main temple festival (*odalan*) recurring every 210 days in most temples, altars are lavishly decorated. Magnificent offerings are prepared by every family: towers of fruits, flowers, delicately woven palm leaf decorations. The local community's gamelan orchestra plays its metallic music. Sometimes, young girls in red, yellow and golden dresses, exquisite headdresses and graceful hand movements perform *pendet* dance, throwing colored petals towards the door leading to the main altar. Little boys with warrior-like movements dance *baris* in line, holding their head high, their eyes fierce and fearless, with flowers in their ears, their ceremonial spears whirling and their red pompons swirling with their costume.

Be it fruit, decoration, music or dance, it is the essence (*sari*) of the offering that is presented to honor the invited Deities. Temple ceremonies are intrinsically theatrical: performance is part of the offerings. *Rejang*, *pendet* and *baris* are the most often

presented dances, but a large variety of other dances and dramatic performances can take place at a temples festival (Zoet-Spies, 1938). Dances performed during the day are often purely delicate and beautiful when danced by women, or fierce in a specific ceremonial way if danced by men, yet they usually do not tell a story. In the evenings, more theatrical and narrative events can take place, as will be shortly presented.

2.5. Bali, the island of the thousand ceremonies

As a general overview of Balinese ceremonial life, we can say that each family reinforces its ritual relationship with the important elements of its environment every 210 days (Sebestény, 2012, 2015). These important elements can be material or socio-ceremonial. The relationship to local communities (*banjar*, *desa*, *subak*) is reinforced at their *odalan* ceremony usually every 210 days⁸, when the community's protecting Deity is honored. The relationship to ancestors is reinforced in each family every 210 days. Furthermore, major elements of nature also have their special ceremonial days. There is a day dedicated to honor water, a day for plants, for animals, and a day, *Tumpek Landep*, to honor "iron tools", a category that came to include cars and computers. On the ceremonial day of the Pakuwon calendar, these elements are decorated and receive offerings. On the day of Saraswati, Goddess of Knowledge, a ceremony is held in school and university temples, as these institutions also have their temple. All these ceremonial days are held every 210 days. The temple festival at Batur and Besakih temples attract huge crowds. There is also a pair of ceremonies named Galungan and Kuningan that are celebrated in every temple in Bali every 210 days. All these ceremonies follow the same principles: the Deities are invited to dwell in the altars, they are presented with offerings, and at the end of the ceremony, *tirta* water is distributed among the participants.

Nyepi is a special ceremonial day held roughly once every twelve months following the Saka calendar. It is preceded by processions of large, both scary and funny demon statues that *banjar* youth teams prepare for weeks from cardboard and iron wires. On Nyepi day, nobody is allowed on the streets for 24 hours, not even tourists. No airplanes fly, people are supposed to stay at home and meditate.

This was a quick outline of the main ceremonial days that follow the Pakuwon 210 days cycle. To this long list we can add the life cycle ceremonies: the first 210 days,

⁸ Some temples follow other ceremonial rhythms.

the tooth filing that marks adulthood, marriages and funerals. Every person has his personal ceremony, the *otonan* anniversary celebrated at home every 210 days. On top of these ceremonies, special thanksgiving celebrations are organized after special events, for instance after a graduation. The building of a house also involves blessing ceremonies.

The Balinese ritual hyperactivity is astounding, and provides countless ceremonial occasions for people to meet, to get to know each other and cooperate. It also involves heavy duties, as all these ceremonies have to be prepared. The Balinese are usually either preparing or celebrating a ceremony.

2.6. Cockfights, gambling and offerings to the realm below

Inhabitants of the realm above possess a highly developed aesthetic sensitivity. This cannot be said of the inhabitants of the realm below, who are honored accordingly. Offerings for below are less aesthetic; they contain more meat, sometimes even blood.

Cockfights are both ceremonial and gambling events in Bali. Some ceremonies require the blood of roosters sacrificed in the mortal feathered combat. In 2000, a Balinese friend explained this with the following terms: "If you invite a high Deity for a temple ceremony, it is like inviting the President: you offer him and his entourage good food, graceful dances, joyful music, as he values refined performances and finely woven offerings. But he will also have bodyguards. They will not have high aesthetic standards. Real bodyguards may enjoy watching soccer and boxing. The Deity's bodyguards will enjoy smelly offerings, garlic, onion, meat, blood and cockfights. So, this is what we offer them at the ceremonies. You have to keep everybody happy."

Cockfights are not only ceremonial events, but are (or at least have long been) important constituents of Balinese male identity. According to Geertz (1973a, p. 417): "As much of America surfaces in a ball park [...], or around a poker table, much of Bali surfaces in a cock ring. For it is only apparently cocks that are fighting. It is men." "Balinese men are deeply attached to their roosters. The word for 'cock' in Balinese means the same body parts as in English, and is also used metaphorically to mean 'hero', 'warrior', 'champion', 'man of parts', 'political candidate', 'bachelor', 'dandy', 'lady-killer' or 'tough guy.'" (Geertz, 1973a, p. 419). Balinese men spend infinite time grooming their roosters, feeding, massaging, training and discussing them.

Cockfight involves gambling. Geertz (1973a) described complex betting rules. People do intend to win money, yet they also take into account familial and other relations. In a village, if the neighbor's muscular rooster fights against one's cousin's flabby cock, one ought to bet on the cousin's champion, even if it means losing money. Therefore, cockfight is not a merely aimed at maximizing individual gain. It involves self, pride, but also family and friendship relations, and the capacity to control one's emotions, as participants are not supposed to express their despair in public, even when losing great amounts of money. It is a theatrical practice of Balinese-ness.

As for today, non-ceremonial cockfights are prohibited. Until recently, the police did not seem to persecute this practice vehemently enough to eradicate it. For long, cockfights were still part of Balinese culture despite being prohibited, as Geertz describes it, and as I could see it through the fervent rooster-grooming activity in 2000-2011 in the urban areas where I was staying in south Bali. Yet in 2011, informants told me that it had become *really* prohibited. In some ceremonial occasions, one could still see cockfights, but I have started to observe in Ubud that even in ceremonial context, real cockfight was replaced by enacted coconut-fight.

Increased cockfight prohibition may be motivated by social changes. Over time, it seems that cockfight gambling became disconnected from local communities. It became more dangerous for the individual's financial stability, as informants told me in 2011. Earlier, farmers could risk their limited amount of money, but not their paddy fields. Yet a growing number of them sold their land and had for the first time in their life an impressive amount of money in their hands. They had never learned to deal with such amounts and could tragically lose it all in a few gambling sessions.

New activities filled the gambling vacuum created by the cockfight prohibition. Nowadays, men go out and gamble all night long on billiard games. Yet roosters are still groomed, as century-old traditions do not die out suddenly, especially if they are carrying important cultural and individual values. Therefore, some roosters, the groomed ones, still live about twice as long as their non-fighter peers who can be eaten as soon as they reach adulthood. The owners' champions still get great food and love from their master, until they eventually die in a fight at a ceremonial or a secretly organized cockfight.

2.7. Narrative ceremonial performances: Rangda, Barong and shadow puppets

An important component of ceremonial events still needs to be addressed: the narrative performances. There is a large variety of them, yet I will briefly present two important examples: the duel between Rangda and Barong and the *wayang* shadow puppet performances.

Rangda and Barong appear in ceremonial theatre performances, showcasing a fundamental opposition. The ever-changing plot develops involving a large set of characters, including a central and escalating tension between a king and a noble woman. The originally decent-looking lady, for various reasons, becomes so angry during the course of the evening that she turns into a scary witch, Rangda. She then has bulging eyes, hanging striped (fake) breasts, rasta-like white hair and shrieks bloodcurdlingly. She fights against the king who becomes Barong, a dragon-like magnificent and funny creature with four legs, abundant fur and red pompons. He is moved by two dancers, each playing two of the four legs, the dancer in front also moving the large-eyed smiling mask with clacking jaws. He impersonates a benevolent, both cosmic and comic spirit. The plot reaches its climax when the two mythical entities, Rangda and Barong, face each other. It is a battle never won, never lost. Depending on the setting, spectators may get involved, running towards Rangda to protect Barong and then, caught by Rangda's spell, they fall in trance and may start stabbing themselves with specific, usually carefully blunted *keris* daggers. These fierce events were described by Bateson and Mead (1942) and Geertz (1973b). In the urban settings I studied, there was usually no trance in the public at Barong performances, though I observed some failed attempts (Sebestény, 2012). Yet the confrontation is already deeply interesting without ritual trance and stabbing. At the end of the ceremonial show, the antagonistic entities from above and below are invoked and greeted, so they can return to their respective places, as the black and white squares on the ceremonial fabric. Peace is reestablished until the next ceremonial occasion.

Shadow puppet plays (*wayang*) are narrative pieces of a different nature, usually performed at ceremonies. They present complex mythical stories constituted by the superposition of different layers, like *The Tempest*, *A Midsummer's Night's Dream* and other multi-layered plays by Shakespeare. For Ron Jenkins (Jenkins and Catur, 2011), the quality and complexity of the highly structured yet improvised *wayang* performances are comparable to Shakespeare's texts. There is usually a general topic linked with the actual ceremony, for instance a mythical wedding's story if the piece is performed at the night of a wedding. Gods and mythical figures animate the highest levels, speaking in ancient high Balinese language. Court life and kings appear in

the middle level, common people and servants translate, comment and mock their deeds behind their back. The superposition and mirroring between the different narrative layers allows the shadow-puppet player (*dalang*) to establish meaningful connections between the past and the present in a sequence of serious and hilarious scenes. A story about any modern theme (wedding, political events, terrorist attacks, contraception) can appear reflected and resonated with the realm of kings and high Gods. Inner conflicts are also portrayed. Some characters are incarnations of never resolved moral dilemmas (Geertz, 1973b). For instance, Yudistira, the elder of the Pendava brothers from the Mahabharata, is very generous, so he gives everything away, his kingdom, his food and his coat, and stays kingdom-less, cold and hungry. Arjuna is very just, but he applies the laws of Gods to the smallest human flaws, and this sometimes leads him to be heartless and cruel. These performances, with gamelan music and lots of improvisation, can be credited for the continuity of important narrative and conceptual contents in Bali. They make connections between the past, allegorical stories and present problems, internal and external human struggles, and keep reconnecting them, allowing Balinese culture to keep the ancient mythical references fresh, reactualizable and significant as a valid framework of interpretation for modern times. *Wayang* performances contribute to keep Bali's multi-layered word coherent.

3. Present times: the island of the thousand temples and the million tourists

Having explored many layers and aspects of Balinese culture, we can now address the question of how and why Balinese local culture does not become weaker with the presence of an international tourism so important that foreign tourists visiting the island (7.600.000 in 2011) outnumber local inhabitants (4.200.000 in 2014). We already have many answers, and will add a few more.

3.1. The importance of the rituals performed every day

In my research, I reached the conclusion that domestic rituals are of great importance as they reaffirm the basic principles of Balinese religion every day, even in the cities, underlining the importance of the relation with the ancestors, the mountains and the *niskala*. I argue that domestic rituals strongly contribute to the preservation and perpetuation of Balinese culture (Sebestény, 2012, 2013, 2015).

The people I followed would work with tourists, bringing them to parties, being in contact with foreigners who believe in different gods or no gods at all, and who are (comparatively) rich, and often morally and sexually permissive. Yet Balinese workers go home at night. Even when they arrive late and do not see the daily offerings presented, they can still smell the perfume of the incense that was deposited at the ancestors' altar. On days when they don't work, they may themselves go around the domestic area and place offerings of cooked rice (*banten jotan*) and small but complex aesthetic offerings of flower petals and woven leaves (*canang*) at every important spot in the house, giving offerings to the beings below, to the ones above, the ancestors and the protective entities. Depending on their age and state of mind, people will perform the domestic offering ceremony with more or less emotional commitment. Yet each ceremony affirms to the person performing it – and also to anybody watching – the existence and importance of the realm of *niskala*, the invisible world, even inside of the domestic unit.

In urban areas, there are no rivers and people don't work in terraced rice-fields so that they could experience the hierarchical superiority of the mountains from where the waters flow. Yet even in the cities, the importance and sacrality of the mountain direction is reconstructed in each domestic unit's structure: each home has a set of altars with the ancestors' and other shrines at the corner of the courtyard located at the side of the two "higher" directions: towards the mountains (*kaja*) and the rising sun (*kangin*). At the "lower" end of the domestic unit, in the west (*kauh*) and sea direction (*kelod*) are the bathroom, the sewer, eventually the pigs. The structure of each Balinese home thus reflects the hierarchical superiority of the mountains. This is reiterated in every room by a small *plangkiran* altar fixed on the wall in the mountain / east corner.

Through the hierarchization of the space and the importance given to the direction of the mountains, the Balinese urban habitat stays connected to the traditional rice-field culture, thus giving meaning to the island as a whole, and defining the person's place in it. The tour guide who spent his day bringing around visitors, maybe drunk surfers in bars in Kuta at night, will go home in the evening, smell the incense and thus be reminded of the communication that took place with the *niskala* that day. He will have a look at the altars, and he will usually pray to his ancestors. He will take a bath in the lower part of the home microcosm, then go to bed. He will be careful not to place his legs, the lower end of his own body's microcosm, towards the higher end of the house and the island. Therefore, he will rest his head towards Bali's heights: towards the mountains or the rising sun. In his sleep, the three microcosms will be fully aligned: that of the body, the "small world" or *buana alit*, that of the domestic compound that

shelters him, and that of the whole Balinese microcosm, the “large world” or *buana gede* (Ottino, 2000; Sebestény, 2012, 2013, 2015).

Through their ritual surrounding the Balinese are viscerally tied to their island, with its highs and lows, sacred mountains, springs, ancestors, high Gods and local Divinities, with the flow of purity coming down the high mountains, bringing life, health and harmony even in urban homes.

3.2. Intense ceremonial practice brings coherence, shared values and meaning, even in difficult times

The Balinese ceremonial practice brings people to cooperate and have a continuous awareness of their responsibility for their environment on a social, material and spiritual level, as coined in the concept of *Tri Hita Karana*. This can be seen as a high level of shared wisdom and maturity. It was sadly put to the test and thus highlighted by tragic events. Terrorist bombings took place in 2002 in Kuta’s most touristic area. About 200 people died, mostly Australians and Indonesians.

The search for the causes was launched on two levels. On the material *sekala* level, a police investigation was conducted, the criminals were caught and judged. In parallel, another investigation was launched in the form of a public discussion in newspapers and between ordinary people, with a topic that would sound astounding to many Westerners: intellectuals and common people, taxi drivers and shopkeepers were having discussions about the *niskala* level causes of the attacks, namely, about what *they* possibly did wrong as Balinese people to deserve the attacks. Many told me that if things were right, Bali’s Gods would have protected the island from malevolent intruders. Debates were launched about topics as the negative impact of too much openness to influence from tourism, too much greed for money and the degradation of the level of public morality.

This quest for a higher and larger explanation on the *niskala* level lead to a wave of spiritual renewal in the aftermath of the bombings, highlighted by the movement *Ajeg Bali* (Bali stand strong) (Picard, 2009). Resolutions were taken for reestablishing the balance through ceremonial work and the improvement of morality and behavior.

What makes Balinese “traditions” fully live, strong, able to face tourism and even harsh terrorist attacks is that they are constantly used not only as past references, but as valid conceptual tools to interpret the present and shape the future. Balinese

ceremonial activities create a shared frame of reference, meaning, goals, and the 2002 attacks, painfully, revealed its strength and depth.

3.3. Facing and welcoming tourism

The exploration of Balinese socio-ceremonial organization helps to understand why tourism has not had an overall disturbing impact on the island's culture. The social ties, socio-ceremonial obligations and the incredible amount of tiny and large ceremonies are just too strongly integrated to everyday life and people's identity to be easily washed away. Tourism also brings money that fuels the ceremonies and other manifestations of local culture and religion. Tourists cast a curious and fascinated eye on the Balinese, expecting them to have a Balinese identity, to be cultural beings. They of course had a culture before tourism came to the island, yet they were not so intensely aware of it. Picard (1992) emphasizes that tourism contributed to the strengthening of Balinese identity.

Let us consider three aspects of tourism that *could* be socially and culturally corrosive, and observe how they are dealt with.

(a) Tourism could contribute to the desacralisation of ceremonies and ceremonial dances

Luckily, Balinese ceremonies are ritual performances for the invited Gods and local public, and they are public, not secret performances. Thus, if there are tourists in the public, it does not disrupt the ceremony's structure. In the temple areas, tourists are expected to respect some rules, as for instance covering their legs with a fabric and tying a ceremonial belt. When recently the celebrity Paris Hilton visited Bali, her Instagram pictures showed her abiding by these rules. In an Ubud temple, I had the chance to witness a tourist starting to climb on a statue, possibly in order to take a better picture. A priest dressed in white grabbed the back of his shirt and pulled him gently but firmly back to the ground level where humans and tourists belong. Basic respect is imposed on the most reckless tourists, so temples are not desacralized by their presence.

When ceremonial dances are performed for tourists, a ceremonial context is re-created for them (Sebestény, 2015). Offerings are presented before the show, costumes are blessed, and for some dances, a stick of incense is fixed to the dancers' head-dress, convey the *sari* (essence) of the dance to the invisible realm while the dance is

performed, even in hotels or restaurants. As I could observe from 2000 to 2011, the same dancers perform in ceremonies and hotels. Touristic performances allow dancers to earn money, that can be an additional incentive for learning the dances, and the income allows dance groups to buy new costumes. Therefore, it can be concluded that touristic performances not only do not desacralize Balinese dances, they even contribute to their dynamism.

(b) Tourism could be a threat to ceremonial schedule and participation

People working in tourism have to share their time between ceremonial and work obligations. This could lower their ceremonial participation. Yet even when working in tourism, the Balinese still have to participate to their local community events, help prepare ceremonies, especially after becoming full members of their local *banjar* by getting married and having their first child. Ceremonial obligations can hardly be skipped. People working in hotels take turns to go to their *banjar's* and *desa* community's meetings and temple celebrations. Sometimes they can send money instead of participating, yet in the long run, personal presence is required.

So, most Balinese working in tourism have a dual life. A desktop manager at a seaside hotel can be head of his *banjar* organization, presiding the meetings. I interviewed a man renting surfboards at Sanur beach, who was studying sacred texts while waiting for clients, as he was the priest of a temple in his home village. The Balinese are usually never *just* employees in the tourism industry. They have duties in their local community, which gives them dignity and a sense of identity. However, this does cause tensions. Informants told me that usually, higher jobs in hotels are given to people from other islands and religions, not to local Balinese who have heavy ceremonial duties and cannot dedicate themselves fully to the hotel's service. The Balinese pay a high price for their culture to run, as time, energy and money is needed for the ceremonies. Yet the intense ceremonial activity contributes to making Bali interesting, and fuels tourism that brings financial income for many.

(c) Tourism could create social tensions as some get rich from tourism while others do not

Tourism induces income differences between people. Yet ceremonial activities create a strong parallel economy that helps compensate at least partially for these inequalities by providing work opportunities for the unemployed.

A general rule is that the more one earns (for instance in tourism), the more costly

ceremonies one has to organize to express gratitude to the Deities and Ancestors. People who have jobs in tourism often do not have time to make offerings, so they pay people who do not have jobs but have time to make them. This way, ceremonies allow for a certain redistribution of the income originating from tourism. In 2000, when I did my first fieldwork in Bali, there was neither health insurance nor unemployment aid from the Indonesian Government, yet the income opportunities from ceremonial work created a parallel market that gave opportunities for people to earn their living if they could not do it otherwise.

As *subak* community members share resources (water) and work, so do other Balinese local communities. Even if they don't deal with irrigation water, they still share other kinds of works and costs. In each community, there is *ngayah* work – work done to prepare the community's ceremonies, and *gotong royong* – work done to help each other in the community. These exchanges of services involve no money. Economists Lietar and Kenney (2008) claim that this parallel ceremonial and communal economy has allowed Bali to thrive.

4. Conclusions

All in all, tourism does not disrupt local culture and religion, as local institutions and communities do not allow Balinese to forget about their duties. Local culture has multiple sources of legitimacy. Local religion imposes its rule even on foreigners. Even big companies like Carrefour have to celebrate the Balinese ceremonies like any other local institution. There are other religions present in Bali, yet the Balinese Hindus are (still) the majority. Even hotels owned by Muslims or Westerners comply with the religious requirements of having a shrine to honor the local deities, and have all the necessary ceremonies performed daily and every 210 days.

To conclude, let us underline the main benefits of Balinese ceremonies: 1) They perpetuate traditional ritual practice and a wide range of knowledge, linking the present generations to the previous ones. 2) They contribute to the well-functioning and perpetuation of the present Balinese society's local community-based structure, obliging people to form groups, prepare and participate in ceremonies together, honor shared gods, and consequently, share values, goals, get to know each other and cooperate. 3) Incidentally, the Balinese religion produces ceremonial events (processions, funerals, collective prayers, ceremonial music and dances) that are nice to look at and take pictures of. They attract tourism, money and investors.

Since the opening of the international airport in 1968 and the subsequent designation of Bali as the "showcase" of Indonesia for tourism, Balinese culture has been perceived by investors as a source of profit. Hence, nowadays, no investor in his right mind would come to Bali with the project of seriously altering Balinese religion and way of life, nor would he get funding from international organizations for such a project. The Balinese work actively on protecting and perpetuating their religion. They are helped by the fact that Balinese religion is protected by its touristic success.

Of course, no situation is constantly peaceful. More and more land is sold to foreigners. Conflicts can arise between investors and local communities. There are cases when, for instance, an investor wishes to build a hotel or a golf field on a community temple's site. Yet local communities are often strong and active, and in case of conflict, local Gods tend to express their disapproval quite loudly through people falling in trance at ceremonies, shouting and stabbing themselves with *keris* daggers. If the tension is exacerbated, priests or other community members may fall seriously sick, showing the local God's anger (Picard, 1992). Widely stemming from Bali's intense ceremonial activity, the authority of local Gods and communities helps protect their revered sacred sites and ceremonies and contributes to the preservation of Bali's unique culture and religion.

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Indonesia through the Eyes of a Hungarian

Zoltán Páldi

Settling down in a new country is never easy. One has to get used to the foreign environment, learn how to deal with cultural differences, perhaps even master the local language or biologically adjust to the country's climate. Considering the physical distance between Hungary and Indonesia, these cultural and geographical differences are obvious and significant, so bridging them is of key importance once we have decided to live, study or do business in each other's countries.

Between 2012 and 2015, I had the chance to spend three consecutive years in Indonesia pursuing the activities listed above. On the next couple of pages, I would like to share my experiences with the readers by providing a simple survival kit for everyday life in Indonesia, ranging from tips on how to communicate with your neighbors to some advice on how to put up with the often-occurring extreme weather conditions or what is even worse than that – traffic in Jakarta. This chapter might be somewhat less scientific than those written by the other contributing scholars of this book. Still, if you are a Hungarian/East-Central European planning to spend some time in Indonesia or an Indonesian curious to know how a bule (Indonesian slang word for "non-Asian foreigner") perceives your country and people, you may still find it an interesting and useful read.

1. Indonesia in figures

Indonesia is confusingly vast, especially for someone coming from a landlocked country as small as Hungary. With its 17,000 islands (some surveys say 13,000, others counted 18,000) it is the world's biggest archipelagic country, stretching over more than 5000 kilometers between the east and the west. Think about it, it is the same distance between London and Tehran or Budapest and Delhi!

Indonesia is not only big; it is also populous. According to the latest official census conducted by Statistics Indonesia (or BPS – Badan Pusat Statistik in Indonesian) in 2010, the country's population stood at 237 million (BPS, 2013), making it the fourth

most populous country in the world after China, India, and the USA. However, based on the latest United Nations estimates, by 2016, this number might already have exceeded 260 million. Java, Indonesia's main administrative island, covering an area only slightly bigger than Hungary (128,000 km²), has a population of over 140 million people, hence earning the title of the world's most densely populated island. Indonesia's population is booming. This became one of the government's main concerns, especially in the rural areas. The introduction of the governmental family planning programme, Dua Anak Cukup ("Two Children Are Enough") aims to keep this growth at bay, whereas in Hungary, it is the ageing and decreasing population which keeps national leaders worried and through subsidies and tax reliefs, families are encouraged to undertake as many children as possible.

2. Society and customs

Taking Indonesia's enormous figures into consideration, some might say it should be difficult to generalize a society as huge and diverse as this. Indeed, there are big differences between – say – the lifestyle of Jakartan metropolitan youngsters, Sumatran farmers or a Papuan tribe. Still, a number of customs, traditions and beliefs unify this vast and colorful archipelagic country, building up a national psyche. As Indonesia's motto goes: Unity in Diversity.

2.1. Collectivism

An average Hungarian needs their personal space. On the bus, we don't like talking to strangers or sit next to someone we don't know. And even though we like to boast about how well we can work in a team, oftentimes we need to be alone to get actual work done effectively. In Hungary, it would never – or hardly ever – happen that some stranger approaches you on the train station and strikes up a conversation. In Indonesia, this phenomenon is part of everyday life. Being a collectivist society, Indonesians prefer to be in a group. In other words, for an average Indonesian, nothing is more miserable than being alone.

Let us take the scenario of a beach holiday as example. A typical individualist Hungarian would enjoy discovering a hidden beach with a long strip of white sand they only have to share with their closest friends. Indonesians, on the other hand, would prefer to visit the same spot as part of an organized excursion group consisting of 20-30 people, all wearing the same uniformized T-shirts. Being part of a group

makes Indonesians feel safe and reassured. Important social groups (e.g. people you work with, sport or hobby clubs, etc.) are often referred to as *keluarga besar* or “big family”.

2.2. Hello Mister!

May you wander the lush jungles of Sumatra, the rice paddies of Bali or the highlands of Papua, there is one thing you can surely count on: most locals will yell “Hello Mister!” at you once you come into their eyesight, regardless of your gender. This might be a bit frustrating at first, but make no mistake, albeit sometimes driven by curiosity and surprise – especially in places less visited by foreigners –, this is actually a sign of friendship and warm welcome. Since titles are very important in Indonesia (see below), calling you Mister means respect, even if you are not English or American. You cannot do much about it, so better keep calm and accept yourself as a Mister during your stay in Indonesia.

2.3 Titles

Social status and titles are very important in Indonesian society. During small talks – of which you will probably experience quite a lot – you will be asked about your age, marital status, children, and religion. It is absolutely normal to ask these things from a total stranger in Indonesia. The point of this, besides healthy curiosity, is to size up your conversational partner’s social status and compare it to yourself so that you can address him/her accordingly.

Older or respected people are addressed as *Ibu* (often shortened to *Bu*, literally meaning “mother”) and *Bapak* (often shortened as *Pak*, literally meaning “father”) while titles given to younger people may differ from region to region: it is *mas/mbak* in Java (“brother/sister”), *bli* in Bali (“older brother”), *abang* in Jakarta (“cousin”) and so on. It is not strange at all for Indonesians to call complete strangers father, mother, brother or sister since all this coincides with the concept of *keluarga besar*. If an Indonesian abandons calling you Mister and addresses you as *Pak/Bu/mas/mbak* etc. consider this a great achievement!

2.4. Keep smiling and avoid conflict

Similar to other Asian cultures, Indonesian society is conflict-avoiding. While in Hungary, if something distresses us, we like to say it out loud openly, the same thing could not be expected from an Indonesian. The reason behind this is not cowardice as a European might first think, but respect and caution towards others. In Indonesia, being a collectivist society, it is extraordinarily important what others may think of us, so embarrassing someone or putting someone in an uncomfortable situation in public (in other words causing someone “to lose face”) is the worst offense we can possibly think of. Saving face is of key importance and this in Indonesia practically means to keep smiling in all possible situations under all circumstances.

Let us say while driving your scooter on the roads of Bali, someone mildly hits you from behind with his own bike. You almost fall but in the last minute you regain your balance. Instead of yelling at the person for almost killing you, which would embarrass both you and the perpetrator publicly you nod, smile and wave at each other and life goes on as normal. Bear in mind that the coin has two sides: if someone in Indonesia is smiling at you widely it does not necessarily mean that this person likes you or agrees with you.

2.5. Do not forget to say sorry

The words *permissi* and *maaf* both translate to “sorry” or “excuse me” in Indonesian and they are used much more often than in Europe. In some parts of Indonesia – Central Java, for example – where being overly polite is considered very important – you may encounter people who start almost literally every sentence with “*permissi*” or “*maaf*”. For a harsh Hungarian this might seem a bit of an overdoing, but for a Javanese it makes them sound more polite. In other parts of Indonesia – certain regions of Sumatra or Papua, for instance – where people tend to be more straightforward, this phenomenon is somewhat less common.

2.6. Never say no, often say maybe

Just like being rude to someone, directly saying “no” (*tidak*) is also considered a taboo in Indonesia. Obviously, openly contradicting someone’s opinion might be impolite, too. On the other hand, though, directly saying “yes” (*ya*) to someone involves the

risk of embarrassing ourselves in case our answer turns out to be incorrect or inappropriate. In order to resolve this rather distressing problem, Indonesians often soften their answers by spicing it up with the expression *mungkin* ("maybe"). It might be easy to misunderstand these for a foreigner so here is a crash course in how to decrypt answers Indonesians give to yes-no questions: *mungkin* = yes, *mungkin tidak* = no, *tidak mungkin* = absolutely not.

2.7. Body language, gestures and physical contact

In many cases, body language and gestures used by Indonesians (and/or their meaning) differ greatly from the one East-Central Europeans use. If you don't want to cause misunderstanding or accidentally offend someone during your stay in Indonesia, you better do some research on the matter beforehand. Here is a brief set of guidelines to start with:

- **Personal space, distance:** In a society as populous and collectivist as Indonesia, people do not have much need for personal space. Accordingly, you should not expect an Indonesian to care about yours or to even assume you need any. A vast majority of Indonesians never travel abroad, so how should they know about the space needs of a gloomy Hungarian?
- **Touching people:** Indonesian people are very tactile – they like to rest a hand on your shoulder or leg while talking to you. While this may be quite irritating for a Hungarian, for Indonesians this is a sign of expressing friendship or trust, nothing more. This applies to same gender interactions only as people of the opposite sex hardly ever touch each other during conversations. Talking about interactions between sexes, it is important to note that in Indonesia, especially in more conservative areas, couples do not really express their affection towards each other in public. You can hardly see couples holding hands, and kissing in public is a taboo. While making fun, Indonesians often slap each other gently, mostly on the other's upper arm – in some cases this can also be a sign of flirting!
- **Left hand and other forbidden body parts:** In Indonesia, like in many other Asian cultures, the left hand is almost solely used for "cleaning ourselves", hence touching, handing over or receiving things or even eating with it is offensive. There are, of course, circumstances in which it is inevitable to use our left hand – let us say, our right hand is already occupied with holding something. In this case, we usually have

to apologize beforehand by saying "Maaf, tangan kiri!" (sorry, left hand!). Touching other people's head is considered very impolite, since the head is the most sacred part of one's body.

- Greeting and shaking hands with people: Indonesians have a very unique culture of shaking hands. While in Hungary, firm and "masculine" handshakes are expected, in Indonesia, gripping someone's palm too firmly while shaking hands could be considered aggressive or rude – in some cases, it is enough even to gently touch each other's extended hands. In both countries, if a man and a woman greet each other, the woman has to initiate the handshake (in case she wants to shake hands). Handshakes are often accompanied with a slight bow of the head and of course: a smile. After the handshake, counterparts lift their right palm facing towards their chest; this symbolizes each other's respect. In certain areas of Indonesia – mostly in Java and Bali – performing *sembah* is also a common way to greet people. This means clasping your hands in front of your chest and slightly bow – practically the same gesture as *Namaste* in India.
- Showing respect towards elders and teachers: An Indonesian gesture very similar to European hand-kissing is called *salim* – you bow deeply and touch your counterpart's back of hand with your forehead. This gesture is often used to express respect towards parents, grandparents or teachers. The ritualized form of this is called *sungkem* – parents place their hands on their laps and children hold them and bow deep, placing their head on the elder's lap. As an utmost gesture of honouring and showing respect to elders, *sungkem* is traditionally performed during *Idul Fitri*, after the fasting month of *Ramadan*.
- Eye contact: in Hungary, it is expected that participants of a conversation keep constant eye contact while talking. If you don't look into your conversation partner's eyes while talking, you might even be suspected of lying or hiding something. In Indonesia, eye contact is far less crucial. It is important to look into the other's eyes but only from time to time, for a few seconds only. Constantly looking into someone's eyes during a conversation may be considered aggressive in Indonesia – your partner might feel being stared at.
- Index finger: Pointing at things is not polite (pointing at people is even less so). Even if such a situation occurs that you have to point at something or someone, use the thumb of your right hand instead of your index finger.

- Arms crossed or akimbo: the first is a classic gesture of defensiveness while the latter might be taken as a sign of cockiness or aggression – even though these postures have not much extra meaning in Europe. Try to refrain from it in Indonesia if you would like to keep your popularity.
- Calling people over: In Hungary, we call people over by waving our hands and/or fingers towards ourselves, with the palm upwards. This gesture is not used in Indonesia (or might as well be misinterpreted...). Instead, stretch your right arm in front of you and wave your hand with your palm facing downwards, as if you would pet the head of an invisible Sumatran tiger.
- Walking past people: if you walk past people (especially if they are sitting) and they notice you while passing by, slightly bow your body with your right hand stretched out pointing towards the ground. This is an act of politeness, often accompanied by a nod or a semi-loud “permisi”.

3. Indonesian cuisine

While some other Asian countries' cuisines have been enjoying an ever-growing global popularity for long years (think about the numerous Chinese restaurants, Japanese sushi bars, Thai street food booths, and so on), the European breakthrough for Indonesia's dishes is yet to come. This does not mean, though, that Indonesian food is not delicious! Indonesian people are extremely proud (and fond) of their cuisine, for a good reason. Being home to over 300 ethnic groups inhabiting some 6000 different islands, Indonesia boasts thousands (some sources say over 5000) of traditional recipes. Although it is not possible to name them all now in this book, I would still try to give you a little insight into the world of Indonesian dishes – and of course, where and how to serve and consume them.

While in Hungary, we are taught to eat our meals with fork and knife, Indonesians use the combination of spoon and fork, with the spoon (*sendok*) in the right and the fork (*garpu*) in the left hand. Knives (*pisau*) are absent from the dining table, as the ingredients are usually cut into small pieces already before cooking. Chopsticks are rare, too – they are only available in restaurants serving Chinese or Chinese-influenced dishes. Not using cutlery at all is also common in Indonesia as eating with bare hands is the traditional way of consuming food in many regions, including Java and Sumatra. In this case, *kobokan*, a bowl of clean water is provided for everyone to rinse the fingers

in it before the meal (to clean your hand) and afterwards (to wash it off again, as it may become greasy and sticky from the food).

Usually, each dish is served in a separate communal serving plate (*piring saji*). Each serving plate has its own serving spoon. The most important ingredient, rice (*nasi*), is placed in the middle of the table in a large communal bowl. Everyone takes food from these communal plates into their own personal plates, with the oldest and/or most respected member at the table initiating the meal.

Indonesians are famous for their hospitality. If you go to Indonesia, you will most likely be invited by locals to visit their home, even (or especially?) if you are a foreigner. If so, do not forget to take off your shoes in front of the door before entering someone's house. Once seated to the dining table, do not start eating before you are told so (often multiple times) by your host and/or the head of the family. In Hungary, if we find the food delicious, we express our gratitude by finishing it off till the last bit, maybe even asking for one more portion. Bear in mind that in Indonesia (especially in Java) this may have the exact opposite meaning! If you are already full, leave a spoonful or two of your meal, "cleaning up your plate" may imply that you are still hungry and the food served by your host was not enough.

Street food and eatery culture is flourishing in Indonesia, there are eateries, restaurants and food stalls on literally every meter of the country, almost everywhere, there is an abundance of them. Bigger and more sophisticated places are referred to as *restoran* or *rumah makan* ("eating house" or "restaurant"). *Rumah makan Padang* is a restaurant specialized in West Sumatran food only (as Padang is the capital of West Sumatra Province), which is served in a somewhat different way compared to other Indonesian dishes. Food here is displayed behind a glass window, and once you sit down, a waiter comes and piles it up in front of you in small plates. It might look a bit overwhelming for the first time, but worry not, you only have to pay for the dishes you have touched!

Small and medium-sized eateries are usually called *warung makan* or simply *warung* (where *makan* means "to eat" and *warung* means "small shop"). In traditional *lesehan* style *warungs*, instead of chairs one can sit on, grass mats are placed on the ground. Most Indonesians do not mind not using chairs and sitting on the ground instead, moreover, one can often see them eating or smoking cigarettes while squatting.

In Indonesia you don't actually have to cook for yourself, moreover, eating out in *warungs* is usually cheap, especially compared to western prices. Too lazy even for

going out? Worry not, Indonesia has a solution for this, too! Moving street vendors called *kaki lima* are patrolling the streets selling different kinds of food. *Kaki lima* translates as “five legs”. Two of these five legs belong to the vendors themselves, the other three refer to the wheels/legs of their wheelbarrow-like carts from where they sell their delicious goods.

Now that we have learnt where and how, let us check what to eat in Indonesia. Here is a non-exhaustive list of Indonesian culinary delights:

- **Nasi**

Nasi simply means “rice”. In Indonesia, just like in many other Asian countries, it is the most important element of all meals. Indonesians do not mind having rice for breakfast, lunch and dinner alike. While foreigners living in Indonesia often get bored of having to eat rice all the time for all main meals, locals often claim “one has to eat rice to stay healthy”. A meal without rice is not considered a proper meal, only a snack. It is a funny coincidence that in Hungarian the word *nasi* means “snack”. Well, in Indonesian it is the exact opposite. Fried rice, or *nasi goreng*, is one of Indonesia’s best-known dishes. Unlike boiled rice (*nasi putih*), which functions as a side dish, *nasi goreng* is often consumed on its own. *Nasi kuning* (lit. “yellow rice”) is made by adding coconut milk and turmeric to the rice, hence its yellowish color. Yellow rice is the core ingredient of *tumpeng*, a ceremonial dish often served to celebrate important events: *nasi kuning* is piled up forming a mountain-shaped cone, surrounded with a variation of vegetables, sometimes meat, too. The volcano-shaped *Tumpeng* can symbolize gratitude, good harvest, the glory of nature, even the glory of God. The festive-like serving of *nasi tumpeng* still lives on today, no wonder this dish was elected one of Indonesia’s national food icons by the Indonesian Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy.

- **Mie**

Noodle-based dishes like *mie rebus* and *mie goreng* (“boiled/fried noodles”) are consumed nationwide in Indonesia. Most Indonesians prefer quick and simple meals so different kinds of instant food are widely available throughout the country. One example of this is the ever-popular *Pop Mie*. These instant paper cup noodles may not win any gourmet awards but a dose of it can save your life, if you are one of those daredevil backpackers brave enough to go on a long-haul ferry ride in Indonesia!

Besides the odd instant noodles there are other, more traditional noodle-based dishes, too, of course. Good examples are the delicious, wheat noodles *bakmi* or the all-time *warung makan Cina* (“Chinese eatery”) favorite, *kwetiau*.

- **Rendang**

West Sumatra's number one dish, rendang, is slightly similar to Hungarian marhapörkölt ("beef stew"), only the former is seasoned with coconut milk and exotic spices, ingredients – unfortunately – not traditionally available in Hungary. Thanks to its unique cooking and seasoning methods, rendang can last for almost a month. Due to the spread of Padang-style restaurants across the country, this dish can now be found everywhere in Indonesia. In an online poll held by CNN International in 2011, readers chose rendang as number one of the "World's 50 Most Delicious Foods (Readers' Pick)", making Indonesians – and the West Sumatran Minangkabau people, the original inventors of rendang – even more proud of their cuisine (Cheung, 2011).

- **Sate**

Originally from Java, sate is basically a dish of sliced, skewered meat grilled on coal, served usually with spicy peanut sauce and lontong or ketupat ("compressed rice cake") on the side. Sate is usually made of chicken (ayam), goat (kambing) or fish (ikan), but occasionally one can bump into vendors selling sate made of more exotic meats, such as snake, horse or turtle. There is even a vegetarian version of it where meat is replaced with tahu ("tofu"). An interesting linguistic and culinary fact is that sate (both the word and the dish) made its way "overseas" from Javanese language and culture. Only in English it is spelled "satay" instead of "sate".

- **Bakso**

Although not the healthiest dish you may possibly find in Indonesia, hot meat ball soup, bakso, is very popular and widely available at restaurants and street vendors alike. Traditionally, bakso is made of beef (sapi), but variations of chicken or fish are also available as well as bakso babi ("pork meat ball") in non-Muslim majority regions, such as Bali. In some parts of Indonesia, mostly West Java, bakso is spelled and pronounced as baso. Barack Obama – who as a schoolboy between 1968 and 1971 spent two and a half years in Jakarta – mentioned in his speech at the University of Indonesia in November 2010 how he "learned to love Indonesia while flying kites and running along the paddy fields and catching dragonflies, buying satay and baso from the street vendors." (Obama, 2010)

- **Sambal**

Albeit sambal (which roughly translates to "hot sauce") is not a separate dish, it should not go unmentioned even in this non-exhaustive list of Indonesian culinary delights. Indonesians love their food spicy and they use sambal for almost every meal. Sambal is traditionally made by grinding chili peppers, optionally adding lime

juice, garlic, ginger or other ingredients. There are dozens of different sambal recipes in Indonesia and most of them are spicy beyond (Westerner) imagination.

During a meal – or simply just to fight off the tropical heat – Indonesians love drinking sweet tea, both hot and iced (teh panas/ es teh) or fresh coconut water (es kelapa muda). After a meal, a sip of coffee (kopi) feels good. Excellent quality coffee is considered one of Indonesia's main food export products. Most Indonesian men are heavy smokers, the typical clove-filled cigarettes (kretek) are the most favored tobacco products in the country.

Compared to European taste, Indonesians love their food and drinks extremely spicy and sweet. Even if you are completely immune to learning foreign languages and/or Indonesian, there are two expressions you will surely learn if you happen to stay in Indonesia: tanpa gula! ("without sugar") and tidak pedas! ("no spicy!"). Either way, when asked about your opinion of Indonesian food, don't forget to say enak sekali ("very delicious")!

4. Natural disasters

Every rose has its thorn, so let us talk about the flip side of the coin, too, as Indonesia's tropical ideal can sometimes be overshadowed by extreme weather, natural disasters and the odd tropical diseases.

If you stay in family-run homestays in Indonesia or spend time with local communities – which I highly recommend you do, anyway – then, wherever you are in this vast country, you will most likely bump into emblematic red stickers with yellow letters saying: "Travel Warning: Indonesia, Dangerously Beautiful". Originally, the stickers were part of a campaign launched by civil movement Indonesia Bertindak ("Action for Indonesia") aiming to raise national pride amongst locals and to attract tourists to the country. The campaign proved to be extraordinarily successful, perhaps because of its simplicity and honesty, for Indonesia is truly beautiful, yet, this beauty is by far not as innocent as it may first seem.

Indonesia sits on the so-called Ring of Fire (sometimes referred to as the circum-Pacific belt), a 40,000 km long horseshoe-shaped area stretching along New Zealand, Sumatra, Japan and Kamchatka in the west and following the coastline of continental America in the east. This belt was created as a result of plate tectonics, due to the movement and collision of lithospheric plates and it is the most seismically active

region of the world, as 90 percent of the planet's earthquakes occur in this area and 75 percent of the Earth's active volcanoes are situated here. (Kious and Tilling, 1996) On top of this, due to the tropical climate, weather extremities (heavy rainfall, floods, landslides etc.) strike the region quite frequently.

While Indonesians have learnt to cope with these extremities throughout history, volcanic eruptions and tsunamis might be science fiction for someone coming from a small and landlocked European country like Hungary. Thus, I think it would be useful to highlight a few of these phenomena.

- **Volcanoes**

Indonesia boasts over one hundred active volcanoes (or gunung api in Indonesian which literally translates to "fire mountain") and some of the biggest volcanic eruptions in history. The 1815 eruption of Mt. Tambora on the island of Sumbawa was so loud even people in Sumatra could hear it, more than 2000 km away! Around 70,000 people died because of the disaster: over ten thousand were killed directly by the eruption itself and later on some sixty thousand more fell victim to starvation and diseases as ashfall disrupted the regional agriculture. On top of this, Tambora's eruptive fallout had caused a so called global volcanic winter in 1816, an agricultural disaster often referred to as "The Year Without a Summer", when extremely low temperatures resulted in food shortages worldwide (Wood, 2014). Less than 70 years later, in 1883, Krakatau, a volcanic island between the coasts of Sumatra and Java erupted with such a force that the whole isle literally exploded into pieces. The ashfall and tidal waves caused by the tremendous explosion took the life of more than 36,000 people (Winchester, 2003).

Indonesia's volcanoes often erupt in "modern times", too: during the 2010 eruption of Central Java's Mt. Merapi, over 350,000 people had to be temporarily evacuated from the affected area, and as many as 353 fell victim to the volcano, including Mbah Maridjan, the volcano's "spiritual gatekeeper" who was given this title by the Sultan of Yogyakarta himself in 1970 and had been in office ever since until his tragic death. The list could be continued as volcano eruptions in Indonesia happen quite frequently. Minor eruptions may not necessarily disturb everyday life but can cause other disruptions such as flight cancellations. On the bright side, though, for those who love mountain trekking, Indonesia's volcanoes offer challenging hikes rewarded with unforgettable panoramas!

- **Earthquakes**

Due to its tectonic setting, Indonesia is one of the world's most seismically active areas. Earthquakes occur quite often, lesser tremors with the magnitude of around 5 on the Richter scale can be registered practically on a daily basis. Quakes bigger than that might cause serious damage, such as the May 2006 earthquake in Bantul, Yogyakarta Regency which left 5,717 dead and 37,927 injured (Elnashai et al, 2006). Unlike most volcanic eruptions, earthquakes are impossible to predict, making this issue one of Indonesia's biggest disaster hazard.

- **Tsunamis**

When an earthquake occurs or an underwater volcano erupts, it may result in a so-called tsunami: tidal waves generated by the displacement of water. One of the most devastating tsunamis of all time, the Boxing Day Tsunami on 26 December 2004 in the aftermath of a 9.1 earthquake off the Western shores of Sumatra caused severe damages in as many as 14 countries. Indonesia suffered the hardest hit as tidal waves swept away entire cities, including provincial capital Banda Aceh, leaving some 168,000 people dead.

In the wake of the disaster, vast amount of humanitarian aid was needed to rebuild what had been destroyed. Nations, companies and individuals worldwide contributed to help the tsunami-stricken territories. A hospital in Banda Aceh's Meuraksa sub-district was built entirely from the USD 2.5 million aid donated by Hungarian companies and individuals.

- **Floods and landslides**

Being an equatorial tropical country, Indonesia observes two seasons: wet and dry, with the former being longer and more dominant. Compared to Hungary, Indonesia is very humid (humidity ranges between 70 and 90 percent, depending on the area), and wet, with an average annual precipitation of around 3200 mm, which exceeds 4 times even the rainiest regions of Hungary (Karmalkar et al, 2006). Heavy rain can cause serious problems in various areas of Indonesia. Certain districts of Jakarta, for instance, are specifically flood-prone as 40 percent of the megapolis is below sea-level. Steep, hilly areas, in the same time, are at risk of experiencing landslides after massive rainfall. In December 2014, almost 100 people fell victim to a landslide in Jemblung, Banjarnegara, Central Java.

5. Spiritual life and religion

Religion has a great significance in Indonesia, much more than in Hungary. While in Hungary religion is considered a highly intimate and private matter, in Indonesia people – even complete strangers – often imitate small talks by asking about their conversation partner’s beliefs. Indonesians strongly believe in the supernatural: ghosts, good or evil spirits (for example Nyi Roro Kidul, the mystical queen of the southern seas in Java) are “part of everyday life”.

Indonesia recognizes the following religions: Islam, Christianity (Protestantism and Catholicism), Buddhism, Hinduism and Confucianism. Antagonism or atheism are not recognized as religiosity and the belief in God is fixed in Pancasila (“The Five Principles”), Indonesia’s philosophical foundation. Accordingly, every Indonesian citizen has to fill in the agama (“religion”) rubric in their ID cards. Based on Statistics Indonesia’s (BPS) 2010 Population Census, the religious distribution in the archipelago is as follows: Islam 87.2 percent, Christianity 9.9 percent, Hinduism (1.7 percent), Buddhism (0.7 percent), Confucianism (0,05 percent) (BPS: Kewarganegaraan..., 2013). Despite occasional regional tensions (of which the 1999-2002 Maluku sectarian conflict was probably the most severe) people of different beliefs live in peace with each other in Indonesia.

- **Islam**

Being home to over 200 million Muslims, Indonesia has the world’s largest Islamic community. Although Islam is not practiced too strictly in general, still, since it is the predominant religion of the archipelago, one should take Islamic customs, prescriptions and celebrations into consideration when planning to travel and/or do business in Indonesia. During the holy fasting month of Ramadan, Muslims do not eat, drink or even smoke while the sun is up – thus doing so in their presence might be considered intolerant. At the end of the fasting month, Idul Fitri is celebrated with prayer – and lots of magnificent food. This is the biggest celebration in Islam, for which most Indonesian Muslims travel home (pulang kampung or mudik) to reunite with their families. Literally, hundreds of millions are “on the way home” during these holy days throughout the country, so expect massive traffic jams and crowded public transport.

- **Christianity**

Christianity is Indonesia’s second largest religious group with Protestants adding up 6,91 percent and Catholics comprising 2,91 percent of the population. While the country’s number one religion is Islam, there are some provinces in East Indonesia

(namely North Sulawesi, Papua, West Papua and East Nusa Tenggara) where the majority of the population embraced Christianity.

- **Hinduism**

Hinduism is the dominant religion of Bali (83.5 percent of the island's population), Indonesia's number one tourist destination. A long time ago, Hinduism was the main religion in Java, with a number of significant Hindu empires (Singhasari, Majapahit, etc.), but around the 16th century it was gradually forced out eastwards towards Bali as Islam gained foothold in the area. In Bali, Hinduism merged with local animist beliefs, thus Balinese Hinduism today represents a unique form of Hindu worship. Balinese Hinduism features a number of colorful rituals of which Nyepi, the Hindu

Saka New Year or "the Day of Silence" is one of the most interesting: on this day of self-reflection silence befalls Bali as people are not allowed to light fires, travel, work or even talk loudly. The evening before, though, people parade on the streets and burn Ogoh-Ogoh, tall demonic statues depicting evil spirits. This event slightly resembles to the end-of-winter Busójárás celebration in Hungary.

- **Buddhism**

Although currently Indonesia's Buddhist community is only 1.7 million strong and mostly comprises of Chinese ethnic minorities, between the 7th and 13th centuries, the Sumatra-based Buddhist kingdom of Sriwijaya was one of Southeast Asia's most influential empires. The amazing Borobudur in Central Java, the world's biggest Buddhist temple proves the historical and cultural significance of Buddhism in the area. Every year, during a certain full moon, Buddhists from all over the world make the pilgrimage to celebrate Waisak, the enlightenment of Gautama Buddha by meditating, reciting mantras and releasing thousands of lanterns.

6. Transportation

To get around in Indonesia, one needs to be familiar with this vast archipelago's transportation system. To be able to exploit its advantages, and more importantly, to cope with some of its limitations is an art in itself. In general we can say that in terms of safety restrictions or punctuality, these services in Indonesia are usually below the European standard. On the other hand, though, there are plenty of other factors – for instance low prices or the company of friendly and talkative Indonesians on long-haul bus rides – which may balance out the disadvantages.

- **Trains**

Indonesia's railway system is operated by state-owned PT Kereta Api Indonesia (in which kereta api literally means "train") and currently only exists in Java and parts of Sumatra, although there are plans to develop railway networks in more remote areas of the country such as Sulawesi or Papua, too. In Java, rail transportation dates back to the 19th century, the major cities are fairly well connected throughout the whole island. Trains are usually given good-sounding fantasy names like Argo Prahyanan, Malioboro Ekspres or Argo Lawu. This makes the life of beginner travelers a bit harder as usually on the screens of train station waiting halls, trains are sorted based on these names and not by departure time or destination.

- **Airplanes**

Indonesia has more than 200 airports, served by dozens of airlines which differ greatly in fleet size, quality, safety standards – and price, of course. Indonesia is one of the most challenging countries for pilots because of often occurring bad weather and volcano eruptions. Still, airports are busy since flying is the most effective option to get around in this huge country.

- **Buses**

If you have not been on a long-haul bus ride in Indonesia, you have not seen the real face of the country yet. An 8-hour long journey on an economy class bus, say, from Yogyakarta to Surabaya is a perfect opportunity to practice our Indonesian language skills while vendors selling all kinds of goods and pengamen ("buskers") entertaining the passengers with songs played on battered instruments are jumping on and off the moving vehicle with the agility of a Sumatran tiger. If you do not desire the company of vendors and buskers or simply just want more legroom, you can go for business or executive class. In this case, do not forget to bring your winter coat with you, as these buses are often air-conditioned to freezing temperatures! And the pengamen are replaced with high-volume dangdut (Indonesian pop). Although bigger settlements have bus terminals, buses usually do not have regular stops, you can wave them down practically anywhere and they will stop. The same thing applies to getting off.

- **Ships**

In connecting the islands of the world's biggest archipelago, ships obviously play a significant role. Islands near each other are usually connected by ferries while state-owned PT Pelni serves more remote areas with passenger-only carriers. These ships are usually overcrowded. As seas can be rough from time to time, embarking on a long journey via ferry in Indonesia is not for the faint-hearted!

- **Municipal transport**

Usually, worn-out minibuses are used as instruments of municipal transport. People name these buses variously in almost every city - angkot, opelet, bemo, taksi and so forth, but the system is the same: the vehicles go on a fix route and passengers can get on and off practically anywhere – if you are on board and want to get off, just shout kiri! (“left!”) and the driver will immediately pull over. Typically, bemos start operating around sunrise and stop around sunset.

- **Ojek**

Motorbike taxis (or ojek) can be found countrywide – just look for the motor-taxi posts (pos ojek) where you can easily hire a rider. They are not only more cost-effective compared to regular taxis but can also take you to places regular cars would not be able (or willing) to.

- **Becak**

Three-wheeled bicycle rickshaws or becak are rare to be seen in Jakarta, but outside the capital – in Yogyakarta, for instance – they are still emblematic parts of the city traffic. Some blame becaks for causing traffic jams, but those who miss the nostalgic charm of tempo doeloe (ca. “old times”) will surely like it, for short distances at least.

- **Driving/riding your own vehicle**

Indonesians drive on the left, and have a very different driving style, moral and temper on the road than Hungarians. Traffic rules tend to be more lax, too, so only experienced foreign drivers should experiment with driving on their own. Good news, though, that fuel prices are subsidized by the state, so petrol is much cheaper than anywhere in Europe. Of course, you will need a valid international driving license to drive in Indonesia legally. A bit of advice for Hungarians: the cover of these documents issued in Hungary say Nemzetközi vezetői engedély (“International driving licence”) in Hungarian only! Obviously, not many Indonesian policemen speak Hungarian, so be prepared with some explanation when stopped by the police.

7. Some useful expressions in Bahasa Indonesia

If you feel ready for the in-depth immerse to Indonesia, there is one last – and very important – step to take: learn the language! As the well-known Hungarian proverb goes, “a nation lives in its language”, and Indonesia and its national language Bahasa Indonesia is no exception. Or is it? Indonesia is a vast melting pot of hundreds

of ethnic groups speaking more than 700 different regional languages (which is more than 10 percent of all the languages of the world!). As lingua franca, Bahasa Indonesia, a standardized register of Malay has been used throughout the archipelago for centuries, which was adopted as national language when Indonesia became independent in 1945. According to Statistics Indonesia's 2010 census, of the population a quarter of a billion strong, only 43 million count as native Bahasa Indonesia speakers and some 155 million as second-language speakers (using a regional/local language – Javanese, Balinese, Sundanese, Sasak, etc. – as mother tongue), giving a total number of roughly 198 million (BPS – Result of Indonesia's Population Census 2010, 2013 pp. 421, 427). Although most Indonesians are only second-language speakers, they will be truly grateful if you talk to them in Bahasa Indonesia. So hereby I collected some Indonesian expressions which not only serve as a teaser to the language but may also reflect some national characteristics:

- **Hati-hati!** ("Be careful!")

Originally, hati means "heart" in Bahasa Indonesia, but if you double the word, it will mean something like "be careful". Indonesians are very cautious and caring, and hati-hati is often used to warn people for danger or to bid farewell ("travel safe" or "stay safe"). It is interesting to note that some words in Bahasa Indonesia gain extra meaning when doubled, mata for instance means "eye" and mata-mata means "spy".

- **Sabar!** ("Be patient!")

Patience is a must-have skill in Indonesia as locals do not like to haste things. Compared to Westerners, they are extraordinarily patient, keen on enjoying each and every moment of life. Hence, pushing an Indonesian to hurry might prove counter-productive and may come across as, more often than not, impolite. "Sabar ya, bos, tunggu sebentar!" ("Patience, boss, wait a second!") is the usual answer to those who are not patient enough.

- **Jam karet** ("rubber time")

As the pace of life is much slower in Indonesia than in the West, deadlines aren't that strict either. While in Europe, our daily tasks are scheduled minute by minute, in Indonesia, the rubber time phenomenon applies – less stress on the bright side, less time-effectiveness on the flip side. Slight (or major) delays should be counted with – be prepared that your Indonesian business partner may be late for the meeting or your bus scheduled for 5 o'clock will only leave around 6 (or, in more extreme cases, at 4.30).

- **Mungkin besok** (“maybe tomorrow”)

Taking the often-occurring expressions *sabar* and *jam karet* into consideration, one may clearly see that procrastination is not alien to Indonesians. Similar to *manana!* in Spanish, *mungkin besok* suggests something like “I can’t deal with this now, let’s do it tomorrow”. Compared to Westerners, Indonesians have a slightly different sense of time, so it is important to note that *besok* (the Indonesian word for “tomorrow”) can mean any time in the future (just like *kemarin* – “yesterday” – can refer to any point in the past, not only the previous day). So if your motorbike breaks down and the mechanic says “maybe tomorrow” it’ll be done, it does not necessarily mean you can really pick it up the next day.

- **Bule** (“non-Asian looking foreigner”)

In colloquial Indonesian, there is an expression used for “non-Asian looking foreigners”. This may sound a bit racist at first but in fact it is not. If you think about it, in a country as ethnically diverse as Indonesia, the need to differentiate a certain group of people from the other comes naturally. The origin of the word *bule* is uncertain. Some think it comes from *Belanda* (a local expression derived from “Hollandia”), a country that colonized Indonesia for 350 years. However, the famed Anglo-Irish professor and Indonesia expert, Benedict Anderson thinks otherwise: he claims he invented the word himself. As he writes in his book *A Life Beyond Boundaries: A Memoir*:

“Looking at my skin, which was not white but pink-grey, I realized that it was close to the skin color of albino animals (...) for which Indonesians used the casual term *bulai* or *bulé*. So I told my young friends that I and people who looked like me should be called *bulé*, not *putih* (white). They loved the idea and passed it around among other students they know. Gradually it spread to the newspapers and magazines until it became part of everyday Indonesian language” (Anderson, 2009, 2016).

- **Nongkrong** (“hang out”)

Indonesians are very friendly and sociable. Unlike slightly more anti-social Hungarians, they do not like being alone at all, spending (a lot of) time together for them is essential. *Nongkrong* is a way of socializing: chilling out with a bunch of other people while enjoying clove-flavored *kretek* cigarettes and a cup of *kopi* (“coffee”), telling jokes, playing the guitar and most important of all: not talking about anything important. *Nongkrong* contributes a lot to the stresslessness of Indonesia. In this regard, stressed out Westerners have a lot to learn from Indonesians.

- **Kampung** (“village”)

Literally, kampung means “village”, but there is so much more to this word than that. First of all, the use of kampung is not restricted to rural areas, it rather refers to a district or a certain area within a settlement, as big cities, even Jakarta itself can be divided into small kampungs. Second, as families and local communities have a very significant role in the Indonesian society, kampung has an additional meaning “home” or “homeland”.

- **Tidak apa-apa!** (“No problem!”)

Another proof of Indonesian politeness is tidak apa-apa (“no problem”), the answer you would most likely get when causing a problem or making someone angry. It also has a secondary meaning, something like “don’t worry about it”, suggesting that a solution can be found to anything. Either way, it is always a good idea to say permisi (“sorry”).

- **Sudah makan/mandi?** (“Have you eaten/bathed yet?”)

In Indonesia, you will often be asked sudah makan? or “have you eaten yet?”. In this case, you do not need to give a detailed description of your lunch, as sudah makan? is only a gesture to show that you care about the other’s well-being and comfort, similarly to “how are you?” in English. The appropriate answer could be a brief sudah (“yes, already”) or belum (“no, not yet”). The same thing applies to mandi (“taking a bath”). Upon being asked sudah mandi?, you (probably) do not have to worry about your body odor as the question is only ment to be a polite gesture to make sure that you feel comfortable.

Thanks to its astonishing natural beauty, rich and colorful culture and warm people, Indonesia enchanted many Westerners (or should I say bules?) throughout history. In the 18th century, András Jelky, the famous traveler and diplomat was probably the first Hungarian who fell in love with this place – and not the last. I encourage everyone to take the plunge and explore this vast, unique and timeless country. But of course, one should bear in mind the eternal travel warning: Indonesia is “dangerously beautiful”.

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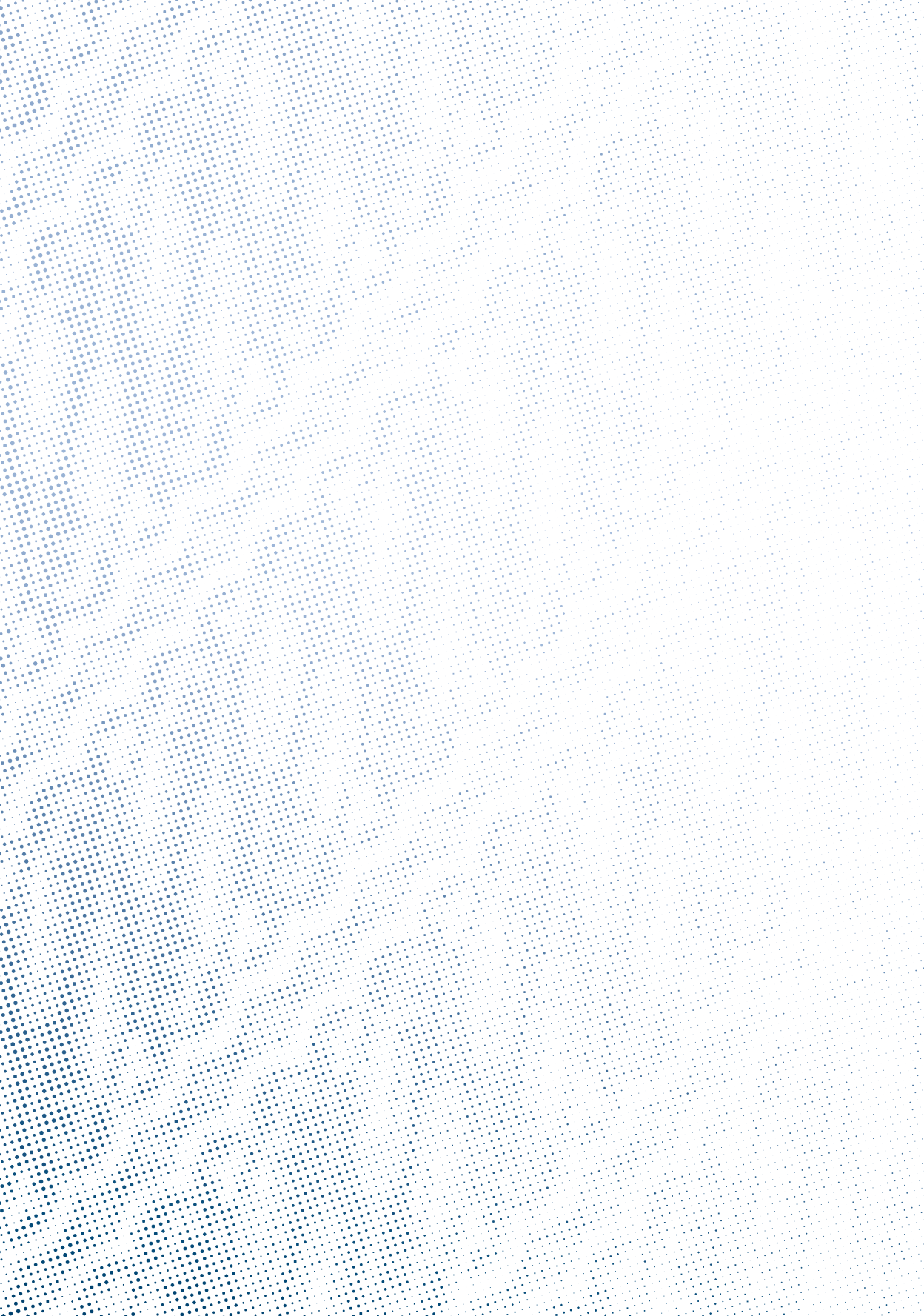
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Role of Women in Promoting Sustainable Resource Management of Upland Bromo - East Java, Indonesia

Mangku Purnomo – Barbara Beckert – Heiko Faust

Following the concept of political ecology, this chapter will explain the essential role women play in stabilizing resources regardless of the limited role they usually play in decision-making processes both in the household and the public sphere. Three villages in the highland areas around the Bromo Tengger Semeru National Park (BTSNP) were selected for case studies. Based on qualitative research (150 semi-structured interviews, 30 in-depth interviews with key informants and five focus group discussions), we found that women have a pivotal role in stabilizing land productivity, rationalizing energy consumption, promoting food security, and taking over men's duties as men tend to enter the rural labor market. Unfortunately, such phenomenon was not followed by changes in the structure of decision-making processes.

1. Introduction

Women have a vital role in environmental management as well as development, therefore, their full participation in resource governance is essential to achieve sustainable development (Rio Declaration Principle 20). The fact that accessing and controlling such resources in developing countries including Indonesia is dominated by a patriarchal system caused women to be less involved in the decision-making process (Siahaan et al, 2004; Dekker, 2013; Domingo, 2013). In many cases, the disparity between men and women is hardly addressed, particularly in environmental decision-making processes (Agrawal, 2001; Larson and Soto, 2008; Elmhirst, 2008; Agrawal, 2014). Torri (2010) underlined that there was still a long way to go for the principles of WID, WED and GAD school of thought to be effectively implemented in the conservation project. For such reason, political ecology might be helpful due to its focus on the understanding of the political sources, conditions and ramifications of changes to the ecosystem as well as gender relations in governing resources. At the same time, political ecology provided a radical critique on the apolitical and depoliticizing effects of mainstream environmental research and practice, particularly in developing countries.

The relationship between humans and nature is not a value-free one. Powerful actors tend to dominate access to and control of natural resources which give them the power to influence decision-making processes (Brodin–Crona, 2009; March, 2010; Brugnach et al., 2011; Heemskerk, et al., 2015). In addition, in the majority of developing countries, patriarchal systems still sustain local social norms, therefore gender is a source of legitimacy for dominant actors. Mostly men tend to win contests for resources. Putting political ecology in the main focus of the analysis would be helpful to deconstruct the ideology of giving alternative roles for women, who often have close contact with the natural environment. At the same time, focusing on the institutional level would give more balanced explanations in which each variable could be found in the same position. Structures of politics and policy can be explained at the local and national levels through governance institutions, even across the domestic-foreign frontier (Blomquist et al., 2010; Mungo`ong`o, 2009; Purnomo, 2012). In this respect, the position of women in the local resource governance becomes essential and it is also important to know how resources are managed in a way that women are excluded or marginalized in their positions, which leads to the degradation of resources or at least causes inefficiency in resource management.

Rules of the game, the access to and control of resources, are often affected by gender issues which were set long time ago as the basis of the development of the society. The institutionalization of the belief that women do not play an important role in managing productive resources led to the unequal distribution of power in decision-making processes (Shiva, 1988; Howard, 2003; Nuijten, 2010). In the case of Indonesia, the dominant system is a patriarchal one which is not limited to the households, but it also concerns the public sphere such as decision-making processes in a village. Therefore, the concept of political ecology as a gender-based approach will be employed here due to its focus on the material and ideological roots of gender relations such as gendered sciences, gendered rights and responsibilities, and gendered participation in organizations and political activity (Agrawal 1997; Rocheleau–Thomas–Slayter–Wangari 1996 in Torri, 2010). Feminist political ecology, as a theoretical orientation, would treat gender as a critical variable in shaping access to resources, and would also focus on the struggle of women to sustain ecologically viable livelihoods (Rocheleau et al., 1996).

In the context of the commercialization of the upland area in Java, a rapid growth of cash crops demanding labor intensive work led to changes in production which forced villagers to enter rural labor markets, and thus the role of women was automatically changed. On the one hand, wage-labor is an alternative and is becoming an important

source of livelihood for the smallholder farmers. As a result, women do not work in the household, but they are also involved in production activities, particularly to take over some of the men's duties (Yuliati, 2009; Stokes et al., 2016). Barrett et al. (2010) mentioned that households with land endowments are so small that hiring labor becomes unprofitable. On the other hand, the decision-making process in the household still shows men's dominance, especially with regard to investment activities (Zamroni–Yamao, 2012). Therefore, this chapter explains the role of women in stabilizing resources through stabilizing land productivity, rationalizing energy consumption and particularly in promoting a food security system. Still following the concept of political ecology, we can see that the role of women who play an important part in stabilizing resources have a limited role in the decision-making process in the households as well as in the public sphere.

2. Methodology

Upland Bromo is dominated by upland forests with fertile volcanic soils where high value commodities (HVC) can grow easily. These products are sold to Jakarta, Surabaya, Malang and other cities outside Java. The agricultural modernization policy was introduced in 1960s by the New Order regime, which promoted the villages' economic development. Administratively, this area is controlled by four district governments (Malang, Lumajang, Probolinggo, and Pasuruan) where more than 5 million people live. Outside the village area forest resources, just as other sources of local people's livelihood, are controlled by the Ministry of Forestry for national parks, the State Forest Company for state forest companies (SFC), private forest companies (PFC) for timber planting cooperation (Kemitraan hutan rakyat), and by the households themselves for community forests (Hutan Rakyat).

Upland Bromo is located in-between two main cities in East Java (Malang and Surabaya) with populations of 816,637 and 2,771,138 respectively (CSA-East Java, 2009). As we know, increasing income in urban areas changes the structure of food consumption expenditures. People prefer to buy more and more expensive sources of nutrients such as meat, fruit, and vegetables (Regmi and Dyck, 2001, p. 23). Vegetables are first picked to increase food diversity above a certain level of income when cereal consumption is sufficient to meet the daily energy requirements (Ali-Tsou, 1997). In Indonesia results indicate that vegetables are an important source of income for farmers due to its profitability with regard to the private and social profits, as well as of competitive and comparative advantages (Arsanti and Böhme, 2008). Indonesia's vegetable production has increased by an average of 8 percent per year

since 2001 from 6.9 million tons to reach more than 9 million tons (excluding almost 31 million tons of mushrooms) in 2005.

Three villages in the highland areas around the Bromo Tengger Semeru National Park (BTSNP) have been selected for case studies. The analysis was based on qualitative research (170 semi-structured interviews, 30 in-depth interviews with key informants, and 5 focus group discussions).

First, the semi-structured interview questions are presented to the respondent without mentioning the answer categories to be used for coding. So, the respondents are free to formulate the answers in their own way, but interviewers are supposed to record the respondents' answers in the pre-coded answer categories. This presupposes that respondents will give answers that match these predefined categories. Indeed, the questions asked are based on specific themes, though allowing some freedom in the interview.

Second, in-depth interviewing is a qualitative research technique that involves conducting intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspectives on a particular idea, program or situation. This technique is adequate to describe the meanings of central themes in the respondent's life. In-depth interviews allow the discussion to cover topics that the respondent deems important to gain personal or confidential information on, which is impossible to be covered in a group format. Respondents are also encouraged to provide detailed explanations of their experiences, feelings and beliefs (Legard et al., 2003).

Third, focus group discussion in the three village samples included poor family households as well. The number of participants was between six and ten depending on the population of poor households. The chosen themes can develop from one another as the interview progresses. The first step of the research focuses on asking personal information about the respondents, such as age, education, status, race, religion, sex, and cultural context. Then, more specific aspects are offered such as intra-household strategies (division of labor and resources allocation) and extra-household strategies (diversification of non-farm income, inclusion into the labor market, migration, access to common resources, social ties, and access to anti-poverty programs). To ensure the transferability and the credibility of the data verification and validation are needed to guarantee the veracity of the data and strengthen research findings. One of the rigorous methods to address this problem is triangulation strategy. Triangulation was initially described as the combination of multiple (two or more) methods in the study on the same phenomenon (Denzin, 1970; Denzin–Lincoln, 2003).

3. Results

In upland Bromo, like in other areas in Javanese villages, women have duties in managing both housework and production activities. As to labor intensive jobs, they participate in weeding, hoeing, grass cutting, picking and separating seeds from the products which are later to be sold in the market. Unlike in the lowlands, where women are only involved in certain phases of production, especially in planting and harvesting, in upland Bromo, they play a part in every phase of the production from the preparation of the land to harvesting. According to Howard (2003) women play a bigger role than men in many cropping systems and they frequently control seed selection and also the management of crop varieties. In Upland Bromo, sandy soil enables women to participate in preparing land, while in the lowlands this is provided by men. However, the assumption that the value of work is based on the results obtained per time rather than the amount of time invested led to lower wages for women. It was the effect of gender ideology, which is an organizing element of existing farming systems worldwide including upland Bromo.

3.1. Stabilizing land productivity

In upland Bromo, observations of women's role in stabilizing land productivity showed that women deal more cautiously with agricultural land. For instance, during the process of preparing the land for planting potatoes, women were more careful than men in cultivating the land on the edge of a cliff which is susceptible to landslides. Women tend to leave a space especially on the edge of a cliff for planting crops such as onions, cabbage or cowpea where the soil remains closed. In very steep areas cultivating land as deeply as men usually do triggers landslides particularly in the rainy season when the structure of the soil cannot withstand water pressure. According to our observations, women hoe shallower than men, which is indirectly more beneficial for the preservation of lands by reducing the risk of landslides. Based on our discussion with extension agents, local potato seeds are actually better with the processing of land that is not too deep because the roots are shorter than those of the seeds coming from a breeder. Based on our observations we have also found that the roots of local potato seeds are only able to use just three-fourths of the depth of the processed land. Processing soil too deeply also increases the amount of air in the soil that can make seed potatoes rot, especially in the case of local seeds that have low durability.

The contribution of women is not only confined to the preparation of land, but they also participate in stabilizing land through collecting the rest of the potato crop left in the ground at harvest when they prepare the land for the next planting season. The rest of potato crops would be competing with the main crop and as an intermediary for pest and this would cause the production to decrease. If they rot, it would attract new pests, particularly bacteria or fungi that would be dangerous not only for potatoes but also for other plants as well. It is a simple activity but it has significant impact on the agriculture system in the upland area particularly when it comes to breaking the cycle of pests and plant diseases. For men, these activities were not important even though they have significant impact on the productivity of the land in the long term. Although there are no specific studies that would prove the findings based on our interviews with farmers and extension agents, leaving the potato to rot would still be a source of diseases for the next crop season. In order to avoid such an outcome, farmers with large plots usually use pesticides or herbicides to kill the bacteria and fungi before planting to protect the crops.

Moreover, women have a significant impact on conserving land productivity using fertilizer applications. When it comes to smallholder farmers in particular, women are usually more efficient in applying fertilizers than men. As generally known, fertilizer and pesticide application in upland Bromo is done by hand without applying any particular standard of dosage. Although farmers use organic fertilizers, but when applied in doses exceeding the normal, they can attract new bacteria and pests (this is especially true for fertilizers derived from chicken droppings). In addition, the tendency for rich farmers to hire women to apply fertilizers in upland Bromo is another proof that women are better placed than men to carry out these tasks. As women pay more attention to the needs of the land, smallholder farmers tend to rely more on women than men in agricultural production. Transferring responsibility to women in such activities gives men more flexibility to enter the labor market, or gain access to the forest margin as another source of maintaining livelihoods.

An additional field of women's efforts is pesticide application. Women carefully keep regulations related to the application of pesticides based on the manufacturer's instructions. As the price of pesticides is higher than other farming inputs, according to men's opinion, women are very accurate in spraying pesticides, which tends to reduce costs for smallholder farmers. In upland Bromo the number of women who are responsible for pesticide application in smallholders' farms is increasing. During the early period of green revolution, men were responsible for pesticide application because the new technologies, especially the equipment of pesticide spray were more suitable for men. As long as extension programs were only available for men, women

did not gain skills to use this equipment. Nowadays, there are several different spray equipment and many of them are also suitable for women. According to Yuliati (2009), in the past, men had higher responsibility for pesticide application when compared to recent years. For example, 96 percent of pesticide application was done by men, while this proportion is presently only 29 percent.

Our statistics showed that 71 percent of the respondents agreed that women and men were able to work together in the field of pesticide application. Consequently, the role of women in stabilizing resources through pesticide application is very important.

3.2. Rationalizing energy consumption

For the citizens of the upland, energy is very important for heating during the winter. Temperature ranges from one to eight degrees and almost close to zero at the peak of the cold season. Families with houses built from wood or bamboo, especially poor families can face major difficulties in keeping their houses warm, because these homes are not energy efficient. In upland Bromo, the government introduced LPG for cooking in order to decrease fuelwood consumption; but its consumption still remained high as the solution of the government was expensive for the poor families. 70 percent of the 150 respondents were still using fuelwood, 20 percent were alternately using fuelwood and natural gas, and only 10 percent of the families switched completely to gas. Therefore, most of them used forest margin in order to meet their energy needs. National Park officers spread their patrol over the forest. Consequently, fuelwood has become scarce and expensive in local markets which forced fuelwood collectors to save their collections of fuelwood for their own consumption.

To cope with energy scarcity, particularly concerning household needs, very smart methods have been applied for both minimizing energy consumption when cooking and warming water for bathing and drinking at the same time and for replacing energy sources with cheaper ones. First, family members sit around a fireplace to warm up their bodies before going to sleep when women cook, so that they use energy in a very efficient way. Women use charcoal for cooking or warming a small portion of food or water for individual needs such as coffee or tea, which is relatively efficient for these activities. Authority to manage domestic work enables women to carry out all activities which consume energy in parallel. So, this was very effective in reducing energy consumption. Second, women use corncob, dried corn stalks and small branches to replace fuelwood that is often scarce in the rainy season. In addition, they only use dry stems of wild mustard collected in the forest for boiling water or cooking

noodles to reduce fuelwood consumption. In fact, most of them put hot water in thermos to keep the water warm over the day for making tea, coffee and noodles, when they work in the fields, which is usually far away from their homes. Therefore, women played an important role in shaping the pattern of energy consumption of households in upland Bromo where energy is used not only for cooking but also for keeping the room warm.

As to non-household activities women also play an important role in reducing energy consumption. Men, for example, usually use cars or motorcycles in transporting harvest, while women do it without using any vehicles, which reduces energy consumption. For smallholder farmers, all family members help in transporting harvest, including women. Women, as opposed to men, use less energy because they do not use machines in their agricultural work which helps reduce energy consumption. Local norms, such as the ones prohibiting women to ride motorcycles are important factors in reducing the use of energy for households, especially for the poor. Out of the 150 respondents only thirty women could ride a motorcycle and out of the latter only ten actually possessed one.

3.3. Promoting a food security system

It is well known that women played an important role in securing household consumption and thus deal with the hard times that often occurred in the drought season. Women developed certain strategies that aimed at creating food reserves and simulating food consumption by food substitution. First, women always save a part of the harvest, especially maize for using it in hard times during the early planting season or at the end of the dry season. They set aside at least nearly one-third of the harvested corn and by hanging dried unpeeled corn in the kitchen or attic to avoid rot during storage. For their actual consumption, they use barrels and gunny sacks for storing a three-four months' supply. It was the traditional way to secure food supply in upland Bromo not only for smallholder farmers, but for the rich as well. As part of the local cuisine, maize remains popular amongst upland people, while rice is most often used as staple food.

Food reserve was also built by women in the field through planting corn, leeks, cabbage and cowpea on the ridge of land. Cowpea leaves, cabbage, and leeks can be used mainly as vegetables, while maize is an important source of carbohydrate. Small bud shoots emerging from the stems of cabbage at the beginning of the rainy season could be used as a food source while flowering branches as a source of seeds. In

addition, leek stems could be used as a seed while the small bud shoots for eating. Keeping the ideal composition of such crops is entirely the responsibility of women, therefore so they play a key role not only in securing household consumption, but also in maintaining food stocks. Although such activities are perceived as being very simple and considered not to have economic value, it was a logical way of building a food security system based on household resources.

Second, women's strategy to deal with food security is simulating food consumption. These strategies were important for smallholders who did not have enough food reserve or money to buy food from the market particularly at the beginning of the planting season. Most of the households, that is, nearly 90 percent of the respondents used maize to replace rice during the harvest time at least once a day, usually for dinner. The proportion of maize increases slowly and reaches the highest proportion at the end of the drought season when potatoes are planted. This is when farmers need more capital for buying inputs so that expenditure for consumption should be cut first. Deposited corn stored in the attic is used including food reserves in the field began to be picked. Even in very difficult times women set meals by decreasing food portions and giving food to family members only twice, except for babies and children. Adults only drink coffee with sugar in the morning before going to the fields and get lunch at about one o'clock. Sometimes they burn the potatoes and smoke on the farm before working to reduce hunger during workdays. If none of the strategies are useful anymore, selling livestock or other valuable goods is an option or borrowing money from neighbors or relatives. As it is generally known, the provision of food including taking out loans to buy food is the women's responsibility. All in all, ignoring the role of women in the stabilization of resources would be a mistake.

3.4. Building and transferring environmentally sensitive knowledge

For the rural community, modern environmentally sensitive knowledge offered by government agencies is often rare. Government agencies that have responsibilities to deliver relevant information only cover urban communities that have more awareness to make use of their rights. Rural communities often have to develop their own knowledge to deal with environmental changes. Rural communities whose economic well-being entirely depends on natural resources are not only obliged to cope with uncertain climate conditions, but they also have to develop environmentally sensitive knowledge to stabilize production. Women have a very important role in building environmental sensitive knowledge in order to stabilize land productivity, rationalize energy consumption, and promote food security. This is of course not the most

high-end technology incorporating a high level of scientific knowledge, but a simple and precise method based on their experiences is liable to solve everyday problems.

In stabilizing land productivity, women created an intercropping system (mixing potato crops with onion, cabbage, and maize) in certain areas where the main crops, particularly potato, cannot grow. Most men admit that such areas are maintained by women to serve household consumption, this is why women plant many kinds of plants. Such activities are not important for men because they do not generate economic revenue as these products are very rarely sold in the market. However, based on women's experience, the plants that had been planted in such areas still grow, while the main crops were infected by diseases. Such experience led women, particularly smallholder farmers to use an intercropping system on their land in order to minimize production risk. As we know, although vegetables have high economic value, these commodities are very prone to diseases. Women know that the intercropping system does not produce as much yield as monocultures, but women prefer to use it to avoid the risk of diseases. During the interviews women told us that this system had also been helpful in providing seeds for the next planting season when the main crops as primary sources of seed had been exhausted. To conclude, knowledge building by women was important not only in stabilizing land productivity but also in securing the production cycle.

Another kind of knowledge developed by women and related to stabilizing land productivity is minimizing the risk of diseases in the main crops through harvesting young potatoes for consumption in case they are attacked by diseases. Although the aim of this activity was not to minimize insect strike, it proved to be very effective in localizing the insect activity only in certain areas. Moreover, it is similar to the low land farmers who harvest young rice when it is affected by damage from insects to avoid further losses. For women in the upland area, this strategy applied to young potatoes did not only mean additional food, but it also turned out to be the appropriate strategy to protect all the crops. Although such an activity seemed to be simple, it had a significant impact on the agricultural system in protecting potatoes from more damage. It was like local surgery with manual tools to stop the spreading of cancer that potentially strikes the whole body. For women, young potatoes are a fundamental source of food especially in the middle of the plant growing season when they have no income at all.

In order to rationalize energy consumption, women design fireplaces in a way to minimize fuelwood consumption. In upland Bromo cultures fireplaces were built by men, but designed by women. Most of the households have two fireplaces; one for daily

cooking activities and another for festive occasions. The first one is usually small having only two or at maximum three holes. According to our observation, the small fireplace was very efficient for cooking a small amount of food or preparing drinking water for small families as opposed to big fireplaces with four to six holes in it, which, in return, made it faster to prepare the meal. In the past, when the fuelwood supply was still abundant, they used the big fireplace. Nowadays, when the fuelwood is scarce, women use the small fireplace for cooking and thick blankets to keep themselves warm. Women not only design efficient fireplaces, but – as it was explained in the previous section –, they also manage the activities that potentially need much energy in the same time and replace fuelwood with other materials to reduce energy consumption.

Regarding food supply security, women developed a technology for storing maize by providing smoke during cooking time. The maize was placed in the kitchen or attic above the fireplace to be exposed to the smoke every day. It was very effective to avoid insect attacks as well as keeping the texture of maize to maintain its taste for more than six months or even throughout the year. This technology is also effective in keeping maize still fertile for seeding in the next planting season. In upland Bromo culture, maize stock is not only used as food but also as seed. They store food and seed at the same place to make it easier. Maize for seed is placed higher in order to avoid getting too much smoke that would potentially kill the fertility of the land. The other technique related to food security is managing efficient food preparation, especially carbohydrates. In upland area, women always cook maize for more than three days' consumption in order to save time as well as energy. They only half cook the corn with little water, which is called "Aron", to maintain humidity in order to avoid rotting. It was efficient both for packaging as well as speeding up the process of cooking. It is a very simple but efficient technology used by smallholder farmers who have limited time for cooking food particularly in the planting season. So, this activity is useful not only in maintaining food security, but it also minimizes energy consumption and saves time.

3.5. Participation in the decision-making process

As previously explained, women in upland Bromo play an important role in stabilizing resources particularly in agricultural production for smallholders' farming activity, rationalizing energy consumption, and promoting food security. Their participation had an important effect on determining the sustainability of resource management. It is also a question how women influence the decision-making process at household level with regard to production activities, energy consumption, and food security.

3.5.1. The intra-household decision-making process

Understanding the position of women in the decision-making process would give meaningful information about the forming of gendered governance of resources in the field. Indeed, such information would trigger the promotion of a gender sensitive resource governance facilitating women's aspirations. At the household level, women's participation in production activities, that led to stabilizing land productivity, was not followed by their active participation in decision-making processes. Due to men's growing participation in the labor market, the chosen strategy in households was that women took over all of men's responsibilities in production. Men actually preferred working in their own lands rather than being involved in the labor market. Working in their own lands meant a more flexible time schedule. They could feed livestock and stock fuelwood, that is relatively difficult when they work for other farmers. Given this backdrop, the participation of women in the production activities was more a result of external factors than that of women's free decision. It was not encouraged by women's increasing awareness of participating in production activities. Participation of women in production was only the result of the need of managing working activities, and not of their participation in decision-making processes both in investment and in selling products.

According to the survey, almost 100 percent of the marketing of agricultural products and buying production input in upland Bromo are dominated by man. Women very rarely participate in buying input production and hiring labor, so man are still dominant in the household decision-making process., Women, for instance, often blame their husbands for not checking carefully enough the seeds that had a lot of damage or were not uniform in size and thus cannot grow properly and secure a high yield. For smallholder farmers, seeds are the most expensive component so they must be selected carefully, especially those bought from other farmers. In fact, women are more careful in choosing seeds due to their responsibility in planting potatoes particularly in the case of smallholder farming.

Based on their experience, women know more about the quality of seeds than men. They are responsible for seed selection before selling it in the market during the harvest season. Moreover, they are also responsible for storing seeds, applying regular pesticides during the storing time, and also for separating rotten seeds. Finally, they have to determine when the seeds are ready for planting. Such activities are common in smallholder farmers, and women usually have more knowledge than man in producing seeds. However, such duties do not guarantee them the right to take part in household decisions on production activities. As a result of this, a gendered

perspective that excludes women from the household decision-making process in the production activities is a barrier in achieving sustainability.

Women are relatively free in managing resources regarding energy consumption for domestic activities that potentially consume more energy. Men were only allowed to use fuelwood for boiling water, bathing or watering pigs. Large households which also have many pigs can have a hard time satisfying this consumption. According to our observations, men tend to use good quality fuelwood to boil water quickly that was always avoided by women for minimizing fuelwood consumption especially in the rainy season. Women generally believe that good quality of fuelwood would be useful in the rainy seasons so during the dry seasons when it is easy to feed the fire dry twigs suffice. Therefore, when it comes to energy consumption, it is women who determine the pattern of consumption that leads to a more efficient usage of fuelwood.

Another household decision-making process that is relatively controlled by women is the creation of a food security system. In upland Bromo culture, men are strongly against to plant cowpea or cabbage in the ridge of land or to save maize. Men mostly focus on planting potatoes or onions that have economic value, so that they disregard the other plants that have no economic value. In addition, men sometimes damage food reserve plants when they apply pesticides or when they transport the harvest. Women who know the economic value of such plants will complain to make sure the plants will grow properly until the bad season. In addition, most women in upland Bromo forbid their husbands to replace maize stocks with rice in order to make sure they have enough food stock in the dry season.

3.5.2. Public decision-making process

In the public sphere women practically do not participate in production activities at all. For instance, women only take for granted men's decisions concerning the mechanism of fertilizer subsidy or other production inputs which has been recently launched by central and local governments. Based on women's point of view particularly, they do not need organic fertilizers that must be bought as part of the subsidy packets. In addition to this, for smallholders, buying fertilizers without subsidy is more efficient because the subsidized packets are sometimes too big for their actual needs. In the meantime, when not used, the quality of fertilizers can deteriorate rapidly with time. Therefore, most of the farmers sell the leftover to neighbors or rich farmers to reduce losses. In the upland area, women have never been involved in the public decision-making processes, although they mostly understand the fertilizer-related

issues. As a result, most of the policies have never impacted the smallholder farmers, because they lack the participation of women who actually have knowledge in fertilizer application.

Women are entirely excluded from rationalizing energy consumption particularly based on regulating fuelwood extraction from the forest. In the village meetings where decisions were taken the objectives of households were represented by men as heads of the households. From the women's perspective, the agreement concluding the meeting did not meet the needs of the households. Households, for instance, were only allowed to collect dry twig branches in certain forests for fuelwood, and they were not allowed to collect wet twig branches. Men have no reason to complain, even though some of wet branch of certain trees are good for cooking and have low damaging impact in the forest because those trees can grow easily. If women were allowed to collect wet twig branches from those trees, they would not need to collect fuelwood in the middle of the forests that would potentially do harm to trees as well as to the surroundings. They assume that wet twig branches near to their houses are in abundance, and collecting dry twigs is sometimes efficient neither for the household, nor for preserving the forest. In reality men still cut off wet twigs when they do not find dry ones, particularly in the rainy season.

The other public decision-making process that excluded women's participation was related to the government's policy which aimed at promoting efficient energy consumption through encouraging the transition from kerosene fuel to LPG. Women were not involved at all in the implementation of this measure so that these equipments were broken just one or two days after their distribution. Training was provided to men even though it was the women's task to use the stove. As local culture prohibited women to participate in public issues, they were not properly involved in the program despite the fact that they are a determinant factor in its success. As a result of this, women use LPG only occasionally and tend to use fuelwood as main source of energy. Additionally, the high prices of LPG compared with fuelwood incited smallholder women to rather use fuelwood that can be collected from the forest. From a political ecological point of view it was a clear example that gendered culture in the public sphere leads to an inefficient program targeting.

As regards to establishing a food security system the situation was different, as in this respect women's participation in the public sphere was relatively frequent. Women, for instance, fully participated in village meetings aimed at discussing the distribution of subsidized rice (Raskin-Beras Miskin), a program elaborated by the central government to counterbalance the high price of food in the hard season. They

are not only involved in the village meetings, but they also participate in targeting households eligible for the subsidy. Some of the families which originally were not included in the recipients' list could profit from the program thanks to women's intervention. In the framework of the program, rice was sold in packages of ten pounds for half of the regular price. In village meetings, the poor who are not in the list can also get subsidized rice. Women can make decisions more fairly than men. Because this mechanism was considered to better fit the villagers' needs, officials finally handed over the distribution of subsidized rice to a group of women called PKK (Peningkatan Kesejahteraan Keluarga or Family Welfare Improvement). Thus, involving women in decision making has a positive impact on the fair distribution of resources among villagers.

4. Conclusions

As I pointed out above, the development of the rural economy was determined by the introducing of HVC in the upland area. This pushed men to enter the labor market and also women to take part in the production activities, particularly in the case of smallholder farmers. Changes in relations of production give more opportunities for women in creating certain technologies related to land conservation as well as rationalizing energy consumption and promoting a food security system. It was proved in a simple way that women were very precise in developing environmentally friendly technologies. However, decision-making process in households and in the public sphere with regard to buying input, choosing seeds and selling products have remained the privilege of men, so women's efforts in stabilizing resources have many constraints. From the perspective of a feminist political ecology, the subordination of women in families is favorable for conservative ideology in preserving men's dominant positions. Carolyn Sachs (1995) mentioned that even in the US a long-standing agrarian ideology still defines men as farmers and women as farm wives rather than partners in work-related activities. In the developing countries such an ideology seems to be quite stable even though it has undergone rapid changes during economic development.

Although women's income is bigger than the wage/salary of men, gendered ideology gives in fact full right to men in controlling marketing activities. Wangari et al. in Rocheleau et al. (1996) showed that in the Philippines, women are central actors of exchange networks. Thus, giving more roles to women in the exchange networks promote more efficiency. In the case of upland Bromo, men's control over market activities pushed women to gain more control over household spending, especially

over production activities. For instance, in the case of purchasing seeds, men's domination has become a constraint for households to get high quality seeds, fertilizers and pesticides. Hence, involving women in the market for gaining input production and marketing was not only promoted more efficiently in the rural markets, but it also increased efficiency in allocating resources. It is in accordance with Matthews-njoku et al. (2009) who found that rural women should be encouraged through access to appropriate inputs, land, credit facilities and policy promotion for increased and effective agricultural production.

In the public sphere, male dominance in upland Bromo was unchallenged. Women, for instance, were excluded from village meetings that shaped the distribution of the subsidized fertilizer. The type and quantity of the fertilizer often did not meet local people's needs. In addition, as the fertilizer packets were too big for the smallholders, a black market for fertilizers developed where smallholder farmers could sell their part to rich farmers at a low price. Indeed, according to the opinion of women, dedicated fertilizer stores designated by the government only recognize men, heads of families, as responsible people. Choosing men was not only facilitated by the local culture but also determined by fertilizer shops since only men were allowed to sign the invoice when they order subsidized fertilizer. According to the interviews, involving women in the planning process was very complicated for fertilizer producers, because village meetings were only supposed to support socialization programs and facilitate decision-making. Sikod (2010, p. 70) based on a case study in rural Cameroon found that although intra-household relationships were being reshaped and gender roles within the household redefined, men were still the heads of households and the major decision-makers. This case also confirms that the exclusion of women from decision-making processes has both economic and cultural reasons.

The situation is slightly different in the case of food security systems where women have absolute freedom to manage household consumption, including building food stocks for difficult times. This is not surprising, as women in the Javanese culture have duties in the household work including managing food consumption. Indeed, women grow crops for household consumption, which in certain areas has no economic value. In normal times men tended to ignore such activities. From a political ecological point of view, the eminent role of women in creating a food security system was not driven by the awareness of the importance of these activities, but rather was a coincidence. The tendency of men to replace such crops with forage grass in several areas is an evidence that women are right to pursue this activity. It is very uncertain, though, that these activities have an important role in increasing food security.

In terms of building and transferring environmentally sensitive knowledge, ignoring women's aspirations would limit the number and the quality of those technologies. For example, in stabilizing land productivity when the decision-making process was still controlled by men, it was difficult to maintain sustainability of such knowledge. If the resource allocation was fully controlled by women, they could manage production activities in a very efficient way not only in terms of economic value, but also with regard to stabilizing resources including food security and energy consumption. When environmentally sensitive knowledge created by women is disrupted, it can increase the instability of resources that can potentially lead to a further deterioration of the resources. Replacing food crops with grass in several areas where women used to create food security stocks because of the growing number of cattle and due to the limited grazing area in the forest has become a new threat for environmentally sensitive knowledge as an important factor in stabilizing resources in upland Bromo.

As previously discussed, in capitalizing rural economy, men tend to enter the modern labor market in order to maintain their household's livelihood, therefore women had to take over men's responsibility in production activities, particularly in the case of smallholder farmers. Practically, these activities simultaneously support women's efforts in rationalizing energy consumption and promoting food security which has traditionally been the woman's responsibility. In the same time, women also build and transfer environmentally sensitive knowledge that actually supports resource stabilization. This tendency, however, was not followed by changes in local relations in which women appear as being subordinate to men particularly in decision-making processes both in the households and public matters. From a political ecological point of view, in most cases men still have a dominant role even though their contribution to the household income has decreased. Beyond constraining the stabilizing resources, gendered values inhibit or even potentially exclude women from building and transferring ecologically sensitive knowledge as an important component in supporting more sustainable resources used for economic benefit and conserving bio-diversity. Rather than supporting women's efforts, many policies even damage the environmentally sensitive knowledge that had been previously formed.

In the households men still dominate important activities such as selling harvest and buying production input. In the public sphere the situation is similar and women do not have the right to attend village meetings as the main forum of locally regulating resource distribution. Fertilizer stores, for instance, rejected women as guarantors of the subsidized fertilizer in order to deliberately maintain male dominance. Participation of women was only observed in the distribution of the subsidized rice, which, in local people's eyes, is a shameful activity. Therefore, participation of women

in market activities was not encouraged by a growing social awareness of gender equality, but it was rather due to an 'absurd' perception of social values. Rather than gaining more strategic positions in the decision-making process, due to changes in the production structure women entered production activities without the right to manage household expenditures. While women play an important role in stabilizing resources, social preferences and dominant economic actors systematically exclude them from decision-making processes.

For the future research agenda, focusing on promotion of more balanced changes between production and social values that potentially inhibit or even exclude women from stabilizing resources would be important. Changes in this balance would offer better conditions for increasing and transferring environmentally sensitive knowledge that tends to be damaged. Furthermore, it would support the effort to promote women's participation in decision making within the household concerning agricultural expenditure and in the public sphere regarding the regulation of resource distribution. Galdwin (2002) found that women proved to be good at improving land fertilities, as a consequence, it would be rational for related government programs to target them. This finding was supported by Bowers (2010), **who suggested that** policy developers should elaborate new channels of providing relevant information to women farmers in improving the technical and economic aspects of farming. At the same time, policy developers ought to work closely with farming women as their contribution to strategic decisions in terms of implementing sustainable development is necessary and is an optimal solution to improve rural livelihoods in the future. Additionally, Quisumbing and Pandolfelli (2010) suggested that promoting women's access to and control over resources can potentially promote a more gender-sensitive approach in rural development programs.

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Population Trends in Indonesia

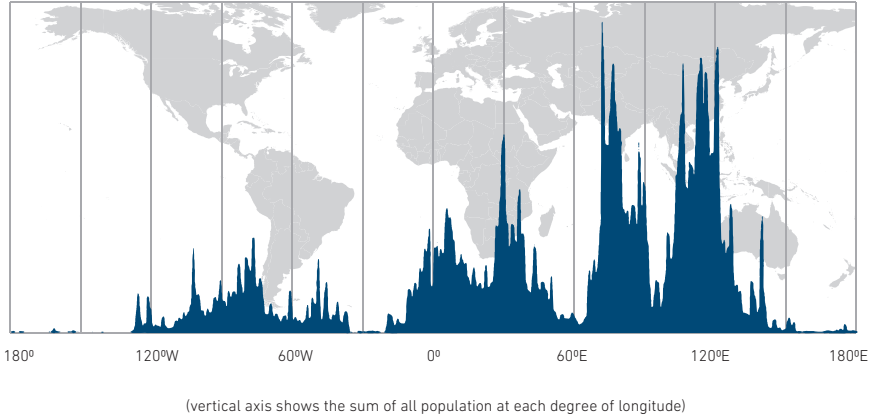
Zsuzsanna Lantos

One of the greatest challenges facing developing nations for the past few decades is fast population growth. The demographic processes in many South-East Asian countries have caused some difficult-to-tackle social and economic problems. They go hand in hand with serious infrastructural, ecological and social tensions caused by the underdevelopment of the transport network, the lack of clean potable water, sustainable environmental management, and the challenges presented by overpopulation. The handling of the problems creates a need for investment and urges for increasingly dynamic economic growth. Today the demographic challenge manifests itself in different stages across all South-East Asian countries. In some places population growth has significantly subdued and the infrastructural problems of densely populated areas have subsided (e.g. China) while in other areas although the pace may have slowed down, population growth is still relatively high (e.g. India or Indonesia) measured in millions per year. There is one common feature though: in all largely populated countries the coming decades will witness the effective management of the demographic transition through the rising or at least the maintenance of the current level of living standards.

1. Introduction

The vast majority of the world's population lives in South-East Asia and in the Pacific islands region, where the geographical concentration of the population is extreme. China, India, and Indonesia jointly account for approximately 40 percent of the world's population. Once population has swollen to such volume with such high regional concentration, the implications reach far beyond mere demographic indices: the impact on consumption and on environmental load present much greater challenges than those customarily tackled in the west in an effort to maintain economic development. The depth and pace of Indonesia's demographic processes in the world is easier to understand through a comparison of the geographic distribution and regional concentration of the world's population. It is easy to see that the country is in the middle of the world's most densely populated area.

Figure 1
The World's Population in 2000, by Longitude



Source: Rankin 2010

Tackling these issues (healthcare and welfare services, education, poverty, gender equality, etc.) in these large population countries is a fundamental question, but equally important for them is how to exploit the benefits of having a large population (enormous internal market, large labor force, etc.). Based on international experience, spectacular progress can be made in a developing but fundamentally underdeveloped country in the fight against poverty, in the development of healthcare, welfare and education; the improvement of food safety, or economic development with the application of the concept of the developing state. Nevertheless, the regional disparity within any individual country may be vast; certain regions approximate the levels of the most developed nations while others may still be centuries behind. As for Indonesia, one of the reasons of its regional discrepancy lies in the disparity of the levels of economic development prevalent in the specific regional units; for this very reason, the demographic trends are also wide-ranging, which fundamentally defines regional income levels. (Cungki, 2017). As a result of the various demographic trends, there are still areas of high productivity and rapid population growth while in relatively advanced urban areas, the rate of population growth is much lower.

Lower productivity and subdued population growth are generally speaking natural processes and are considered to be consistent with the theory of demographic transition. At the same time, in areas where life expectancy is on the rise and mortality rates are dynamically falling, the population will rapidly age, which may lead to very serious tensions. In practice, rise in the rate of employable age workforce is normally

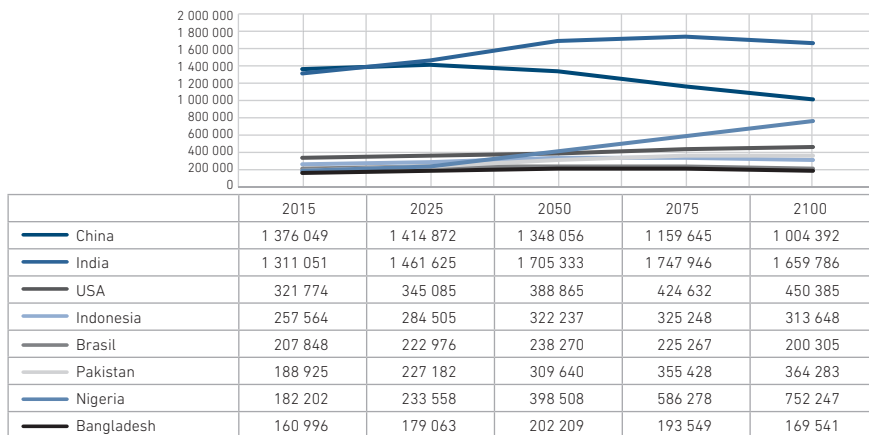
beneficial in the beginning – especially where the expansion of the economy can keep up pace with it – however, later, the scarcity of the next generation (the employees of the future) coupled with the rise of ageing generations, will weigh heavily on the healthcare and welfare system and on economic growth. It is this very duality that currently characterizes Indonesia: the present young population can be a great asset to the country under right eco-political conditions. These opportunities must however be maximally exploited well before the country steps into its new phase of rapid ageing in a few decades' time.

2. Regional disparities

In the middle of 2017, the population of Indonesia, according to UN estimates, stands at 264 million accounting for approximately 3.5 percent of the world's entire population. Today, Indonesia is the world's fourth most populous country with population expected to grow to 320 million by 2050 despite the ongoing relatively effective family planning program started in the 1960s. (By 2050 Indonesia will close in and/or exceed Pakistan, and later Nigeria and then grow to be the world's 6th or 7th most populated state.)

Table 1

Population prospects in selected countries, 2015-2100 (total population by standard variant, in thousands)



Source: own elaboration, United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2015). World Population Prospects: The 2015 Revision, DVD Edition

In her book *Indonesia: Exploring the Improbable Nation*, Elizabeth Pisani (2015) is spot on in her description of Indonesia. According to her, this country with the largest Muslim population in the world is also perhaps the most unlikely country. The east-west expanse of the 17 thousand islands is greater than the distance between Alaska and New York (more than 5150 km), it has more than 700 languages, a multitude of ethnicities, and a dynamically developing economy; yet, it is hardly recognized by people outside Indonesia. The island state is characterized by complexity and controversy: its diversity is awe-inspiring not only in terms of its geography and culture, but one cannot help escape the impression that people of different historical times have gathered to coexist in this unlikely world.

The population is diverse in ethnicity, culture, and language with two main groups being dominant: the Javanese people, who account for 41 percent of the population, and the Sundanese with 15 percent. Both groups originate from Java. This island is home to nearly 60 percent of the total population. If we add Sumatra, we get approximately 80 percent of the people of Indonesia. The largest population (43 million) lives in Western Java whereas the least populous area is Western Papua (761 thousand) in the far east end of the country. With massive regional differences, the population density is 144 (people/km²) and the share of the urban population is nearly 54 percent.

Table 2

Largest Ethnic Groups in Indonesia

Group	% of total Population
Javanese	42.65
Sundanese	15.41
Malay	3.45
Madurese	3.37
Batak	3.02
Minangkabau	2.72
Betawi	2.51
Bugis	2.49
Bantenese	2.05
Banjarese	1.74

Source: Statistics Indonesia Population Census 2010

Only half of the more than 17,000 islands are inhabited, app. 8 thousand islands do not even have a name, and 6 thousand islands are uninhabited. Indonesia comprises the world's largest group of islands, with 5 larger islands and more than 30 island groups of various sizes scattered in the Indian and Pacific Oceans; the largest ones are Sumatra, Java, Borneo (Kalimantan), Sulawesi, and Western New-Guinea (Papuan or Irian Jaya). Innumerable groups of people congregate and alloy in Jakarta. Greater Jakarta lies over

an area of 661,52 km² on the northern shores of western Java; it is a center for government, commerce, and industry sporting the most extensive relations with the rest of the country and internationally, therefore it is the heart of the state in all respects. In recent decades, it has grown into one of the most noted metropolises of Asia and with its population of over 10 million, it is one of the most populous cities of our planet.

Table3

The five provinces with the largest population in Indonesia (million people)

Province	Population (2000)	Population (2010)
West Java	35.8	43.1
Central Java	31.2	32.4
North Sumatra	11.6	13.0
East Java	34.8	37.5
Banten (Java)	8.1	10.6
Indonesia	206.3	237.6

Source: Statistics Indonesia Population Census 2000 & 2010

As a result of the country's geographic diversity, the islands also differ in their properties, in other words, the residents have different opportunities, resources or – for that matter – also face a diverse range of problems. In the specific regions, the activities pursued for subsistence may be wide ranging; it is only natural that people tend to cluster where the conditions are better, where resources are plentiful, where survival is most likely. All of the more populated islands such as Java, Sumatra, and Borneo provide something unique and special that attracts people and/or tourism to a greater or lesser extent. Sumatra has the most significant mining areas (crude oil, tin) and plantations (rubber tree and palm oil) of the country, and Java is the center for manufacturing. Java is the country's food supplier and rice producer playing a key role in overpopulation. At the same time the cities of Java have rapidly expanded over the past decades and the migration of the people into the cities has also accelerated. The four largest cities of the island are Jakarta, Surabaya, Bandung, and Semarang. Jakarta is not only the capital, but also the economic, commercial, cultural and political hub of the country, and also the most highly populated city in the whole of South-East Asia. It accounts for more than 4 percent of the population of the country; the continuous expansion of its catchment area leads to the constant growth of the slums on the outskirts together with the infrastructural problems mentioned earlier.

The rubber tree plantations of Sumatra, Java, and Borneo make the country the second largest rubber exporter in the world, but Sumatra and Borneo also play a significant role in the world's palm oil production. The islands also make the country a coffee superpower as the first coffee bushes brought in by the Dutch settlers have by

now grown into massive coffee plantations in Sumatra, Java, Papua New-Guinea, and the mountains of Sulawesi. One of the world's most expensive coffees, Kopi Luwak (US\$ 700 a kilogram), also known as civet coffee also originates from here. Bali is aptly referred to as the "Garden of Gods" and plays a major role in tourism, while the residents of the Lesser Sunda Islands live off agriculture (rice, coffee, cocoa production, fishing and timber). The central regions of the island of Borneo (Kalimantan) are still less known today; these areas account for two-thirds of the island's raw timber export. The residents of Sulawesi enjoy the little economic benefits derived from rice, coconut and cocoa bean production; while Maluku is famous for its spices (cloves, pepper, nutmeg, and cinnamon). Western New Guinea (Irian Jaya) is populated by the Papuans; formerly based on the precious trees of its ancient forests, the economy of the island today is driven by its well-explored oil fields. (Horváth, 1998, 2008)

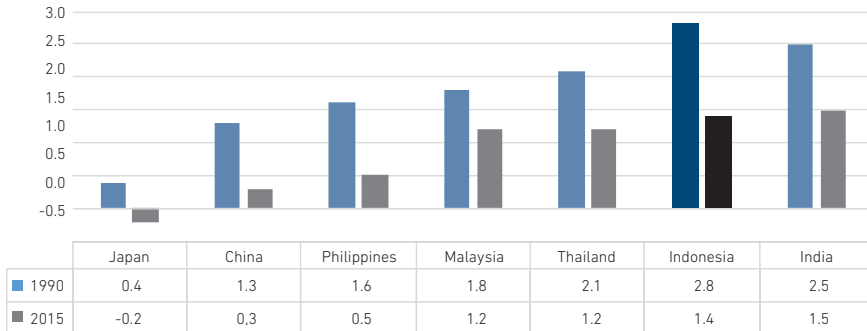
3. Population Trends

In the development of population trends, a number of variables may play a role at any one time; of these, the demographic data (fertility rate, age structure, migration trends) are seen as the most important. From 1990 until 2015, the fertility rate in Indonesia had halved, but is still relatively high in comparison with many of the East-South-East Asian countries. The drop in fertility is attributed to the following factors: fall in mortality; birth control; urbanization; increased incomes; higher levels of education for women, etc. In line with their levels of development, the countries in the wider region produce widely different indices. Japan witnesses a population decline and an ageing population; the fertility rate in China and the Philippines is also well below 1 percent, which – as a result of the high birth rates of earlier decades – foreshadow a rapidly ageing society.

Going back to the middle of the previous century, the road leading to today is easy to trace: following a rise in the 60s and 70s, the decline continues even today. Annual population growth in Indonesia in the 1960s was well over 2 million; this rose to around 3 million from the 1970s onwards. For 2016 this predicts a population increase of just under 3 million. The population growth is characterized by strong regional differences being the highest in Papua and the lowest in Central Java. Based on the UN forecasts and on the given framework, we can predict a fall in population for the years following 2050. By then, two-thirds of the population will be living in cities and only one-third in rural areas – a result of the explosion-like urbanization starting in the 1970s. Already today, more than half of the population lives in cities, which is a marker of economic growth and – at the same time – a precondition of it.

Figure 2

Average annual population growth rate (%), 1990, 2015



Source: own elaboration, Statistical Yearbook for Asia and the Pacific 2015. United Nations, ESCAP (2016)

In this context, it is worth noting the research work of Evi Nurvidya Arifin and Aris Ananta (University of Indonesia) (Arifin–Ananta, 2013), who studied the Indonesian features that define mega-population trends. The two experts highlight three important trends which need to be taken into account in all future areas of development be it the prospective social, political, or economic strategy. The three trends: first: steadily growing population; second: ageing society; third: changing migration.

This fundamental framework deserves further scrutiny and the findings should be used to discuss the future of Indonesia. Once population has reached a critical mass, the market impacts on consumption, the implications on economic growth, and the extent of environmental load, etc. are significant. The basic dilemma remains, i.e. how to tackle the consequential issues (health and welfare services, education, poverty, gender equality, etc.) and how to exploit the inherent opportunities (vast internal markets, massive labor force, etc.). Using these frameworks as our premise, six trends can be identified along which the intrinsic challenges and opportunities can be substantively evaluated and these may also serve as our basis of future research.

- Trend #1: Large and steadily growing population
- Trend #2: Diversity and unequal regional distribution
- Trend #3: Explosive urbanization
- Trend #4: Young population – “window of opportunity”
- Trend #5: Falling fertility and ageing society
- Trend #6: Islam

The economic strategic tasks that are closely linked to these trends and which also neatly fit in with the UN's sustainable development goals are:

- The eradication of poverty; raising of living standards
- Closing the gap in backward regions
- Stability of water, food, and energy supply
- Making public services, healthcare accessible
- Raising the standard of education
- Infrastructure development
- Increasing employment and medium wages, etc.

3.1. Population Trend #1:

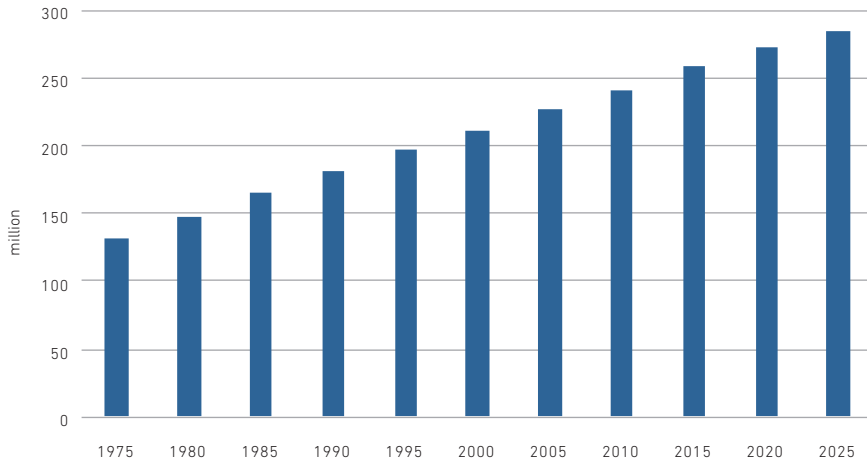
Large and steadily growing population

In the 1960s, high fertility rates were coupled with low but steadily growing life expectancy as a result of which population growth had accelerated. At that time a woman would give birth to six children on average and life expectancy was 45 years. According to the 2010 fertility index, a woman has 2.5 children and life expectancy had risen to 70 years, which lead to continued but slowing population growth.

With a population of 264 million, Indonesia is the world's fourth and Asia's third most populous country burdened with heavy social inequality against a complex ethnic and cultural backdrop. The population has doubled over the past 40 years and using the present, slowing trends for calculation, the UN statistics predict a population of 284 million for 2025 and a peak of 322 million for 2050 after which we can expect a decline.

Increasing population leads to problems in a number of domains: the securing of public services and public transportation is cumbersome, the development of health-care and education is delayed and the load on the environment is tremendous. Population growth goes hand in hand with increased demand for water, food, energy, and increased environmental load. While there are huge efforts being made to improve the quality of public services, healthcare, and education; there are still many issues that require further measures mainly in the provision of health services.

Figure 3
Population (1975-2025, million)



Source: own elaboration, United Nations, DESA, Population Division (2015) (Medium-fertility variant)

The economy of Indonesia in recent years has been steadily expanding. Currently it is the 15th strongest economy in the world and by 2030, it may even make it to the top 10 or 8. Nonetheless, approximately 30 million people live in poverty, which equals to the entire population of Malaysia. For this reason, also with a view to further consolidating the economy, the development of the government and the private sector, job creation, and the raising of medium wages remain top priorities. The economy must grow in order to maintain the employment rate, raise living standards, and prevent increasing unemployment, and avoid a situation where population growth is coupled with a fall in per capita GDP. As a result of the slowing population growth and rapid economic development, per capita incomes are on the rise.

The path Indonesia is on at the moment is very similar to that of China and India as they both were facing the potential conflicts inherent in having a very large population and the desire to accelerate economic growth (Manning–Purnagunawan, 2011); and the solutions have to be identified in line with individual idiosyncrasies. Indonesia's untouched and explorable natural resources widen her window of opportunities. A strategy built on a combination of having a wide range of raw materials and pursuing higher added value activities may lead to favorable social and economic outcomes when coupled with slowing population growth.

A series of forecasts predict that by 2030, 55 percent of the 20-64 year-old employable population will have secondary and 18 percent tertiary qualifications, and the level of schooling will rise across the entire population in general. (In 2000, 47 percent of the population had elementary education.) These population trends coupled with changes in the education structure and the high rate of employment-age population may provide a solid foundation for a favorable economic path in terms of demography in the coming two-three decades. (See later: Population Trend #4: Young population, “window of opportunity”)

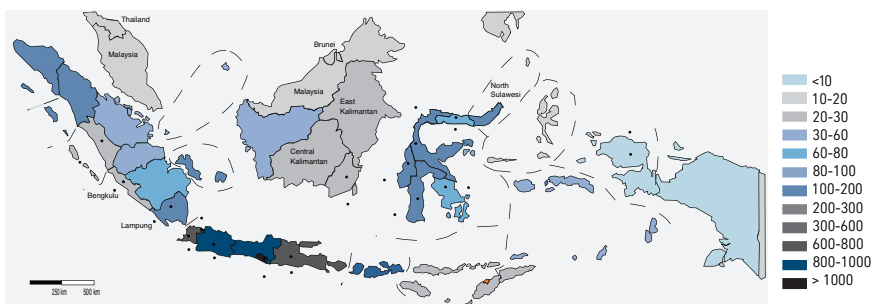
Focal points and strategic questions pertaining to the trend of growing population 1. Will Indonesia be able to find the solutions to respond to the challenges and tensions inherent in a growing society? 2. Will it succeed in achieving social and environmental equilibrium in view of environmental and ecological considerations?

3.2. Population Trend #2: Diversity and unequal regional distribution

The distribution of the population is very uneven in many South-East Asian countries and Indonesia is an excellent example. Java and the neighboring Madura Island only make up 7 percent of the country in area, still they account for 60 percent of the population. In Java, an area of 130 thousand km², live 150 million people making it the world’s most densely populated area. In 2016 this meant a population density of nearly 1,200 person/km², which is eight times higher than the national average. Bali, with a population five times higher than the average, is also exceptional in this respect.

Map 1

Population density (number of persons/km²)



Source: own elaboration, UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. <https://www.worldofmaps.net>

Inequality fuels internal tension within the residents, which creates potential tension in the Outer Regions between a densely populated Java that plays an economically and politically dominant role.

Jakarta is not only the capital, but also the economic, commercial, cultural and political hub of the country, and also the most highly populated city in the whole of South-East Asia. It accounts for more than 4 percent of the population of the country; the continuous expansion of its catchment area leads to the constant growth of the slums on the outskirts.

The population is extreme not only in terms of its distribution but also in its diversity. There are representatives of nearly 350 ethnic groups, 700 different languages, and 6 official religions spread across innumerable islands. In order to ease the confusion of tongues, Indonesia's language, Bahasa Indonesia, was created by the standardization of a dialect of Bahasa Malay. Essentially the whole population understands it, which makes it one of the most widely spoken languages in the world. It is used in public education, in the media, and in all official communication while at home everyone speaks their own language or dialect.

We have already discussed the main ethnic groups in a general overview, but let us be more specific by looking at regional distribution. The western part of the country is mainly populated by Malay peoples whereas the eastern part is home to Pacific Islanders, and the westernmost parts are inhabited by Papuans. The two main ethnic groups can be further subdivided; as a result of the vast geographical span, the sometimes complete isolation of the subgroups, and the idiosyncratic development paths, many hundreds of ethnic groups have evolved across the thousands of islands, and in many cases, even within islands each sporting their own specific language or dialect, lifestyles, customs and even levels of development. At times, it really feels as if people from different historical times were living in today's world. (Pisani, 2015) The names of the ethnic groups may sometimes be indicative of their roots; e.g. the Javanese people live on the island of Java, the Madurese on Madura and the Balinese in Bali. In other instances, it is very difficult to make any assertions regarding the origins of the ethnicities; e.g. in Sumatra live the Dayaks and Batakese; Sulawesi is home to the Bugis, and the Maluku Islands to the Ambonese, etc. Suddenly the country's slogan begins to make sense: "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika", in other words "Unity in Diversity". This diversity – similarly to the diverse natural wonders – is part of Indonesia's national pride and character. The fundamental pillars of the national philosophy (Pancasila) emphasize that equality, justice, democracy and unity are cherished values and are the most important virtues. It is important to note the

importance of belief in god, i.e. the requirement to embrace one (any one) of the six official religions.

Cungki Kusdarjito (Novák, 2017, pp. 151-169.) emphasizes that Indonesia is probably the most diverse country in the world and therefore – and also in the interest of unity –, it must make some significant allowances. However, too much compromise may be in the way of development when everyone's interest is being taken into account. Still, because of Indonesia's commitment to democratic solutions, conciliation of interests is crucial, which may – sadly, but logically – have a detrimental impact on efficiency. Keeping unity and deliberating diverse interests is a serious challenge if we also want common interests to prevail, and the country to rise and develop.

Focal points and strategic questions pertaining to the diversity and the trend of inequality: 1. Will Indonesia succeed in preserving her peaceful harmony in the face of diversity? 2. Can different interests be vindicated fairly and democratically without impeding efficiency and development?

3.3. Population Trend #3: Explosive urbanization

Urbanization means two things: an increasing number of human settlements receive the status of town/city based on their size, significance, and population; and also a qualitative change in terms of supplies, lifestyles, infrastructural improvement. Since the 1960s, the number of city-dwellers has been soaring, which is a precondition to, but also a result of economic growth. The new direction of economic policy of the 1980s (aiming for exports rather than replacing imports; more ground given to the private sector, etc.), along with liberalization and fresh impetus had given a new momentum to the growth of cities. In 1950, there were eight cities in the world with a population of at least 5 million; today there are more than 50 including many with a population over 10-15 and even 20 million, for example, Jakarta. In the city outskirts, metropolitan undertakings and endeavors (industrial areas, large residential estates) kept attracting people while agricultural areas were rapidly shrinking leading to a shortage of arable land and rising unemployment among former agricultural workers. This was coupled with a massive wave of development in terms of potable water supply, sanitation, public road infrastructure and the eradication of slums.

The city residents of Indonesia are concentrated in the metropolises of Java. The cities and their catchment areas, the roads leading thereto, and the connecting

infrastructure had undergone unsystematic development without proper urban expansion concepts. Soon it transpired that environmental and practical considerations, sustainability, access to public services, local community interests, and the idea of expansion on a human scale had not been given sufficient attention. Population growth goes hand in hand with increased demand for water, food, and energy, and also with increased environmental load. Jakarta was built on swamps hence ground water level is always high and the city is subject to flooding. The provision of clean, piped potable water is difficult along with sanitation and sewage, or any infrastructural development. Although the number and length of public roads in the capital has increased considerably, traffic by motor cyclists and cyclists increased at a rate that was impossible to meet with infrastructural development making traffic congestion and traffic incidents commonplace today. There have been many attempts to reduce road congestion including the “three-in-one” rule preventing motorists from driving during peak times on the busiest roads with fewer than three people in the car, or preventing trucks and lorries from entering main roads during daylight.

Jakarta is a modern metropolis with nearly 200 skyscrapers, wide avenues and many shopping centers. Based on the city’s importance and size, it is ranked 34th in the world (GaWC, 2017) and its growth rate is greater than that of Kuala Lumpur, Beijing, or Bangkok. On the basis of interest in its animated economy and in the country in general, it is believed that Jakarta is facing an imminent conference-boom. (Jakarta builds for the future, 2013) Accordingly, the growth potential in business tourism is huge; therefore, the number of conferences, international meetings, reward trips, and exhibitions is expected to rise. Jakarta will host the 13th Indonesia’s No. 1 International Water, Wastewater, and Recycling Technology Event; i.e. the INDO WATER 2017 Expo & Forum, hand in hand with the Indo Waste and Indo Energy 2017. This event will help more than 10,000 industrial experts from nearly 30 countries to build and nurture valuable relations through more than 550 exhibitions displaying the latest water and waste treatment technologies and developments in the energy sector. Together they will present cost-effective solutions and technologies and continue negotiating and working on development. There is a tangible demand to successfully treat the negative consequences of urbanization with the application of the best solutions in these domains. Others point out that there are not enough suitable venues and premises that meet business standards. In response to such warning voices, constructions are under way to redress Jakarta’s spatial limitations. Bali has been a very strong competitor on the domain of business tourism in the past ten years.

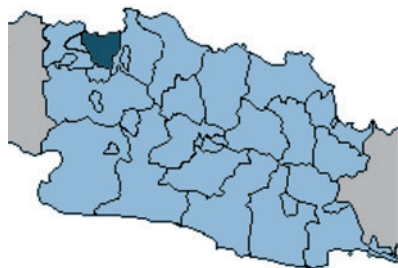
Based on the 2010 census figures, the Indonesian Statistical Office (BPS) estimates that in 2015, Jakarta had a total population of 10,177,924 and an annual growth rate of

1.02 percent. Accordingly, this city of 662 km² has an extraordinarily high population density of 15,367 person/km².

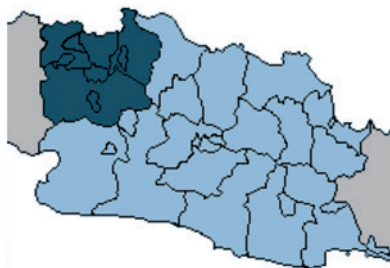
The acronym Jabodetabek (made up of the names of the following cities: Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, and Bekasi) is a well-known metropolitan area, the second largest in the world; but Jakarta does not stop here, it continues to stretch over the outskirts. The core of the area, DKI Jakarta, is home to 10 million people, but the area of Greater Jakarta accommodates more than 30 million. This is coupled with an exceptionally high population density of 4,373 person/km² according to the last, 2010 census. (Citypopulation BPS, 2010).

Map 2

DKI Jakarta within Western Java



Jabodetabek within Western Java



Source: By Doseiai2 - CC BY-SA 3.0, under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license

Table 4

Major cities in Indonesia

City:	Number of residents (2014, capita)
1 Jakarta	10,135,030
2 Surabaya	2,843,144
3 Bandung	2,575,478
4 Bekasi	2,510,951
5 Medan	2,497,183
6 Semarang	2,067,254
7 Tangerang	2,001,925
8 Depok	1,869,681
9 Palembang	1,561,959
10 South Tangerang	1,436,187

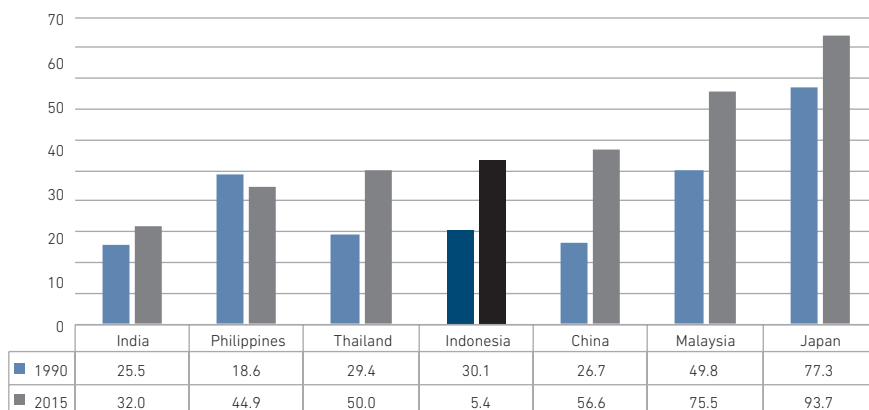
Source: Ministry of Health Indonesia (2014), BPS

In connection with urban development, strategic plans that help us prepare for further rapid growth – the various “smart city” solutions seem to be the most viable here – have enjoyed great popularity recently. In this respect Indonesia is no exception and the number of smart cities may soon be close to 100. In 2015, IKCI (Indonesia Smart City Index) was introduced with eight key focus points (smart ICT, smart development planning, smart green open space, smart transport, smart waste management, smart water management, smart building and smart energy); this enables us to measure the dynamics of smart city growth, but it is also a good indication of the commitment of the government to development in this domain.

The Jakarta Smart City project aims to make the city home to as many start-ups and technology-based businesses as possible. In addition to this, a wide range of digital tools is being used to research the needs and requirements of the city-dwellers and also to improve public services; they include the application Qlue, the government’s homepage, social media, and other internet platforms. The six smart-city visions defined in Jakarta: Smart Economy, Smart Mobility, Smart Environment (intelligent environment), Smart Government (Smart Administration), Smart Living (intelligent life), and Smart People. The acceptance of the concept of “smart cities” may be advanced in Indonesia by the already widespread use of digital devices by its residents; it is worth noting that the use of mobile apps offering an increasing number of services is exceptional even in global comparison. (Smart City web)

Figure 4

Urban population (% of population, 1990, 2015)



Source: United Nations, DESA, Population Division (2015)

Urbanization will continue in the next nearly quarter of a century. In 2010, half of the population will be living in urban areas; by 2035 this is expected to rise to two-thirds. The vast regional disparity will remain though. By 2035, 90 percent of the Javanese will live in cities and 76 million will be concentrated within the regions of the two megalopolises, Jakarta and Bandung; in contrast, the rate of urban population in the eastern areas of the country, such as in East Nusa Tenggara, Sulawesi Barat, and Maluku Utara, will be only 40 percent.

Table 5
Projected growth of the urban and rural population

Year	Urban population (millions)	Rural population (millions)
2010	118.8	119.7
2015	136.2	119.3
2020	153.7	117.4
2025	170.9	113.9
2030	187.9	108.5
2035	203.6	102.1

Source: Jones, Gavin W. (2014)

Focal points and strategic questions pertaining to the trend of explosive urbanization:

1. Can we achieve human-scale and sustainable urban development and reduce environmental load?
2. Will smart solutions suffice to satisfy the increased urban water, food, and energy demands, and make public services accessible to everyone?

3.4. Population Trend #4: Young population, “window of opportunity”

The population of Indonesia is considerably young; in 2016, the median age was 28.6 so half of the residents are well under 30, and 42 percent – or 110 million people – are under 25 providing a very strong labor force supply, which may easily be the driving force behind the economy in the coming two-three decades.

Table 6

	Total population	Percentage share of total population (%)	Male	Female
0-14	70,879,673	27.34	36,066,000	34,813,673
15-64	172,458,228	66.51	86,672,485	85,785,743
65-	15,940,602	6.15	7,023,925	8,916,677

Source: United Nations, DESA, Population Division (2015)

When entering the labor market, the young generations bring with them great impetus for the economy, their consumption is a constant driving force behind the GDP and also helps consolidate the middle classes. The number of employable people in the 15-64 age group has vastly increased in the past 40 years, and given that the digitally active population is the driving force behind the economy, the country may easily become a key player in a digital explosion. The number of technological start-ups is on the rise, e-commerce is expanding, the second largest Facebook family is here, and the 110 million Indonesian internet users account for the fourth largest Twitter community on the globe.

Today's young generations are generally better in health, are better qualified, have better access to information and knowledge, most of them are city-dwellers and are open and willing to keep contact with people from other parts of the world. They typically spend more time in education delaying their entry into the labor market, marriage and also childbirth, which means fewer children in the long run. The increase in the number of employable age people today supports economic growth; families saving potential is better with the fall in the number of children leading to a rise in investment and consequently to further economic growth. Increased employment and wages lead to increased consumption. In turn, swollen consumption generates greater GDP and consolidates the middle-classes.

We will see the next phase in the process when this age group starts to near the end of its employable age and starts to make savings to secure the retirement years. This will also help the economy, however, this will be followed first by a slowing, then a stagnating rate of population growth and an ageing society.

Problems may arise if the rate of job creation is insufficient to absorb the young labor force entering the labor market each year (1.8 million). According to estimates, each 1 percentage point increase in the GDP creates 2-300,000 new jobs. This would mean that app. 7 percent economic growth will be required to ensure there are enough jobs for all new entrants. Unemployment has been declining; in 2006, the unemployment rate was over 10 percent, by mid-2010 it had dropped to 5-6 percent. Still, there are many millions without jobs. Poverty is still significant, participation in secondary education is low, the low level of education and training remains a serious impairment along with early entry to the labor market, the difficulty of accessing health services, and the tendency to marry early. All this despite the fact that continued improvement has been witnessed in the past two decades in these domains. Given these frameworks, it is obvious that investment in the education of today's young generation and children is inescapable; also efforts will have to be made to best exploit the inherent

“window of opportunity”, and to prepare the employment age population for future demographic pressure.

Indonesia is living a time right now when the young and middle-aged people are over-represented and for this very reason, the slowly but surely ageing generations do not – for the time being – present a problem neither on a family nor on a social level. This will come later when the presently dominant generations grow older and – at the same time – fertility rates decline leading to a reduced proportion of active people.

Focal points and strategic questions pertaining to a large and young population: 1. Will Indonesia succeed in exploiting the economic potential in a digitally active youth? 2. Will the country achieve a competitive edge by the active and high-proficiency application of new technologies?

3.5 Demographic trend #5: falling fertility and an ageing society

In Indonesian culture, children are traditionally believed to bring good luck: children are the *rejeki* (source) of luck. According to the adage, “*banyak anak banyak rejeki*” in other words “more children, more luck”. This had traditionally contributed to the high fertility indices while contraception had been viewed with suspicion as something going against traditional values. However, recognizing that high fertility was one of the main causes behind poverty, in 1968 new family planning policies were put in place to reduce the number of births. The achievements in the coming decades were considered a huge success and the Indonesian model was followed by many countries in similar situations. By 1976, the fertility rate had essentially been halved from 5.6 to 2.6 (Piesse, 2015).

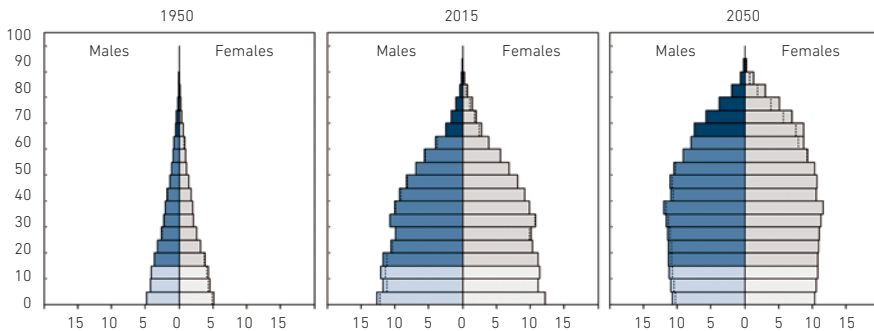
The drop in fertility will greatly improve the state and position of women since having fewer children means improved opportunities for education, hence better chances of employment and lower numbers of teenage mothers, etc. The decline in fertility has now stopped and is stagnating just above the level of reproduction.

One massive improvement manifests itself in the falling figures of maternal mortality as this had previously been one of the worst in the region. In 1990, there were 430 mortalities for 100,000 live births, but by 2015, this figure was down to 190. Unfortunately, this is still very high in comparison with – for example – China, where in the same period, the same figure fell from 97 to 32, in Japan from 14 to 6, in

Malaysia from 56 to 29, in Thailand from 42 to 26, in India – where the similarity with Indonesia is the greatest – from 560 to 190.

Figure 5

Demographic tree in Indonesia



The part beyond the broken line represents the surplus against the opposite gender.
Source: United Nations, DESA, Population Division 2015

The population pyramid shows us how dynamically the youthful pyramid shape is changing to an ageing beehive then to an urn shape. It is towering – indicating an increase in life expectancy (in 1980 it is 58.6 years, currently it is 71.2 and is expected to reach 77.4 years by 2050) –, at the same time, it is bulging towards the top, testifying of an increased number and rate of elderly (the over 65 population is expected to grow from the current 5.4 percent to 16 percent by 2050), while the number and proportion of the young fall (the rate of under 15 is expected to decline from 28 percent to 19 percent). This does not mean that by 2050 Indonesia will really have an overaged population as is forecast for many Asian countries nearby.

Despite earlier predictions of a fertility rate stagnating at 2.6, the index had fallen further; according to current forecasts, this decline will continue and reproduction after 2050 is anticipated to fall below 2.1. Consequently, Indonesia's population in the coming decades will inevitably start to age, and with the further decline of fertility, this trend will only intensify. Soon the fall in the number of young people as well as the shortage of employment-aged generations will be as evident here as it is in South Korea or Japan today. In Indonesia, people who are 60 or over, are considered elderly; in 1971, this group accounted for 4.5 percent of the total population, in 2010 for 7.6 percent.

The generations that will be considered elderly by 2030, were born between 1945 and 1970, i.e. people who were aged 30-50 in 2000, at a time when they had access to higher levels of education, better healthcare and welfare and with higher living standards (former teachers, physicians, politicians, or office workers); for this reason, they are expected to present a very different composition of elderly generation and they may – and in fact should – be reckoned with as a new consumer target group and/or voting base. From this it follows that it is in the interest of both political and economic actors to “keep” the ageing population active, in good health, and condition. This also helps reduce the associated healthcare and welfare costs; the people concerned can better participate in social, economic, and family life, which is ultimately beneficial for the whole of society. According to the authors (Arifin-Ananta, 2013), the ageing population should be seen as an asset rather than a liability; in view of the aforementioned benefits, an active older generation can mean a serious competitive advantage in the economy.

Indicating the number of children between the age of 0 and 14 years of age against 100 elderly, the ageing index is expected to rise significantly from 26.3 in 2010 to 73.4 in 2035. The existing pension scheme provides limited security. This is why many elderly people are forced to continue to earn in order to be able to cover their basic needs. This is where larger families can play an important role as the members can provide security and support to each other. In 2010, the proportion of elderly people living in a three-generation household was 36 percent

Table 7
Median age

	1980	2015	2030	2050	2100
Indonesia	19.1	28.4	31.9	36.5	43.5

Source: United Nations, DESA, Population Division (2015)

Given that the number of the older generations will inevitably rise, it is important that this population be supported by the economic, social, and political environments eroding away the inherent disadvantages as much as possible and exploiting the benefits while trying to avoid the risks that inherently threaten medium-developed countries of similar trends; namely, that the country’s population grows old before it can consolidate and get rich.

Focal points and strategic questions pertaining to the decline in fertility and ageing:

1. Will Indonesia succeed in creating a retirement scheme in the short time available that will provide economic and social security for the older population of the future?

2. Will Indonesia be able to prepare and develop a strategic plan to consolidate and strengthen the country economically before the ageing of society hits in?

3.6 Population Trend #6:

Islam belief

There are six state-recognized religions in Indonesia: Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism; atheism and agnosticism are practically banned. Indonesian citizens are obliged to declare which state-recognized religion they subscribe to and this information is displayed in the appropriate window of their ID cards. Religion has a very strong identifying role amongst Indonesians. Of the six religions, the followers of Islam are overwhelming. With more than 200 million Islam believers, Indonesia is the country with the largest Muslim community in the world. It must be noted though that in Indonesia a more liberal and lenient version of Islam has taken root. We see here a more moderate form of Islam, which harmonically alloys religion with the local traditions and culture. (Notwithstanding that, the Indonesian province on the north-west tip of Sumatra Island is a clear exception.) At the same time, it exerts an opposite force and is also part of the truth that Islamic influence seems to be gaining ground as Saudi Arabia has invested millions of dollars since the 1980s and have built 150 mosques (there are 800,000 already), founded a university in Jakarta and also finances numerous Arabic language institutions. (Incentives to attract Chinese investors are strong as well, but interest is focused on the exploration of natural resources, highway construction, and electricity generation.)

Christians are mainly concentrated in Papua and the Maluku Islands; there are smaller Christian groups in Sumatra and Borneo while the population of Bali claim to be Hindu, but they pursue a very special branch that is only practiced here on this island. In reality, this is a harmonic and unique blend of Hinduism and Buddhism with the local traditions and belief systems. Complexity and acceptance is well illustrated by the fact that on the Islam-dominated Island of Java, we find such amazing sights as the UNESCO world heritage Borobodur, the world's largest Buddhist temple, or Prambanan, one of the largest Hindu architectural artworks. Despite Islamic influence, these two tourist attractions are not only tolerated but they are also a cause for national pride as Indonesia's most well-known and popular emblematic sights.

The world's most populous Muslim country is religiously tolerant, still Islam seems to be gaining increasing influence. It is difficult to foresee how a strengthening Islam

will impact on the country's international acceptance and the investment propensity of the neighboring and more distant countries.

Religious tolerance vs. intolerance is seen as an important question by the president Joko Widodo. The government also stresses its commitment to a moderate and liberal Islam and to Indonesia's state philosophy, the Pancasila, whose one of the many fundamental pillars is religious tolerance.

Focal points and strategic questions pertaining to religious complexities and the composition of the population: 1. Will Indonesia succeed in maintaining its accepting, liberal and tolerant attitude? 2. Will Indonesia succeed in maintaining and improving the country's favorable international image and investor confidence?

5. International comparison: challenges in the light of demographic change

In countries with high population growth, sustainable economic expansion is fundamental as this is the only way to prevent widening poverty as the population increases. In the past few decades this has become especially important as population growth in developing countries required economic growth rates above 5 percent even just to maintain or to gradually raise the living standards. Many, mostly African countries, had been unable to achieve such growth figures, which led to catastrophic implications in the seventies and eighties with widespread famine and armed conflicts. It is also important to note that population growth in developed western European countries in the 19th century or in the wake of World War II was never as rapid as in many underdeveloped countries after the seventies. This also indicates that the challenges caused by population growth in India, China, Indonesia, and many African countries are exceptional.

Between 1990 and 2010, the average rate of annual GDP growth in Asia was 6-7 percent (calculated at 2005 purchasing power parity), which is three-fold that of Central-East and North Africa (2.4 percent), and two-fold of the Latin American and Caribbean region (3.2 percent). China and India were at the forefront with annual GDP growth rates of 9.9 percent and 6.3 percent. (Asian Development Bank, 2014) This rapid growth had promoted an increase in living standards and a decrease in poverty; nevertheless, income inequality was still on the rise. The drastic birth control measures instituted in China had played a major role in producing the desired outcomes. After 2010 the growth rates had somewhat subdued and the disparities between the world

economic regions had lessened, but the GDP growth in the region still continues to be a key drive in raising the living standards in the entire region including Indonesia.

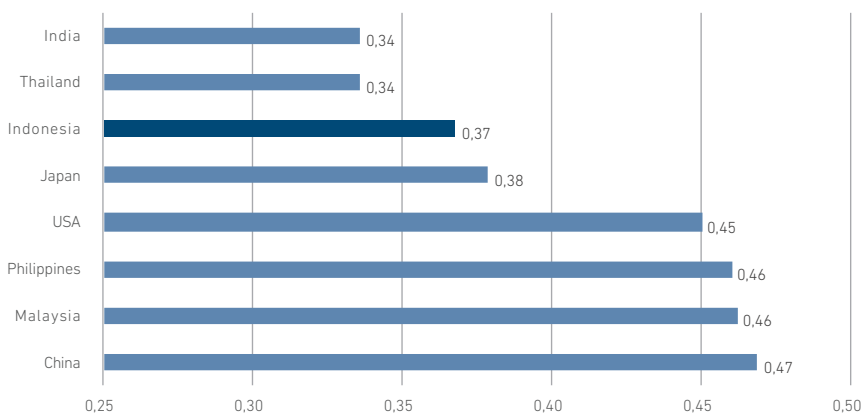
Particularly as a result of the favorable economic processes in Asian countries, the number of people living in extreme poverty has halved in comparison to 1990. Although this is a spectacular outcome, in the developing regions every fifth person still subsists on less than US\$ 1.25 a day and there are still millions who have just a little more than this a day to live on. For many, the threat of falling into extreme poverty is an everyday reality, which would be imminently looming if economic growth was halted for any reason.

The definition of poverty extends beyond not having sufficient income to purchase sustainable quality of life. The definition of poverty encompasses starvation, malnourishment, restricted access to education or other basic service, and the lack of effective interest representation. Economic growth must follow a path that also encourages suitable jobs, the mitigation of poverty, and the fairer distribution of incomes. In reality, however, the general trend is that with fast growth rates, inequality also increases.

The Gini coefficient is a measure of this inequality as it represents the statistical distribution of income or wealth of a nation's residents.

Figure 6

GINI coefficient (distribution of family income, 2014)

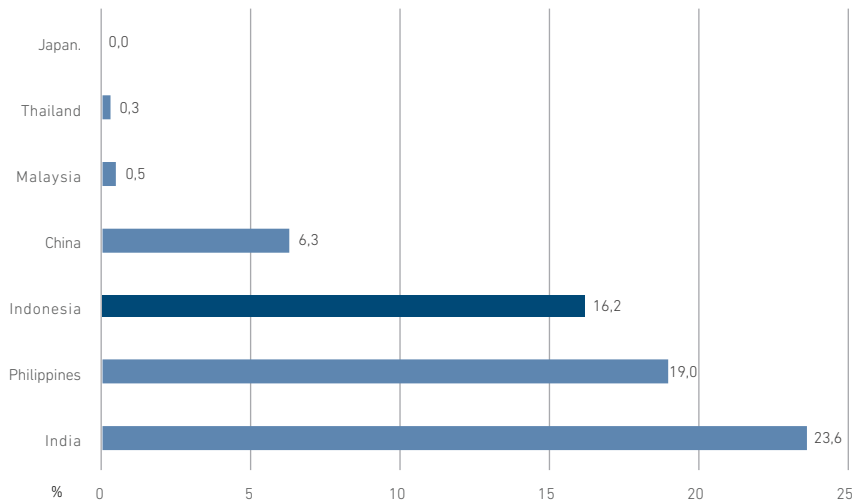


Source: United Nations, ESCAP, 2016, World Bank estimate, 2016
(India 2007, Thailand 2012, Indonesia 2009, Japan 1012, Malaysia 2009, China 2009 est.)

The Asian Gini coefficient figures are usually higher than the world averages. The diagram illustrates how development may often lead to greater inequality: the developed USA and Japan have a greater Gini coefficient, i.e. greater inequality, than India, Thailand, or Indonesia, for example. With a figure of 0.34, India has the smallest and with a figure of 0.47, China has the greatest degree of inequality of incomes. Being one of the most important factors in inequality, the difference of income between urban and rural areas is prevalent in all Asian countries. It is not surprising then that in-country migration from rural areas to cities is an important feature in all underdeveloped, converging Asian countries.

Figure 7

Population living in poverty (% of population, 2012)



Source: United Nations, ESCAP (2016)
(Japan 2015, Thailand 2010, Malaysia 2004, China, Indonesia and India 2011 est.)

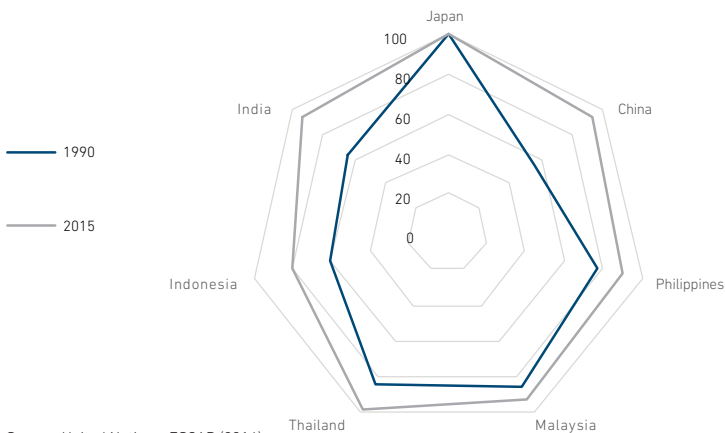
The diagram depicts people in poverty who have less than US\$ 1.25 (2005 PPP) dispensable income a day. In the region, Indonesia's 16.2 percent ranks it before India and the Philippines, but far behind China and even more so behind Malaysia and Thailand's and Japan's essentially zero value. While the index is continuously improving, the rate of improvement is quite modest. Between 2007 and 2011 poverty rate declined by app. 1 percent but since 2012, the rate of improvement fell to 0.3 percent. The figure of 16.2 percent prevalent in Indonesia means that more than 40 million people (4 times the population of Hungary) live in poverty.

It is useful to examine a few other indices that may help us understand the situation in Indonesia in a few poverty-related areas and may also give us an insight into the changes of the past few years.

One such index measures access to clean potable water. It is unfortunate that in the larger part of the world, particularly in overpopulated countries and regions, there is still a lot to be desired in terms of basic hygiene, water management and sewage treatment. Sufficient and suitable clean water in compliance with the legal provisions can still not be taken for granted everywhere and is becoming more and more valuable for man, agriculture, and industry alike. Rural areas in Indonesia are even worse off¹ than the rural areas of other countries under review in terms of access to improved water resources. The trend is improving though: while in 1990, as high as 40 percent of the population did not have access to clean water, the figure dropped to 20 percent by 2015; nonetheless there is still a long way to go.

Figure 8

Population with access to improved water sources (rural, %)

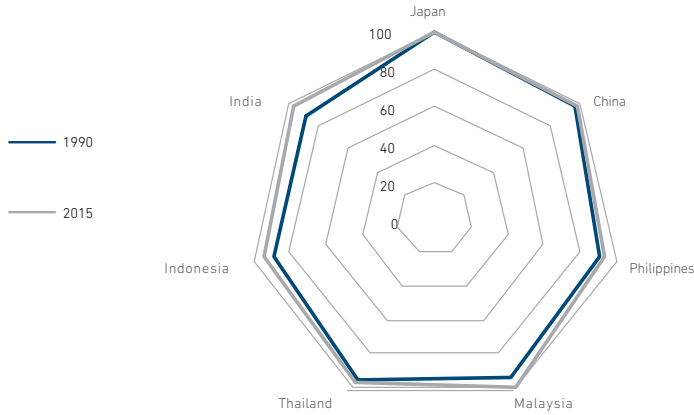


Source: United Nations, ESCAP (2016)

The same study of cities depicts a much better picture. All city residents in Japan, China, and Thailand have access to clean potable water, whereas more than 90 percent of city dwellers in the other countries, including Indonesia, can access clean water.

¹ Improved water source: in the interest of comparability, the definition provided by the MDGs (Millennium Development Goals), World Health Organization, etc. of water resource is quite liberal as it includes all and any resources through which one can access clean potable water – may that be piped water, public tap, rainwater, etc. – for personal hygiene or cooking regardless of the manner of access.

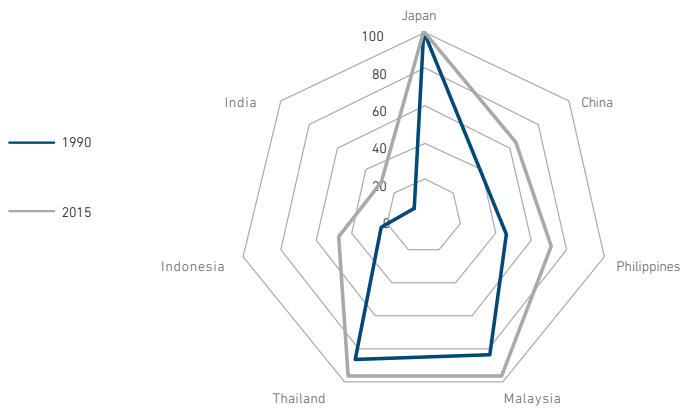
Figure 9
 Population with access to improved water sources (urban, %)



Source: United Nations, ESCAP (2016)

As for sanitation, the situation is much graver, which is not surprising given the burning demands for related infrastructural development. India has the worst results with only 30 percent of the rural population having sanitation in 2015, but Indonesia was not much better with 50 percent. In Japan, Thailand, and Malaysia, sanitation is given but in China and in the Philippines, significant investment is needed to improve on the current rate of 60-70 percent of supply.

Figure 10
 Population with access to improved sanitation (rural, %)

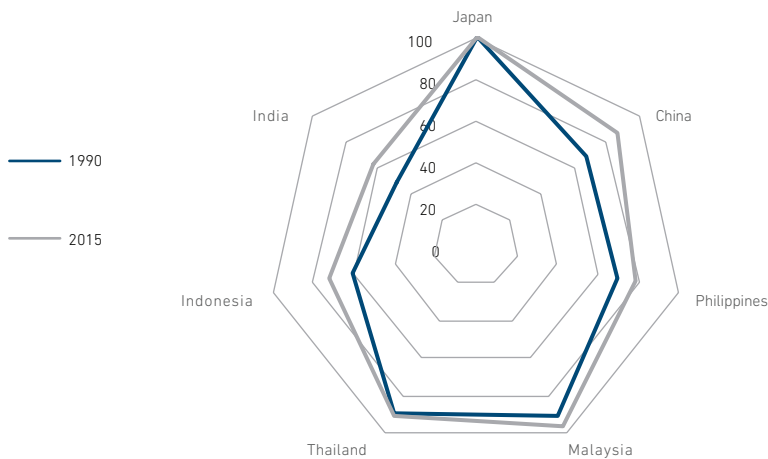


Source: United Nations, ESCAP (2016)

Again, cities perform much better in this respect as well, but the key points are almost exactly the same. India has the largest gap to bridge with 63 percent having access to improved sanitation, Indonesia performing better with 72 percent; China and the Philippines in the middle of the range while Thailand's 90 percent places them in the top with Malaysia with almost 100 percent and Japan with 100 percent access to improved sanitation.

Figure 11

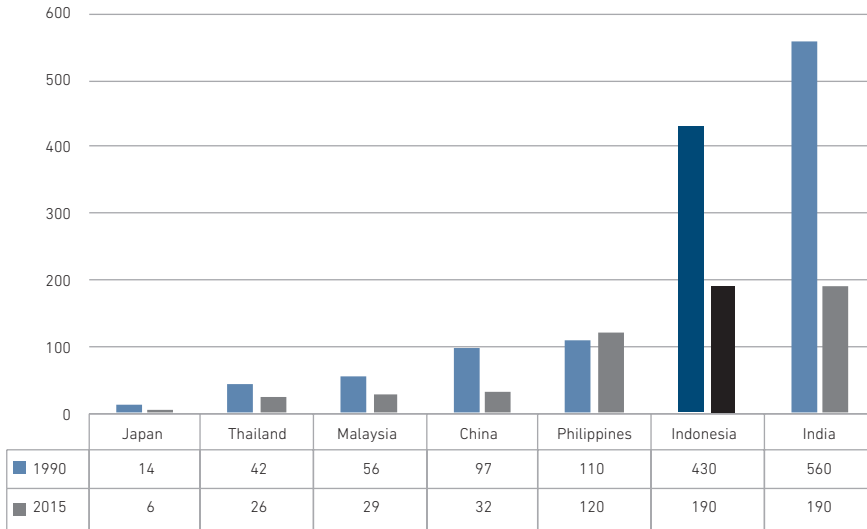
Population with access to improved sanitation (urban, %)



Source: United Nations, ESCAP (2016)

Another area that presents a serious headache for developing and converging states – especially those with overpopulation – is ensuring access to health services, particularly quality healthcare. While there are huge efforts being made to improve the quality of public services, healthcare, and education; there are still lots of indices in Indonesia that are indicative of major problems whose tackling requires much greater efforts. For example, the maternal mortality figure of 190 to 100,000 live births is much higher than the target set in the millennium development objectives of 102, and proves also high in regional comparison. There is also great disparity within the wider region. Although there has been major improvement in terms of maternal mortality in recent decades, even this lower figure in Indonesia is still 30 times higher than that of Japan and 6-7 times higher than that of Thailand, Malaysia, and China.

Figure 12

Maternal mortality ratio, 1990, 2015 (Deaths per 100,000 live births)

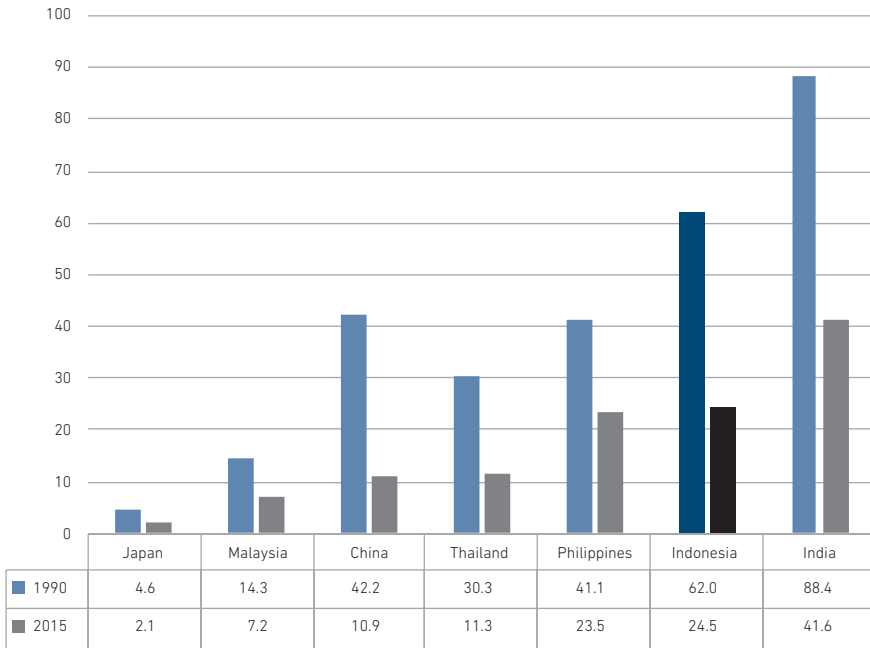
Source: United Nations, ESCAP (2016)

Similar trends are evident in infant mortality, which is steadily declining and had fallen to 24.5 for 1000 births in 2013. This puts Indonesia in the same category with India and the Philippines while Thailand with 11.3 and China with 10.9 are ranked much better; the rest of the countries have figures that are mere fractions of the Indonesian and even more so of the Indian numbers.

In order to refine our understanding of Indonesia's trends and situation in international comparison, we should make a few more comparative observations. Life expectancy at birth outperforms the Indonesian figure by 12 years in Japan, by 7 in the US, 3 in China, 2 in Malaysia and Thailand; and is 4 years poorer in India, and is the same in the Philippines. The number of births per annum for 1,000 inhabitants is 53 percent lower in Japan, 34 percent in Thailand, 29 percent in China, and 21 percent in the US; while it is 17 percent higher in India, 18 percent in Malaysia, and 42 percent higher in the Philippines than in Indonesia.

Figure 13

Infant mortality rate (Deaths per 1000 births)



Source: United Nations, ESCAP (2016)

If an average person were living in Hungary instead of Indonesia, the following data would be true for him: he would earn 3.8 times more; spend 9.2 times more on health services; would be 59,09 percent more likely to be unemployed; would use 5.8 times as much electricity; would have a 2.8 times greater chance to be jailed; would die a violent death with a 4.5 times higher probability; would live 3.29 years longer; and would witness 32.88 percent less inequality. (Ifitweremyhome, 2017) And what would happen if – using our great powers of imagination and at the risk of overgeneralization – we took an “average” Indonesian and placed him in a different country? Would his life, opportunities and prospects be better in the new place than in Indonesia? This is answered in the following table.

Table 8

	In China	In Japan	In India	In Malaysia	In the Philippines	In Thailand	In the USA	In Hungary
Spend money on health care	WORSE	WORSE	BETTER	WORSE	WORSE	WORSE	WORSE	WORSE
Make money	BETTER	BETTER	WORSE	BETTER	WORSE	BETTER	BETTER	BETTER
Life expectancy	BETTER	BETTER	WORSE	BETTER	BETTER	BETTER	BETTER	BETTER
Likely to be in prison	WORSE	BETTER	BETTER	WORSE	WORSE	WORSE	WORSE	WORSE
Likely to be murdered	WORSE	BETTER	WORSE	WORSE	WORSE	WORSE	WORSE	WORSE
Likely to die in infancy	BETTER	BETTER	WORSE	BETTER	BETTER	BETTER	BETTER	BETTER
Likely to be unemployed	BETTER	BETTER	WORSE	BETTER	WORSE	BETTER	WORSE	WORSE
Experience of a class divide	WORSE	WORSE	EQUALLY	WORSE	WORSE	WORSE	WORSE	BETTER
Likely to have HIV/AIDS	BETTER	BETTER	BETTER	EQUALLY	BETTER	WORSE	WORSE	BETTER
Have more or fewer babies	FEWER	FEWER	MORE	MORE	MORE	FEWER	FEWER	FEWER

Source: Ifitweremyhome, 2017 and CIA World Factbook

6. Conclusions

Geopolitical changes and the economic emergence of Asia have a significant impact on the global position and international arrangements of Indonesia, too. By today the “invisible country” as it was called earlier has become member of the G20 and one of the strongest countries in the world in terms of total GDP. GDP growth rate has exceeded 5 percent yearly in the past decade, and living standards have also improved. As part of the changes, the population growth has also been very rapid and close to 265 million people live currently in the country. When elaborating social, economic and political strategies for the future, we need to consider the population trends together with their implications.

Overpopulation is coupled with serious ecological and social tensions caused by the underdevelopment of the infrastructure, unsustainable environmental management, and other challenges. Jobs are concentrated in cities that are attracting hundreds of thousands of young people. Explosive urbanization is once again one of the negative trends associated with population growth. Right now, Indonesia is living a time when the young and middle-aged people are overrepresented and, for this very reason, the slowly but steadily ageing generations do not – for the time being – present a problem. However, the ageing society will surely raise concerns in the second half of the 21st century.

Entering the next phase of demographic transition also opens up new opportunities since the young generation seems to be rather responsive to the application of emerging digital technologies. This feature is confirmed by different statistics and can be the source of economic dynamism in the coming decades. It is this very duality that currently characterizes Indonesia: the present young population can be a great asset to the country under proper eco-political conditions. These opportunities must, however, be maximally exploited well before the country steps into its new phase of rapid ageing in a few decades' time. The key question is: will Indonesia be able to prepare and develop a strategic plan to consolidate and strengthen the country economically before the ageing of society sets in?

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The “Good” and the “Evil” – Selected Folktales from Indonesia and Hungary

Márta Kiss

Dongeng Legenda Jawa Tengah: Cerita Timun Mas (The golden cucumber) and Tündérszép Ilona és Árgyélus (Fairylife Ilona and Prince Árgyélus) are two interesting folktales from Indonesia and Hungary collected by Márta Kiss. Folktales are always interesting sources of information about well-known personalities and figures of “Good” and “Evil” in various countries. This chapter (written in three languages: English, Indonesian and Hungarian) tries to give an insight into these beliefs and to help understand the magic, imagined world in which the people in both countries are living. The chapter includes two tales illustrated by the paintings of Márta Kiss: *The golden cucumber* from Indonesia, and *Fairylife Ilona and Prince Árgyélus* from Hungary.

Dongeng Legenda Jawa Tengah: Cerita Timun Mas¹

Ada seorang janda yang sudah lama hidup sendiri, namanya Mbok Sirni. Semenjak ditinggal mati suaminya beberapa tahun silam, hari-harinya begitu sepi. Mbok Sirni menginginkan seorang anak yang dapat menemani sisa hidupnya dan membantunya bekerja di ladang. Mbok Sirni terus berdoa tanpa mengenal lelah, agar ia dapat dikaruniai seorang anak. Doanya didengar, suatu hari saat Mbok Sirni bekerja di ladang di dekat hutan, ia didatangi raksasa yang amat besar dan berwajah menyeramkan. Mbok Sirni ketakutan, tubuhnya menggigil, ia ingin berlari menghindari dari terkaman raksasa itu.

“Ampun, ampun...jangan makan saya..!” Mbok Sirni menjerit.

Raksasa itu tertawa, “Hahaha... Hei janda tua! Jangan kau takut, aku tidak akan memakanmu,” Raksasa itu mendekati Mbok Sirni, “Bukankah kau menginginkan seorang anak?” tanya raksasa itu menyelidiki.

Mbok Sirni mengangguk dengan tubuh yang masih menggigil.

Raksasa itu tertawa lagi, “Hahahaha, aku akan memberimu seorang anak, tapi dengan satu syarat,” Mata menyeramkan raksasa itu melihat Mbok Sirni yang mengangguk, “Ba... Baiklah, apa syaratnya?” tanya Mbok Sirni ragu-ragu.

¹ Source: <http://dongengceritakyat.com/dongeng-legenda-jawa-tengah-cerita-timun-mas/>

"Kau harus berikan anak itu lagi kepadaku setelah berumur enam tahun untuk kusantap, hahaha...!" Raksasa itu memukul-mukul perutnya, "Pasti dagingnya amat lezat."

Mbok Sirni menyetujui syarat itu, kemudian raksasa itu memberinya biji mentimun agar ditanam dan dirawat. Kelak setelah dua minggu di antara buah mentimun yang ditanamnya itu ada satu yang paling besar dan berkilau seperti emas.

Mbok Sirni memetik buah semangka yang besar dan berkilau emas itu, lalu membelahnya dengan amat hati-hati. Alangkah terkejutnya dia, buah timun itu berisi seorang bayi perempuan cantik dan bersih. Mbok Sirni memberinya nama Timun Mas. Timun Mas tumbuh menjadi gadis yang baik budi dan cantik jelita, Mbok Sirni amat menyayanginya sepenuh hati.

Suatu hari raksasa itu datang kembali, ia menagih janji Mbok Sirni enam tahun yang lalu. Mbok Sirni amat ketakutan, ia tak mau melepaskan Timun Mas begitu saja untuk disantap raksasa itu. Mbok Sirni mencari akal agar raksasa itu segera pergi.

"Hei Raksasa, Timun Mas belum pantas kau makan, tubuhnya masih kecil. Kembalilah dua tahun lagi, tubuhnya akan besar dan matang, akan enak untuk disantap."

Raksasa itu terlihat berpikir, "Baiklah, aku akan kembali dua tahun lagi," kata raksasa menyetujuinya seraya pergi meninggalkan gubuk Mbok Sirni. Mbok Sirni bahagia bukan main, tentu ia tidak akan pernah melepaskan Timun Mas kepada siapapun.

Semakin hari, Mbok Sirni semakin menyayangi Timun Mas, ia cemas dan sedih jika teringat janjinya pada raksasa itu. Mbok Sirni terus berdoa agar anaknya selalu selamat. Hingga akhirnya suatu hari ia bermimpi, agar Timun Mas selamat dari cengkraman raksasa itu, Mbok Sirni harus menemui petapa di Gunung Gundul. Paginya, Mbok Sirni langsung pergi ke Gunung Gundul untuk menemui petapa itu seperti dimimpinya tadi malam.

Di Gunung Gundul ia bertemu seorang petapa yang memberinya empat buah bungkusan kecil, yaitu biji mentimun, jarum, garam, dan terasi sebagai penangkal diri dari terkaman raksasa.

Lalu Mbok Sirni kembali ke gubuknya dan memberikan tempat bungkusan penangkal tadi kepada Timun Mas, "Anakku, gunakan empat bungkusan ini sebagai penangkal dan pelindung diri dari raksasa itu," Mbok Sirni memeluk Timun Mas sambil menangis, "Berdo'alah terus anakku."

Timun Mas mengangguk, "Baik Mbok," katanya kemudian.

Paginya raksasa datang lagi untuk menagih janji, "Hei janda tua, mana anakmu Timun Mas, aku sangat lapar," Raksasa itu semakin mendekati gubuk Mbok Sirni.

Sementara itu Mbok Sirni meminta Timun Mas keluar lewat pintu belakang, "Pergilah anakku, jangan sampai raksasa itu melihatmu," pinta Mbok Sirni, "Cepat anakku."

Timun Mas masih ragu, sungguh ia sangat ketakutan namun ia juga sangat khawatir dan tak mau meninggalkan Mbok Sirni sendirian menghadapi raksasa besar itu, "Bagaimana dengan Mbok?" tanya Timun Mas, hampir menangis.

Raksasa itu semakin mendekat, "Hei janda tua, dimana kau? Cepat berikan Timun Mas, aku sangat lapar haah?!" raksasa mulai mengamuk.

Mbok Sirni semakin khawatir dengan keselamatan Timun Mas anak kesayangannya. "Timun Mas cepat selamatkan dirimu!" Mbok Sirni mendorong Timun Mas agar segera pergi.

Mengetahui keadaan semakin genting, dengan berat hati Timun Mas segera berlari lewat pintu belakang, namun mata raksasa amat jeli, ia melihat Timun Mas berlari. Raksasa mengejarnya sambil terus mengaung, "Timun Mas mau lari kemana kau, aku akan menerkammu, hahahaha". Raksasa itu hampir menggapai tubuh Timun Mas, namun Timun Mas seketika itu teringat akan empat bungkus yang diberikan Mbok Sirni kepadanya. Lalu dengan terburu-buru ia membuka bungkus pertama yang berisi biji mentimun. Ditebarnya biji itu, sungguh ajaib, hutan berubah menjadi ladang mentimun yang lebat buahnya. Raksasa pun memakannya namun buah timun itu malah menambah kuat tenaga raksasa, ia kembali mengejar Timun Mas.

Timun Mas amat takut, kemudian ia membuka kembali bungkus kedua yang berisi jarum lalu menaburkannya, dalam sekejap tumbuhlah pohon-pohon bambu yang sangat tinggi dan tajam. Raksasa meringis kesakitan dengan kaki yang berdarah-darah raksasa terus mengejar. Tanpa pikir panjang lagi Timun Mas membuka bungkus ketiga yang berisi garam dan ditaburkannya, seketika itu hutan pun menjadi lautan luas. Namun dengan kesakitannya raksasa dapat melewati. Timun Mas mulai pasrah, ia melihat bungkus keempat, bungkus terakhirnya, "Tuhan, selamatkanlah diriku," ia berdoa sambil menabur isi dari bungkus keempat itu yang berisi terasi. Dalam hitungan detik, seketika terbentuklah lautan lumpur yang mendidih, raksasa terjebak di dalamnya ia tenggelam dalam lumpur panas itu dan akhirnya mati.

Timun Mas mengucapkan syukur, akhirnya Timun Mas kembali ke gubuknya menemui Mbok Sirni yang sedang menangis, cemas. Melihat kedatangan Timun Mas, Mbok Sirni langsung memeluk anaknya, "Terima kasih Tuhan, kau telah mendengar doaku. Anakku selamat," katanya mengusap lembut rambut Timun Mas. Akhirnya, mereka hidup damai dan bahagia selamanya.

Az arany uborka²

Sűrű erdő szélén, árnyat adó fák oltalmában állt egy kis bambuszházikó, ott élt az idősödő Sirni asszony. Az özvegy magányosan töltötte napjait, keményen dolgozott a betevő falatért, és sokat álmodozott arról, milyen jó lenne, ha volna egy gyermeke, akiben támaszra lelhetne öregkorában, és akivel megoszthatná mindennapi örömét és bánatát. Férje azonban nem volt, s hervadó teste felett is eljárt már az idő, így ez a vágy csak melengető gondolat maradt Sirni asszony képzeletében.

Történt aztán, hogy egy forró délelőtt Sirni szokásához híven fát gyűjtött az erdő naptól védett bozótosában. Vékony, izmos teste szorgosan hajlongott a tarka madarak dalára, és maga is dúdolgatott valamit. Hosszú kendőjével épp a hátára kötözte az összegyűjtött fát, amikor megzörrent a bozót, s mély, rekedtes hang dördült el mögötte:

– Sirni!

Az asszony összerезzent, s remegve fordult meg. Szinte a lélegzete is elakadt, amikor meglátta, hogy egy erdei ráksasza³ tornyosodik fölé: hatalmas, dülledt szemű szörny, akinek oly rút volt az ábrázata, hogy beleborzongott, aki meglátta. Zöldeskék, kövér arcán régi verekedéseket és csatákat idéző sebhelyek ékelenkedtek, s az egykori ütlegek következtében orra is laposabb volt a kelleténél. Zsíros bőrén izzadságcsíkok csorogtak lefelé, s a testéből rettenetes szag áradt. Ruházata viszont kifogástalan volt, hordóhasán aranyöv fogta össze a finom szövésű batikolt kelmét. Fején díszes aranykoronát viselt: valamifajta démonuraság lehetett, aki így rárontott Sirnire fagyűjtés közben. A szörnyeteg elvigyorodott, szájából csüngő agyarain megcsillant a fény.

– Tudom ám, hogy mi a szíved vágya, és segíthetek is neked! – dörgött a ráksasza hangja.

Sirni meg sem tudott szólalni félelmében, így hát megvárta, hogy a szörnyeteg folytassa mondandóját.

– Tudom ám, hogy gyermeket szeretnél. Így van-e, felelj!

– Igen, így – hebegte az asszony.

– Adhatok én neked gyermeket, ám ennek van egy feltétele.

Sirni érezte, hogy hangosan kalapál a szíve, de félelmét legyőzte a reménnyel teli izgalom.

– Amikor a gyermek tizehat éves lesz, vissza kell adnod nekem, hogy megtölthessem veled a bendőmet!

² Translated by Márta Kiss

³ ráksasza – démoni lény a keleti világ mondáiban, történeteiben

„Lehetne egy gyermekem!” – ujjongott magában Sirni, s ez a gondolat olyan örömmel töltötte el, hogy a kegyetlen feltételre nem gondolva rögtön ráállt az alkura. A ráksasza ekkor elővett egy kis aranyszelencét az övéből, felpattintotta a fedelét, s uborkamagot szórt az asszony munkától kérges tenyerébe, majd meghagyta, hogy a magokat ültesse el a kertjében.

Sirni nagyon vidáman tért haza, rögtön fel is ásta kertje napos szegletét, és gondosan elültette a magokat. Másnap, amikor kilépett házikójából, meglepődve látta, hogy máris sárga virágok bontják szirmaikat az uborkanövényen, délutánra pedig érett uborkák csüngtek a virágok helyén. Sirni kíváncsian nézegette a varázslatos növényt, s szeme megakadt egy uborkán, amely egészen nagyra nőtt, s amelynek a színe is elütött a többitől. Ez az uborka aranysárgán pompázott, ragyogása aranyló fénnel töltötte be a kertet. Levágta a csodálatos uborkát, bevitte a házába, és az asztalra fektetve óvatosan felvágta. Csak ámult-bámult, mert a zöltség belsejében egy gyönyörű gyermeket talált! Igen megörült a leánykának, és elnevezte Timun Masnak, Arany Uborkának.

Boldogan élt anya és gyermeke. A leány felcseperedett, és napról napra szebb lett. Szelíd öziketekintettel mosolygott mindenkire, bőre úgy ragyogott a napfényben, mint a sárga selyem, s karcsú termete kedvtelve hajladozott a ház körüli munkában. Öröm és béke lakozott Timun Mas szívében, s víg kedélye bearanyozta mindkettejük hétköznapjait. Sirni boldogsága azonban nem lehetett felhőtlen, mert mindig szorongás kerítette hatalmába, ha eszébe jutott a ráksasza.

Egyszer aztán, amikor Timun Masszal az erdőben sétáltak, elébük toppant orrfacsaró bűzével a szörnyeteg, és nyálát csorgatva követelte magának a lányt.

– Eljöttem érte, ahogy megbeszéltük, add ide, hadd vigyem magammal, s hadd fogyasszam el vacsorára!

A furfangos asszony erre így felelt:

– Mi lenne, ha várnál még két évet, nézd meg, milyen vézna ez a lány, fél fogadra sem elég! A két év alatt szépen kigömbölyödik és megnő, te pedig pompás vacsorát készíthetsz belőle.

Elgondolkodott a ráksasza, végül ráállt az alkura.

– Legyen így, de aztán etesd rendesen a lányt! – azzal döngő léptekkel távozott.

Sirni és Timun Mas remegve tért haza, s a lány addig faggatta anyját, amíg az el nem mesélte születése történetét. Timun Mas elmosolyodott, és így vigasztalta Sirnit:

– Ne búsuljunk, majdcsak találunk megoldást, a Teremtő akarata szerint.

Néhány hónappal később Sirni egy éjjel álmodt látott. Idős, hajlott hátú öregasszony jelent meg előtte, akiből ragyogó fény áradt. Az anyó így szólt:

– Ha azt akarod, hogy Timun Mas életben maradjon, meg kell keresned a Kopasz Hegyen élő remetét, tőle kapsz majd útmutatást!

Másnap, amikor Sirni felébredt, nem késlekedett, rögtön útra kelt. Egész nap fáradhatatlanul gyalogolt, csak egy-egy kútnál vagy forrásnál állt meg, hogy a tikkasztó hőségben hűs vízzel csillapítsa szomját. Éjjel ért a Kopasz Hegyre, s a csillagos ég alatt egy fa tövében pihente ki az út fáradalmát. Másnap sokáig bolyongott a hegyen, míg végül megtalálta a remetét.

A vén ember egy hűvös barlangban ült egy foszladozó gyékényen törökülésben, mozdulatlanul. Amikor Sirni rátalált, tisztelettel tudóan leült eléje, és várta, hogy észrevegye őt. Maga sem tudta, mióta ül már ott átfázva, dideregve, amikor a remete egyszer csak kinyitotta a szemét, s a háta mögül elővett négy, banánlevélbe tekert kis csomagot. Nem szólt egy szót sem, nem adott útmutatást, csak jószágos, izzó szemével jelezte, hogy mindez rendjén való. Sirni meghajolt a tiszteletre méltó öreg előtt, tekintetével megköszönte az ajándékot, majd hazaindult.

Útközben aztán, amikor megállt pihenni, izgatottan kibontogatta a banánleveleket, mert kíváncsi volt, mit rejtenek a csomagok.

Az elsőben uborkamagok voltak, a másodikban egy tú, a harmadikban só, a negyedikben pedig tengeri halakból és rákokból készült pép. Gondosan visszacsomagolt mindent, és hazatért.

Telt-múlt az idő, és Timun Mas egyre szebb hajadonná serdült. Orcáját mindig mosolygósra varázsolta víg kedélye, s karcsú alakja teltebb, szemrevalóbb lett. Amikor a két év haladék letelt, pontosan Timun Mas születésnapjának reggelén Sirni elővette a remetétől kapott és gondosan megőrzött csomagocskákat, átadta a lányának, és így bocsátotta útjára:

– Menj, kedves lányom, vigyázzon rád a Magasságos Teremtő, és segítsen a remete ajándéka!

Alighogy kimondta ezeket a szavakat, meghallották, hogy súlyos léptektől döng a föld, s a ráksasza öblös, durva hangja zengi túl az erdő madáracsicsérgését.

Sirni kinyitotta a hátsó ajtót, és sürgetve kitessekelte lányát. Amikor a ráksasza odaért a bambuszházhoz, már csak az özvegyet találta otthon. Dühödten, vérben forgó szemmel kérdezte:

– Hol a lány, Sirni? Hova rejtetted? Eljöttem érte, az egyezségünk szerint! Most aztán már nem kaptok több haladékok!

– Nem tudom, hol a lány, eltűnt. Reggel már csak hült helyét találtam – füllentette az asszony.

Erre aztán a ráksasza olyan erővel bődült el mérgében, hogy a kertben kettéhasadt a mangófa.

Mivel azonban Timun Mas – hiába szedte gyorsan a lábát – még nem járt mesze, a ráksasza éles szemével meglátta, s utána eredt. Könnyedén utol is érte a menekülő lányt, s már majdnem sikerült elkapnia, amikor Timun Masnak eszébe jutottak a csomagok. Kibontotta az elsőt, és háta mögé szórta az uborkamagokat.

Csodák csodájára azon nyomban uborkaföld termett az elszórt magok helyén, s a ráksasza az üldözésről megfélekedve önfeledten nekiállt uborkát falni. Eközben a lány egéruat nyert. Amikor a mindig éhes démon jól megtömte a bendőjét, ráeszmélt, hogy rászédtek, de csak hangosan nevetett, és így kiáltott a menekülő felé:

– Finom és lédús volt az uborka, felfrissített és megnövelte az erőmet. Most már aztán nem menekülsz! – azzal nagy lendülettel a lány után eredt.

Amikor egész közel ért Timun Mashoz, a lány kinyitotta a következő banánlevél csomagocskát is, és háta mögé dobta a tűt. Azon nyomban sűrű bambuszerdő nőtt menekülő és üldöző közé, s ez igen megnehezítette a ráksasza dolgát. A hegyes bambuszágak összeszúrták testét, és csak kínkeservesen, szitkok közepette tudta átküzdeni magát az akadályon. Még dühösebben vette üldözőbe Timun Mast. A lány, bár már nagyon fáradt volt, egyre csak menekült. Amikor meglátta, hogy a szörny túljutott a bambuszerdőn, kinyitotta a harmadik csomagot is, és a háta mögé szórta a sót. Hát mi történt? Hatalmas tenger terült el Timun Mas mögött. A lány egy pillanatra meg is állt, hogy kipihenje magát egy kicsit, de amikor meglátta, hogy a ráksasza beleveti magát a vízbe és sebes karcapásokkal úszik, igen megijedt.

„Már csak egy csomag van hátra! A szörny minden akadályt legyőz, mi lesz velem?” – gondolta kétségbeesetten, majd ismét futásnak eredt, mert a tengeri szél már egész közlelről fúttá fülébe a ráksasza otromba szitkait.

A szörny ismét a nyomában járt, s Timun Mas minden bizodalalmát beleadva elhajította a negyedik csomag tartalmát is, a halakból és rákókból készült pépet. Ennek helyén bűzös, fortyogó sártenger keletkezett. A ráksasza hiába kapálózott, nem tudott a partjára jutni. Félelmében rekedtes hangját jószágosra és szelídre próbálta köszörölni, s így kiáltott a lánynak:

– Kedves leány, ne hagyj elpusztulni, nem bántalak soha, ígérem, segíts rajtam, elsüllyedek!

De Timun Mas csak némán állt a sártenger szélén. Tudta, hogy a szörnyetegnek egy szavát sem hiheti el, így aztán mozdulatlanul nézte, amint a szörnyet szép lassan elnyeli a fortyogó mocsár.

Amikor Timun Mas épségben hazatért, Sirni asszony sírva ölelte keblére, és ezután már nyugalomban és békességben élték mindennapjaikat.

The golden cucumber⁴

On the edge of a dense forest, in the shelter of the shading trees was living the elderly Sirni. The widow was spending her days lonely, working hard for her living and was dreaming about how wonderful it would be to have a child, who would take care of her in her old ages, and whom she could share her daily happiness and sorrow with. However, she had no husband, and time has passed over her withering body too, so this wish only stayed a warming thought in Mrs. Sirni's mind.

On a hot morning did it happen that Mrs. Sirni was gathering wood in the firth of the forest hidden from the sun, as usual. Her thin and strong body was diligently bowing for the carol of colorful birds, as well as herself was singing. She had just tied up the wood on her back with her long shawl, when the shrubbery rustled, and a deep, hoarse voice sounded from behind.

– Sirni!

The woman startled, and tremblingly turned around. She almost gasped from fear, when she saw that a forest Rakshasa had appeared beyond her: huge, google-eyed monster, whose visage was so ugly that everyone shuddered to see him. He had scars on his gendarme, fat face citing old tussles and fights, and due to onetime thwacks his nose was flatter than it supposed to be. Sweat was trickling down on his greasy skin, and terrible smell was pouring out of his body. However, his clothing was immaculate, a golden belt was clamping the fine-spun batik cloth on his barrel belly. He was wearing ornate golden crown on his head: some kind of a demon seniority could have been to rush at Shirni during wood collecting. The monster grinned and his fangs flagging from his mouth caught the light.

– I know what your heart's desire is, and I can help you! – thundered the Rakshasa.

Sirni couldn't even make a sound in her fear, so she waited the monster to continue.

– I know you would like to have a child, wouldn't you, answer me!

– Yes, that's right – stammered the woman.

– I can give you a child, but on one condition.

Sirni felt that her heart was beating loudly, but the excitement full of hope overcame her fear.

– When the child turns sixteen, you have to give her back to me so that I can fill my belly with her.

"I could have a child!" – Sirni was rejoicing over the news, and this beautiful

⁴ Translated by Amadea Balog

thought filled her with such a joy that she immediately took the deal without thinking of the cruel condition. The Rakshasa then took out a golden casket from his belt, flipped up its cap and strew cucumber seeds in the crusted palm of the women, and told her to plant the seeds in her garden.

Sirni returned home happy, quickly dug up the sunny parcel of her garden and carefully planted the seeds. The next day, when she stepped out of her cottage, she was surprised to see that already yellow flowers were blooming on the cucumber plant, and by the afternoon ripe cucumbers were hanging instead of the flowers. Sirni was curiously looking at the magical plant and her eyes stucked at a cucumber that had grown pretty huge and, the color of which was different than the others. This cucumber was flourishing in golden colors, its glamor filled the garden with golden lights. She cut off the wonderful cucumber, took it in her house, laid it on the table and carefully cut it up. She was wide eyed surprised to find a beautiful baby inside the cucumber. She was quite delighted with the baby and she named her Timun Mas, Golden Cucumber.

Mother and child were living happily. The girl grew up and has become day by day more and more beautiful. She was smiling to everyone with her placid eyes, her skin was gleaming in the sunshine like yellow silk, and her slim body was bowing with pleasure when doing housework. Happiness and peace reigned in Timun Mas's hearth, and her merry mood filled their days with joy. However, Sirni's happiness was disturbed by the thought of her agreement with the Rakshasa.

Then one day, when she was walking in the forest with Timun Mas, all of a sudden the monster leaped in front of them with his terrible smell, and he claimed the girl for himself with his drooling mouth.

– I came for her, as we had discussed, give her to me, let me take her with me and eat her for dinner!

The smart woman answered:

– What if you waited two more years, look how skinny this girl is, you would only have her for breakfast! In two years she will get plump and grow, and you can prepare a gorgeous dinner out of her.

The Rakshasa thought about it and finally accepted the deal.

– Fine, but then feed the girl properly! – then he left with clunky steps.

Sirni and Timun Mas returned home, both palpitating with fear, and the girl questioned her mother until she told her the story of her birth. Timun Mas smiled and consoled her mother:

– Let's not bewail, we will surely find a solution somehow, thanks to God's will."

Some months later, Sirni had a dream one night. A crooked old lady appeared in her dream, in a halo of bright light. She said:



Márta Kiss: Golden cucumber (Timun Mas – 32,5 x25 cm oil paint on tracing paper, 2006

– If you want Timun Mas to be alive, you have to find the hermit living on the Barren Hill, he will give you directions.

The next day, when Sirni woke up, wasted no time to hit the road. She tirelessly walked all day, only stopped at some well or fount to quench her thirst with fresh water in the blistering heat. She arrived at the Barren Hill at night, and had a rest under a tree to recover from the journey. The next day she wandered for quite a while through the mountains, until finally she found the hermit.

The old man was sitting still, cross-legged on a threadbare mat in a cold cave. Sirni respectfully sat in front of him and waited until he noticed her. She ignored for how long she had been sitting there wet and shivering with cold, when suddenly the hermit opened his eyes and pulled out four little packages from behind his back, all wrapped in banana leaves. He remained silent, gave her no guidance, only indicated with his kind, glowing eyes that all is well. Sirni made a deep bow to the honorable greybeard, she expressed her thanks for the present by looking at the old man, and headed home.

Along the way, when she stopped to rest, she excitedly opened up the banana leaves as she was so curious to know what's inside the packages.

There were cucumber seeds in the first one, a needle in the second, salt in the third and some paste made out of sea fishes and crayfishes in the fourth. She carefully re-packed everything and went home.

Time went passed, and Timun Mas had grown to be a young girl ever more beautiful. Her cheerful spirit had always made her cheeks smiling, and her slender frame had become more curvaceous and pretty. When the two-year delay had passed, exactly on the morning of Timun Mas's birthday did Sirni took out the little packages she got from the hermit, well-preserved, she handed it over to her daughter and said the following before she let her go:

– Go, my dear daughter, the Almighty Creator shall take care of you, and let the present of the hermit help you!

As soon as she said out loud these words, they heard heavy steps shaking the ground, and that rough voice of the Rakshasa suppressing the twittering of the forest.

Sirni opened the back door and urged her daughter to leave. When the Rakshasa reached the bamboo house, he only found the old woman at home. He furiously asked with bloodshot eyes:

– Where is the girl, Sirni? Where did you hide her? I came for her according to our agreement. You really don't get any more respite this time!

– I don't know where she is, she's gone. I couldn't find her already in the morning – lied the women.

For this time the Rakshasa became so angry and he shouted so loud that the mango tree in the garden split into two.

However, Timun Mas – even though she quickly stirred her stump – wasn't far enough, the Rakshasa spotted her out with his sharp eyes and made after her. He easily caught up with her, and he nearly caught her, when the little packages came into her mind. She opened the first one and scattered the cucumber seeds behind her back. Miracles of all miracles, a cucumber field grew from the scattered seeds, and the Rakshasa forgetting about the chase started to gobble cucumbers. Meanwhile the girl could get away. When the always hungry demon was full, he realized that he had been tricked, but he only laughed loudly and shouted towards the fleeing girl:

– The cucumber was delicious, juicy, and refreshing. It raised my strength. Now you really won't escape! – then with great drive he followed her.

When he got quite close to Timun Mas, the girl opened the next banana-leaf-package too, and threw the needle behind herself. Straight away, dense bamboo forest grew between the fleeing girl and the chaser. The pointed bamboo branches wounded his body, and only painfully, in the midst of cursing could he make himself through the block. He hotfooted it after Timun Mas even more furiously. The girl went on running, even though she felt already exhausted. When she noticed that the monster got through the bamboo forest, she unfolded the third package as well, and dispersed the salt behind herself. What happened? The field became a sea behind her. She stopped for a moment to recover her spirit, but when she saw that the Rakshasa dived into the water and started to swim with intense strokes, she got frightened.

– Only one package is left! The monster overcomes every obstacle, what is to become of me? – thought the girl despairingly, and then she broke into a run again as she heard the rude curses of the Rakshasa blown by the offshore wind from quite a short distance.

The monster was after her again, and Timun Mas with all her faith, threw away the content of the fourth package, the paste made out of fishes and crabs. A stinking, bubbling quagmire appeared in its place. The Rakshasa struggled to reach the shore in vain. Terrified, he tried to switch his hoarse voice to a dependable tone, and yelled:

– Dear girl, do not let me die, I won't hurt you ever, I promise, help me, I am sinking!

But Timun Mas was standing on the edge of the quagmire in silence. She knew that she couldn't believe a word of the monster, so she was watching motionless as the monster slowly disappeared in the marsh.

When Timun Mas returned home safely, Mrs. Sirni hugged her crying. And they all lived happily ever after.

Tündérszép Ilona és Árgyélus⁵

Volt egyszer egy király és annak három fia. Volt a királynak egy almafája, amelyen aranyalmák termettek. Olyan különös fa volt az, hogy éjjel virágzott, s meg is ért rajta az alma minden éjjel. Így a király gazdagsága napról napra annyira szaporodott, hogy oly gazdag király nem volt az egész világon.

Egyszer azonban a király, amikor szokása szerint korán reggel kiment sétálgatni gyönyörűségei kertjébe, az aranyalmáknak csak a hűlt helyét lelte. Így történt ez másnap is, harmadnap is.

Összehívta a király erre az egész udvart, s kihirdette, hogy ha olyan emberrel találkozik, aki az aranyalmákat megőrzi, fele vagyonát neki adja.

Az öröknek sem kellett egyéb, odaállottak az almafához. De hiába volt minden, mert éjfél tájban mély álmot ereszkedett rájuk, és alig múlt el negyedóra, mire felébredtek, az aranyalmák mind eltűntek. Egyszer azután a tanácskozásban felszólalt a három királyfiú, és megjelentették, hogy ők fogják őrizni az almát.

Legelőször is a legidősebb ment őrködni. De vele is csak ugyanaz történt, ami a többivel.

A középső sem járt jobban.

Végre a legkisebb vállalkozott, Árgyélus királyfi. Legelőször is dohánnyal jól megtömött aranszelencét dugott a zsebébe, így ült le az almafa alá.

A holdvilág szépen világított Árgyélus királyfi arcára, már érezni kezdte, hogy az álmot össze akarja a szemét húzni, szippantott hát egy kis dohányt, jól megdörzsölte a szemét, nagyokat prüszentett. Aztán másodszor is nagyot szippantott a dohányból, még egyszer megdörzsölte a szemét. Egyszer csak halk sutto-gást hallott. Feltekintett, hát a feje felett tizenkét hollót látott repülni. Egyenest az almafához tartottak; a tizenharmadik holló mint vezér, elől repült. Árgyélus megkapta a tizenharmadik hollónak a lábát, s felkiáltott:

– Megvagy, tolvaj!

De midőn rátekintett, hát látja, hogy karja közt gyönyörű szép lány fekszik, arany fürtjei eltakarják szép fehér vállát.

– Ki vagy te, szép tolvaj? – kérdi a királyfi. – Soha többé el nem eresztelek!

– Én Tündérszép Ilona vagyok – mondta a szép lány –, ezek a hollók pedig a lánypajtásaim. Mulatságból minden este iderepülünk, hogy a sok aranyalmákat leszedjük. De nálad nem maradhatok, pedig megvallom hogy te vagy, akit soha felejtenem nem lehet, mert csak téged szeretlek!

– Maradj nálam – kérte Árgyélus.

– Nem maradhatok – felelte Tündérszép Ilona –, de megígérem, hogy ezentúl

⁵ From the collection of Gyula Illyés.

mindennap el fogok jönni, de az almákat többé el nem viszem. Légy mindig itt, ha látni akarsz!

Ezzel nagy robajjal elrepült a tizenhárom holló.

Másnap az egész udvar nagy csodálkozására az aranyalmák mind meg voltak. A király homlokon csókolta a fiát. Árgyélus csak azt kérte az apjától, engedje meg, hogy tovább is őrizhesse az almafát.

Ki is ment minden éjjel Árgyélus királyfi őrködni, hogy láthassa Tündérszép Ilonát.

De volt a király udvarában egy Vénbanya, aki Árgyélus királyfit nagyon szemmel tartotta. A király is kezdett kíváncsi lenni, mi lehet az oka hogy Árgyélus annyira szeret az almafánál őrködni. Magához szólította hát a Vénbanyát, és így szólt hozzá:

– Látom, hogy Árgyélus királyfit te szemmel tartod. Vigyázd meg egyszer, mikor az almafánál őrködik!

A Vénbanya úgy tett. Mikor Árgyélus az almafához ment őrködni, a Vénbanya a bokrok mögé bújt. Másnap korán reggel már jelentette a királynak:

– Meglestem Árgyélus királyfit. Gyönyörűséges aranyhajú lánnyal láttam az almafa alatt ülni; holló képében jött az almafára, úgy lett belőle aranyhajú lány.

– Hazudsz, Vénbanya! – mondta a király. – Nem igaz!

– De úgy van az, felséges uram. Ha kell, holnap jelet is hozok arról hogy igazam van.

Másnap este Árgyélus és Tündérszép Ilona megint egymással mulattak. Maguk sem tudták, hogyan történt, mélyen elaludtak mind a ketten. Ekkor előcsúszott a Vénbanya, és egy aranyfürtöt levágott Tündérszép Ilona hajából, azután lassan elment.

Felébredt Tündérszép Ilona, sírni, jajgatni kezdett, felébredt erre Árgyélus is.

– Mi bajod van, kedvesem?

– Jaj, Árgyélus, élj boldogul, én téged soha többé nem láthatlak, nálad nem maradhatok; a házadban tolvajok laknak, nézd, aranyfürtjeimből egyet levágtak.

Ezzel megölelte Árgyélust, ujjáról egy gyűrűt vett le, és Árgyéluséra húzta.

– Neked adom – mondta –, erről akárhol megismerlek.

Ezzel összecsapta kezét, hollóvá változott és elrepült.

Másnap reggel a Vénbanya megmutatta az aranyfürtöt a királynak. Nagyon csodálkozott a király, és tüstént magához hívatta Árgyélus királyfit.

– Édes fiam, testvéreidet már mind kiházasítottam, megjött az hogy téged is megházasítsalak; gazdag királylányt kerestem számodra, azt hiszem, nem lesz ellenvetésed.

– Kedves atyám, én meg fogok házasodni, de csak úgy, ha én választok magamnak feleséget. Már találtam is. Tündérszép Ilona lesz a feleségem!

A királynak nem tetszett a felelet, de bármint akarta is lebeszélni Árgyélust a kívánságáról, az nem engedett. Kardot kötött az oldalára, és elment hogy Tündérszép Ilonát megkeresse. Az egész udvar gyászba borult utána.

Már majdnem az egész világot összejárta Árgyélus, de Tündérszép Ilonának még a nyomára sem talált.

Egyszer egy kis házhoz jutott, a házban egy vén anyóra talált. Illendően köszöntötte. A vén anyó széken ült, csodálkozva kérdezte Árgyélust:

– Hol jársz erre, ahol a madár se jár?

– Öreganyám – mondta Árgyélus –, nem tudná nekem megmondani merre lakik Tündérszép Ilona?

– Nem biz én, édes fiam, de talán ha hazajön az uram, a Nap, mindenüvé oda-süt, az talán meg tudja mondani. De bújj el, mert meglát, felfal!

Erre elbújt Árgyélus. Hazajött a Nap, belép a szobába, mindjárt kezdte:

--Pfú, pfú, anyó, emberhús, bűdös!

Erre kimászott az ágy alól Árgyélus, s köszöntötte a Napot.

– Szerencséd, hogy szépen köszöntöttél – mondta a Nap –, másként felfaltalak volna! Tündérszép Ilonáról nem tudok semmit, de talán Hold bátyám tud felőle valamit.

Elment hát Árgyélus oda is. Ott is úgy járt, mint a Napnál. Az a Szélhez utasította.

Oda is eljutott, szépen beköszöntött, és a Széltől is megkérdezte, hogy nem tud-e valamit Tündérszép Ilona felől.

– Én – mondta a Szél – nem tudok semmit, de nem messze tőlem abban az erdőben lakik az Állatkirály, az talán tud valamit.

Ment, mendegélt újra Árgyélus, már egészen beesteledett, úgy, hogy majdnem semmit sem látott, felmászott egy fára, szétnézett, nem lát-e valahol világot. Csakugyan messze távolban észrevett egy kis világocskát, egy szép kastélyból szüremlett. Bekopogott, kinyílt az ajtó, és egy óriás jött elébe, akinek a szeme a homlokán volt.

– Jó estét, felséges király – köszönt Árgyélus –, nem tudnál te nekem Tündérszép Ilonáról valamit mondani, hol lakhat?

– Szerencséd, hogy úgy köszöntöttél, mint illik, másként halálfia lettél volna! Én az Állatkirály vagyok. Tündérszép Ilonáról nem tudok semmit, de talán az állataim közül valamelyik tud felőle valamit.

Ezzel egyet füttyentett, és az egész palota azonnal tele lett mindenféle állattal. Megtette a király a kérdést, de az állatok közül sem tudott senki semmit. Végre is előkullogott egy sánta farkas:

– Én – mondta a sánta farkas – tudok Tündérszép Ilona felől valamit.

A Fekete-tengeren túl lakik, ott törték el a lábamat.

– Nahát, akkor vezesd oda ezt a szegény királyfit – mondta a király.

A sánta farkas azonnal odaállt, hogy Árgyélus üljön rá. Így mentek száz meg száz esztendeig. Egyszer csak letette a farkas Árgyélust.

– Már én tovább nem vihetlek, oda most már magad is eltalálsz, hisz nincs már messzire, csak száz esztendőt kell még menni! – Ezzel elbúcsúzott tőle, és elsántikált.

Ment, mendegélt Árgyélus tovább, egyszer csak egy völgyet lát mely három hegygel volt körülvéve. A völgyben épp három ördög verekedett. Odament hozzájuk, és kérdezte tőlük, miért verekednek.

– Az atyánk meghalt, s maga után ezt a köpönyeget, ostort és a bocskort hagyta. Ez a köpönyeg olyan köpönyeg, hogyha magadra veszed, és aztán a bocskort a lábadra húzod, és ezzel az ostorral egyet csattantasz, és azt mondd: Hipp-hopp! Ott legyek, ahol akarok: ott vagy azonnal; ezen nem tudunk mi megegyezni. Nem tudjuk, kire mi jusson.

– No – mondta Árgyélus –, ha csak az a baj, majd elosztom én köztetek; hanem egyik hájjon fel erre a hegyre, a másik arra, a harmadik meg amarra!

Az ördögök felmentek a hegyre. Árgyélus pedig felvette magára a köpönyeget és a bocskort, az ostorral egyet csattintott, és azt mondta: Hipp-hopp! Ott legyek, ahol akarok, legyek azonnal Tündérszép Ilonánál!

Azonnal egy kristálytisza palota előtt termett.

Éppen kitekintett az ablakon Tündérszép Ilona egyik játszótársa, meg ismerte Árgyélust, beszaladt hangosan Tündérszép Ilonához:

– Itt jön Árgyélus!

Tündérszép Ilona azt hitte, hogy csak játszanak vele, pofon vágta a lánypajtását.

De jött a második, a harmadik, a negyedik, a tizenegyedik, de úgy jártak mind a tizenegyen, mint az első.

Árgyélus bekopogott az ajtón. Egy öregasszony jött ajtót nyitni. Nagy csodálkozással nézett Árgyélusra. Aztán a csodálkozása nagy örömmé változott.

– Jaj, de jó, hogy itt vagy, Árgyélus, legalább megszabadítod a királykisasszonyunkat! Most nem lehetsz vele, csak éjfél tájban, mert csak akkor járhat szabadon. Akkor, ha te háromszor megcsókolod, a Varázslónak nem lesz több hatalma rajta. Most éppen jókor jöttél, mert nincs itthon, másként halálfia lennél.

– Nem félek én tőle sem – mondta Árgyélus –, megvívok én vele!

Az öregasszony behívta Árgyélust, selyemágyat vetett neki, pompás vacsorát készített számára, aztán azt mondta:

– Minden-éjjel eljön ide Tündérszép Ilona, ne aludj el!

De az öregasszony gonosz boszorkány volt. Volt egy sípja, melyet ha megfúj, akit akart, elaltatott vele. Most is kihúzta a sípot, elfordult és sípolt, és attól

Árgyélus úgy elaludt, hogy azt sem tudta, hogy a világon volt-e valaha. Éjfél tájban eljött Tündérszép Ilona, meglátta a kedvesét, és felkiáltott:

– Ébredj fel, kedvesem! Ha háromszor megcsókolsz, megszabadulok a varázslattól.

De Árgyélus nem ébredt fel. Reggel azt mondja a vén banya:

– Itt volt Tündérszép Ilona, de te aludtál, mint a bunda.

Másnap is úgy történt, harmadnap is.

De egyszer, amint a Vénboszorkány elbóbiskolt, Árgyélus meglátta a nyakán a sípot. Leoldotta, és kíváncsiságból belefújta. Hát látja ám, hogy az egész cselédség elaludt tőle.

Ekkor tért észre, hogy azért aludt ő is olyan mélyen, mikor a vén banya sípolt. Most a maga nyakára akasztotta a sípot, és valahányszor a Boszorkány fel akart ébredni, ő mindannyiszor sípolt egyet. Így volt éjfélig.

Ekkor jött Tündérszép Ilona. Árgyélus háromszor megcsókolta, és azonnal az egész vár kivilágosodott, minden ajtó felnyílt, a Vénboszorkány elsüllyedt.

De hogy másodszor megcsókolta volna Árgyélus Tündérszép Ilonát, előbb tizenegyszer pofon vágta.

– Ez azért van, mivel te tizenegy játszótársadat pofon vágta, mikor igazat mondtak.

– Megérdemlem – rebegette Tündérszép Ilona.

Ekkor Árgyélus karjába vette Tündérszép Ilonát, felhúzta a köpönyegét és bocskorát, ostorával egyet csattantott.

– Hipp-hopp! Ott legyenek, ahol én akarok, legyenek az apám várában!

Azonnal odarepültek egy szempillantás alatt.

Árgyélus hatalmas király lett, Tündérszép Ilona hatalmas tündér; ha meg nem haltak, most is élnek.

Ilona peri cantik dan Pangeran Argyelus⁶

Pada suatu ketika ada seorang raja yang memiliki tiga orang anak laki-laki. Raja itu mempunyai sebuah pohon apel yang setiap hari berbuah apel-apel emas. Pohon itu sangat luar biasa, berbunga pada malam hari dan pada malam hari itu juga membuahkan apel, begitulah setiap malam. Dengan demikian kekayaan raja bertambah setiap harinya. Dialah raja terkaya yang tidak tertandingi kekayaannya di seluruh dunia.

Sekali pada suatu pagi seperti biasanya sang raja berjalan-jalan di tamannya yang cantik. Dia sangat heran karena hanya menemukan tempat kosong dan tak menemukan sebuah apel pun. Begitu pula pada hari kedua dan hari ketiga.

Raja memanggil seluruh warga kerajaan berkumpul di alun-alun dan mengumumkan kepada seluruh rakyatnya, apabila menemukan seseorang yang bisa menjaga apel emas itu, maka setengahnya akan diberikan kepadanya.

Para penjaga hanya berdiri di dekat pohon apel tersebut. Tetapi semuanya percuma saja karena dalam sekejap mereka sudah terlelap dalam mimpi di tengah malam. Ketika mereka bangun, apel-apel emas itu telah lenyap. Kemudian ketiga putra raja itu bermusyawarah dan mereka bersedia untuk menjaga pohon apel emas tersebut.

Pangeran tertua pergi mengawasi pohon apel tersebut. Tetapi yang terjadi padanya sama seperti yang lain, bahwa ia jatuh tertidur di malam itu.

Pangeran kedua juga melakukan hal yang sama dan tidak lebih baik.

Akhirnya pangeran termuda mengambil alih pekerjaan itu. Ia adalah Pangeran Argyelus. Pertama yang dilakukannya mengisi sakunya penuh dengan pipa yang diisi dengan tembakau, kemudian duduk di bawah pohon apel itu.

Sinar bulan purnama menerpa wajah Pangeran Argyelus, dan ia mulai merasakan mimpi sedang menghampiri dan mengajaknya menutup mata. Asap pipa tembakau merasuk ke matanya dan ia mengusapnya dengan baik, lalu sesaat kemudian bersin. Untuk kedua kalinya asap pipa tembakau masuk lagi kematanya. Sesaat kemudian sayup-sayup ia mendengar suara-suara berbisik. Ia menengadahkan sepintas, saat itu dia lihat di atas kepalanya dua belas ekor burung gagak terbang menuju pohon apel emas. Gagak yang ketiga belas adalah sang pemimpin, terbang paling depan. Argyelus berhasil menangkap kaki burung gagak ketigabelas tersebut dan berseru:

"Kutangkap kau pencuri!"

Setelah menangkapnya, Argyelus mengamati burung gagak itu dan memeriksanya dengan teliti, dan ternyata diantara dua sayap itu duduk seorang gadis cantik dengan bulu-bulu emas menyelimuti pundaknya yang indah.

⁶ Translated by Sintho

"Siapakah kau pencuri cantik?" Tanya pangeran. "Aku tak akan pernah melepaskanmu lagi!"

"Aku peri Ilona" kata perempuan itu. "Gagak-gagak itu adalah dayang-dayangku. Kami bersenang-senang setiap malam, terbang ke taman ini dan memetik semua apel-apel emas ini. Tetapi aku tak boleh tinggal disini bersamamu sekalipun kau seorang yang tak bisa kulupakan, karena aku jatuh cinta hanya padamu."

"Tinggallah bersamaku", pinta Argyelus.

"Aku tak boleh tinggal disini," kata Ilona, "Tapi aku berjanji mulai saat ini setiap malam aku akan datang dan apel-apel emas ini tidak akan kuambil lagi. Biarlah kau selalu disini bila kau ingin melihatku!"

Dengan kepakakan sayap-sayapnya ketiga belas gagak itu pun terbang dan pergi.

Keesokan harinya seluruh isi kerajaan terheran-heran karena seluruh apel-apel emas itu tidak hilang. Raja mencium kening sang pangeran bungsu. Argyelus meminta pada ayahnya supaya mengijinkannya untuk terus dapat menjaga pohon apel itu.

Pangeran Argyelus pergi ke taman itu setiap malam agar bisa bertemu dengan Ilona peri cantik.

Di dalam kerajaan itu, dahulu tinggallah seorang nenek sihir yang buruk rupa, ia selalu memperhatikan Argyelus. Raja juga mulai penasaran mengapa Argyelus begitu suka menjaga pohon apel itu. Raja pergi kepada nenek sihir itu dan berkata:

"Aku melihat bahwa kau memperhatikan Pangeran Argyelus. Perhatikanlah sekali lagi saat ia sedang menjaga pohon apel itu!"

Nenek sihir menjalankan perintah sang raja. Ketika Argyelus pergi untuk menjaga pohon apel, nenek sihir bersembunyi di antara semak-semak. Keesokan harinya ia melaporkan kepada raja:

"Saya memperhatikan sekilas Pangeran Argyelus. Saya melihatnya bersama seorang gadis cantik berambut emas duduk di bawah pohon apel itu; waktu datang ia menyaru sebagai burung gagak menuju pohon apel itu dan kemudian berubah menjadi gadis berambut emas."

"Kamu bohong, nenek sihir!" kata sang raja. "Ini tak mungkin!"

"Sungguh benar begitu Tuanku yang Agung. Kalau perlu besok saya akan membuktikannya."

Pada malam berikutnya Argyelus dan Ilona kembali bertemu dan bersenang-senang. Mereka tidak menyadari apa yang akan terjadi. Pada saat mereka tidur datanglah nenek sihir, dan satu helai bulu emas dipotongnya dari rambut Ilona peri cantik, kemudian ia bergegas pergi.

Ilona peri cantik terbangun, menangis dan mulai menyesal. Mendengar hal itu Argyelus terbangun.

"Ada apa, kekasihku?"

"Oh Argyelus, selamat tinggal. Aku tak melihatmu lagi selamanya, aku tak mau tinggal bersama; di rumahmu ada pencuri. Lihatlah, sehelai bulu emasku mereka potong."

Lalu Argyelus memeluknya, dari salah satu jarinya Ilona melepaskan cincinnya dan menarik diri dari pelukan Argyelus.

"Ini kuberikan kepadamu," katanya. "Dengan cincin ini, dimanapun aku akan mengenalmu."

Kemudian ia menutup tangannya dan menyaru kembali sebagai burung gagak dan terbang.

Keesokan harinya nenek sihir menunjukkan bulu emas itu kepada sang raja. Ia sangat heran dan segera memanggil Pangeran Argyelus.

"Putraku yang baik, kedua kakakmu sudah kunikahkan, sekarang saatnya aku menikahkan kau juga. Aku sudah mencari pasanganmu, seorang puteri dari raja yang kaya. Kuharap kau tidak keberatan."

"Ayahku yang baik, aku akan menikah hanya jika aku sendiri yang memilih calon istriku. Aku sudah menemukannya. Ilona peri cantik yang akan menjadi istriku!"

Sang raja tak suka jawaban ini tetapi ingin membicarakan lebih lanjut apa sebenarnya keinginan Argyelus, tetapi Argyelus tak mau. Ia menyandangkan pedangnya, kemudian pergi mencari Ilona peri cantik. Mendengar ini seluruh isi kerajaan menjadi sedih.

Hampir seluruh pelosok negeri dijelajahi Argyelus, tetapi tak menemukan Ilona bahkan jejaknya pun tidak.

Suatu kali ia menemukan sebuah rumah, di dalamnya tinggal seorang nenek tua. Ia menyapa dengan sangat sopan. Nenek tua itu duduk di sebuah kursi, ia heran dan bertanya kepada Argyelus:

"Mengapa engkau datang kesini, dimana seekor burungpun tidak mau melintas di daerah ini?"

"Ibu Tua" kata Argyleus, "Apakah engkau bisa memberi tahu dimana Ilona peri cantik?"

"Angan bertanya padaku anak muda yang manis. Tetapi suamiku sang Matahari mungkin tahu karena ia selalu menerangi siang. Tapi bersembunyilah, bila ia melihatmu kamu akan dimakannya!"

Lalu Argyelus bersembunyi. Matahari pulang dan masuk kedalam ruangan itu, kemudian berkata:

"Pfuuu pfuuu, istriku, aku mencium daging manusia, bau!"

Karena itu Argyelus keluar dari kolong tempat tidur dan menyapa Matahari dengan baik.

"Kau beruntung menyapaku dengan sopan," kata matahari, "Bila tidak, kau akan kusantap! Tentang Ilona peri cantik aku tidak tahu apapun, tetapi mungkin adikku Bulan tahu dia."

Lalu Argyelus pergi menemui Bulan dan jawabnya serupa dengan Matahari. Kemudian ia disuruh menanya Angin.

Tiba di depan Angin, dengan sopan Argyelus menyapanya dan menanyakan dimana Ilona peri cantik.

"Aku," kata Angin, "Tidak tahu apapun tentang Ilona. Tetapi tidak jauh dari sini, di dalam hutan kau dapat menemui Raja Binatang, mungkin ia tahu."

Argyelus pergi kesana, saat itu sudah larut malam dan sangat gelap sehingga hampir tidak bisa melihat apapun. Argyelus memanjat pohon dan melihat sekelilingnya agar bisa melihat sesuatu yang bercahaya. Di sebuah tempat yang jauh nampak secercah cahaya kecil dari sebuah kastil yang cantik. Argyelus mengetuk pintunya dan pintu itu dibuka oleh seorang raksasa yang sangat besar yang di dahinya ada sebuah mata.

"Selamat malam, Tuanku yang Agung," kata Argyelus, "Apakah Tuanku bisa membantu, aku mencari Ilona peri cantik?"

"Kau beruntung telah menyapaku dengan sopan, kalau tidak, kau sudah menjadi santapanku! Aku Raja Binatang. Tentang Ilona aku tak tahu apapun, tapi mungkin di antara binatang-binatangku ada yang tahu."

Dengan satu siulannya seluruh istana itu penuh dengan berbagai macam binatang. Raja Binatang bertanya kepada mereka apakah di antara mereka ada yang tahu dimana Ilona peri cantik. Akhirnya muncullah seekor serigala yang pincang:

"Aku," kata serigala itu, "Tahu tentang Ilona peri cantik."

Ia tinggal jauh di laut hitam, disana kakiku pernah patah.

"Baiklah, kalau begitu kau bisa membawa Pangeran malang ini kesana," kata Raja Binatang.

Serigala pincang itu segera berdiri dan membiarkan Argyelus duduk diatas punggungnya. Mereka pergi sampai beratus-ratus tahun. Suatu ketika serigala itu menurunkan Argyelus dari punggungnya.

"Aku tak boleh membawamu lagi, sekarang kau bisa menemukannya sendiri, percayalah sudah tidak jauh lagi, hanya perlu seratus tahun lagi!" Kemudian ia pamit pada Argyelus dan pergi.

Argyelus terus berjalan, kemudian ia melihat satu bukit dengan tiga puncak mengelilinginya. Di bukit itu sedang terjadi pertarungan tiga raksasa. Argyelus mendatangi mereka dan bertanya mengapa bertengkar.

"Ayah kami meninggal, ia meninggalkan sebuah mantel, sebuah cambuk dan sepasang sepatu. Mantel ini ajaib! Kalau kau memakainya dan juga sepatu ini,

dan dengan satu cambukan dari cambuk ini, serta mengatakan *Bim-sala-bim, aku akan disana dimana saja aku mau*, disanalah kau akan berada."

Kami bertengkar karena tak sepakat siapa dapat apa dari warisan ini.

"Baiklah," kata Argyelus, "Kalau hanya itu masalahnya aku akan membantu kalian; tetapi seorang dari kalian harus tinggal di bukit ini, seorang kesana dan yang lain kesitu!"

Tiga raksasa itu naik ke atas bukit. Sedangkan Argyelus membawa mantel dan sepatu itu, kemudian dengan satu cambukan dia berkata: "Bim-sala-bim, aku akan disana dimana saja aku mau, dimana Ilona cantik tinggal!"

Sekejap setelah berkata demikian Argyelus telah tiba di sebuah istana kristal.

Saat itu, seorang dayang pengikut Ilona yang sedang bermain melihat Argyelus dari jendela dan mengenali Argyelus. Ia berlari dan dengan keras ia berteriak kepada Ilona:

"Argyelus datang!"

Ilona berpikir bahwa dayangnya hanya bermain-main kepadanya, lalu menampar dayang itu.

Tetapi dayang-dayang yang kedua, ketiga, keempat hingga kesebelas juga datang dan mengatakan hal seperti dikatakan dayang pertama.

Argyelus mengetuk pintu. Seorang ibu tua datang membuka pintu itu. Ia melihat Argyelus dengan heran dan bahagia.

"Kami senang kau datang kesini Argyelus! Paling tidak kau akan membebaskan Putri kami! Sekarang kau belum boleh bersamanya, hanya pada malam hari karena pada saat itulah ia bebas. Sewaktu kau akan menciumnya tiga kali, kutukan itu akan hilang dengan sendirinya. Kau datang pada saat yang tepat karena sekarang tidak ada siapa-siapa disini, kalau tidak, kau sudah mati."

"Aku tidak takut pada siapapun," kata Argyelus, "Aku akan bertarung dengannya!"

Ibu tua itu mengundang Argyelus masuk, memberinya baju sutera dan menyiapkan makan malam, kemudian berkata:

"Setiap malam Ilona cantik datang kemari, jangan tidur!"

Tetapi ibu tua itu seorang nenek sihir yang jahat. Dia memiliki sebuah pipa yang apabila ia tiupkan kepada seseorang, maka orang itu akan pingsan. Sekarang ia pun mengeluarkan pipa itu, berbalik dan meniupkannya kepada Argyelus yang kemudian pingsan. Sebelumnya dia tidak tahu dimana ia sebenarnya. Ilona pun datang seperti biasanya setiap malam, ia melihat kekasihnya dan berkata:

"Bangunlah kekasihku! Bila kau menciumku tiga kali, aku akan terlepas dari kutukan ini."

Tetapi Argyelus tidak bangun. Keesokan harinya nenek sihir itu berkata:

“Tadi malam Ilona datang kemari, tetapi kamu tidur seperti bayi.”

Hari kedua juga terjadi hal yang sama, begitu pula hari ketiga.

Tetapi satu kali saat nenek sihir itu tidur lelap, Argyelus melihat pipa itu di lehernya. Lalu Argyelus melepaskan pipa itu dari leher nenek sihir, dan dengan rasa penasaran ia meniupnya. Kemudian ia menyadari pipa itu telah membuatnya tertidur pulas, karena nenek sihir telah meniupkannya ke mukanya. Sekarang ia mengalungkannya di lehernya sendiri, dan ketika nenek sihir hampir terbangun, sekali lagi ia meniupkannya. Ini terus terjadi hingga tengah malam.

Kemudian Ilona cantik tiba. Argyelus menciumnya tiga kali, dan sekejap itu seluruh istana menjadi terang benderang, semua pintu terbuka dan nenek sihir turun ke bawah.

Tetapi sebelum Argyelus mencium Ilona kedua kalinya, ia menamparnya sebelas kali.

“Kau mendapat tamparan ini karena kau telah menampar sebelas dayangmu walaupun mereka berkata benar.”

“Aku menerima itu,” gumam Ilona.

Argyelus memeluk Ilona, lalu menarik peti cendana berisi tengkorak itu, dan dengan satu cambukan ia berkata:

“Bim-sala-bim! Aku akan disana dimana saja aku mau, di istana milik ayahku!”

Mereka terbang dan dalam sekejap mata tiba disana.

Argyelus menjadi raja yang sangat besar, Ilona menjadi peri yang sangat terkenal. Bila belum meninggal, sekarangpun pasti mereka masih di dunia ini.

Fairylike Ilona and Prince Árgyélus⁷

Once upon a time, there was a king, who had three sons. The king had an apple tree that bore golden apples. It was such a strange tree that bloomed at night and by morning it had borne new apples. Thus, the treasure of the king was growing day by day, and soon he became the most affluent king in the entire world.

One day, however, when the king had his everyday morning walk in his beautiful garden, he found no apples there. He found no apples on the following days, either, so he decided to summon the court and announced that he would give half his treasures to the man, who is able to protect the apples. The guards were not wasting their times to give it a try, so they stood around the tree. But all was in vain, because at around midnight, they all fell asleep, and by the time they woke up, all the apples had been gone.

One of the three princes came along and said they were willing to protect the tree.

First, the eldest brother went watching the tree, but he was not more successful than the others before. Nor was the middle one. Finally, it was the turn of the youngest, Prince Árgyélus's. First of all, he put a golden casket full of tobacco in his pocket, and sat under the tree.

The moon shed light nicely on Prince Árgyélus's face. He felt that lassitude was about to overcome him, therefore he took a pinch of tobacco, rubbed his eyes and sneezed. Then he repeated it again, sniffed from the tobacco and rubbed his eyes for the second time.

Suddenly, he heard quiet whispering. When he looked up, he saw twelve ravens flying. They were heading to the apple tree; the thirteenth raven, as their leader, was flying in the front. Árgyélus caught the leg of the thirteenth raven, and shouted: – I've got you, you thief!

But as he looked at it again, he saw it was a beautiful girl in his arms, whose golden locks hid her pale shoulders.

– Who are you, you beautiful thief? – asked the prince – I'll never let you go!

– I am Fairylike Ilona – said the beautiful girl. – And these ravens are my girl friends. We fly here every night for fun to pick all the golden apples. But I cannot stay with you, although I confess, you are the one I could never forget, because I love you, and only you!

– Stay with me! – said Árgyélus begging.

– I cannot – answered Fairylike Ilona. – But I promise I will come every night, but will not take the apples anymore. Be here if you want to see me!

⁷ Translated by Amadea Balog

Then the thirteen ravens flew away with a great din.

On the following morning, to the utter amazement of the court, the golden apples were still on the tree. The king kissed his son on the forehead. Árgyélus only asked the king to let him protect the apple tree every night.

Prince Árgyélus went out to watch the tree every night, in order to see Fairylike Ilona.

However, there was an Old Hag in the court of the king, who always kept an eye on Prince Árgyélus. The king himself started to wonder what could be the reason of Árgyélus's liking to guard the apple tree. So he asked for the Old Hag and said to her:

– I see that you keep an eye on Prince Árgyélus. Go and watch him when he is guarding at the tree.

The Old Hag did as the king said. When Prince Árgyélus went to the apple tree, the Old Hag hid behind the bushes. On the following day, early in the morning she reported to the king:

– I have spied on Prince Árgyélus last night. I saw him sitting under the apple tree with a beautiful girl with golden locks. She arrived as a raven, but then she turned into that girl with golden hair.

– You are liar, Old Hag! – said the king. – It can't be true!

– It is true, Your Majesty! If you want, I can get evidence for tomorrow.

The following night Árgyélus and Fairylike Ilona had fun together again. They did not know how, but both of them suddenly fell asleep. Then the Old Hag came out and cut off a golden lock of Fairylike Ilona's hair, then she left.

Fairylike Ilona got up and started to cry and wail so grievously that she woke up Árgyélus too.

– What's happened, my darling?

– Oh, Árgyélus, I wish you a happy life, but I cannot see you anymore. I can't stay with you, because there are thieves in your house. Look, one of my golden locks has been stolen.

Then she embraced Árgyélus, took a ring off her finger and put it on Árgyélus's finger.

– I give this to you, so that I'd recognize you anywhere.

She clapped her hands, turned into a raven and flew away.

In the morning, the Old Hag showed the golden lock to the king. The king was really surprised at it, so he summoned Prince Árgyélus instantly.

– My dear son, I have married off all your brothers, and it is time for you to be married off too. I've been looking for a rich princess for you, I think you will not have any objection.



Márta Kiss: Árgyélus és Tündérszép Ilona (Argyélus and Fairylike Ilona 34 x26,5 cm oil paint on tracing paper, 2010)

– Dear father, I will get married soon, but only if I can choose a wife for myself. I have already found one: Fairylike Ilona is going to be my wife.

The king did not like the answer, but he could make Árgyélus get this idea out of his mind no matter how hard he tried, Árgyélus persisted. He put his sword on his side, and left to find Fairylike Ilona. The entire court went into mourning for him.

He almost went around the whole world, but found no sign of Fairylike Ilona.

Once, he arrived at a tiny cottage, in which he found an old lady.

– Why have you come here where no one ever comes?

– Dear old woman! – said Árgyélus. – Could you tell me where Fairylike Ilona lives?

– I can't, my dear son, but maybe when my husband, the Sun comes home, as he shines everywhere, he might be able to tell you. But hide now, because if he sees you, he'll eat you.

Árgyélus hid from the sun. The Sun arrived, entered the room and he asked right away:

– Phew, phew granny! What a disgusting smell, human flesh, stinky!

Árgyélus climbed out from under the bed, and greeted the Sun.

– You are lucky to have greeted me properly, – said the Sun – otherwise I'd have devoured you! I know nothing of Fairylike Ilona, but my brother, the Moon might know something about her.

Árgyélus visited the Moon too, but it was the same as with the Sun. He was told to go to the Wind.

He went to the Wind, greeted him nicely, and asked the Wind if he knew anything about the whereabouts of Fairylike Ilona.

– I know nothing of her, – said the Wind – but not far from here, in a forest lives the Animal King. He might know something.

Árgyélus went on with his journey, it was growing dark, so he saw almost nothing. He climbed upon a tree to look around for some lights. He did spot a tiny light in the distance coming from a nice castle. He knocked, the door opened, and a giant appeared, whose eye was on his forehead.

– Good evening, Your Majesty – Árgyélus greeted the giant. – Could you tell me anything about Fairylike Ilona, where she could live?

– You're lucky to have greeted me as appropriate, otherwise you would have been killed already. I am the Animal King. I have never heard of Fairylike Ilona, but maybe one of my animals know something of her.

Then he whistled, and the palace immediately became full of all kinds of animals. He asked them, but none of the animals had heard of Ilona, either. Finally, a limping wolf came along.

– I know something about her – said the limping wolf. – She lives over the Black Sea, where my leg was broken.

– Well, then lead this poor prince there! – ordered the king.

The limping wolf right off stood by Árgyélus, so that he could mount him. They went for hundreds and hundreds of years. Finally the wolf put Árgyélus down and said:

– I can't carry you anymore, but you'll find the way from here. It's not far, you just have to go ahead for another hundred years.

The wolf said goodbye and limped away.

Árgyélus continued his journey, and suddenly he saw a valley surrounded by three mountains. Three devils were fighting in the valley. He came across and asked them why they were fighting.

– Our father died, and left this cloak, whip and sandal to us. This cloak is such a cloak that if you put it on, put on the sandal as well, swish the whip, and say "Hip-hop, I want to be where I wish", you get there in no time. We can't agree on this, as we don't know what each of us should get.

– Well, – said Árgyélus – that's no problem. I can help you with this. Now, each of you get on one of the hills!

The devils went on the hills, and Árgyélus put on the cloak and the sandal, lashed the whip and said:

– Hip-hop, I want to be where I wish: let me be at Fairylike Ilona, here and now!

He appeared in front of a crystal clear palace at once. A girl friend of Fairylike Ilona was only looking out of the window. She recognized Árgyélus so she loudly ran to Fairylike Ilona.

– Árgyélus is here!

Fairylike Ilona thought they were just playing with her, so she slapped her friend.

But then came the second, third, fourth, eleventh, but Ilona wouldn't believe any of them, and slapped them all.

Árgyélus knocked. An old woman came to open the door. She was looking surprised at Árgyélus, but then her surprise turned into joy.

– It's great to see you, Árgyélus, at least now you can free our princess. You can't be with her right now, only at around midnight, because that's the time she can walk around. If you kiss her three times then, the Magician will lose control over her. You are lucky to be here now, because he isn't at home, otherwise, you would be dead by now.

– I'm not afraid of him either, – said Árgyélus – let me fight with him.

The old woman invited Árgyélus in, made the silk bed for him, prepared a rich dinner, and said:

– Fairylike Ilona comes here every night, so don't fall asleep!

But the old woman was an evil witch. She had a whistle, which in case was blown, put everyone to sleep. She pulled out the whistle, turned away and blew it, and Árgyélus fall asleep right away and was sleeping like a log. At around midnight, Fairylike Ilona appeared, saw her darling and cried out:

– Wake up, my dear! If you kiss me three times, the magic will be dispelled off me.

But Árgyélus did not wake up. In the morning the old witch told him:

– Fairylike Ilona was here, but you were sleeping like a log.

The second and the third nights were all the same.

But once, when the old witch took a nap, Árgyélus spotted the whistle on her neck. He unfastened it, and out of curiosity, he blew it. He saw that all the servants fell asleep due to the whistle. This is when he realized that it was the reason for him sleeping deep, after the witch had blown the whistle. Now he put it on his neck, and every time the witch was about to wake up, he whistled. He did it many times until midnight.

Then came Fairylike Ilona. Árgyélus kissed her three times, and at once the castle got full of light, all the doors opened wide, and the old witch sank in the ground.

But when Árgyélus was about to kiss Fairylike Ilona for the second time. he slapped her eleven times.

– This is because you slapped eleven friends of yours when they had said the truth.

– I deserve it – stammered Fairylike Ilona.

Then Árgyélus took Ilona in his arms, put on his cloak and sandal and whipped his lash.

– Hip-hop, I want to be where I wish: let me be at my father's castle, here and now!

They flew there in a second. Árgyélus became a great king and Fairylike Ilona became a great fairy. They lived happily ever after.



The Immersed Steps for Understanding

Polett Dus

In 1998, I arrived in Indonesia with the purpose of studying the most essential form of traditional Javanese theatre, the wayang *kulit*. As a student in the Indonesian Institute of Arts in Surakarta, I started my studies with a major in gamelan music and then during a personal trip I have found the *dhalang* (puppeteer), who first introduced me into the wayang techniques, and many rainy weeks and months later he initiated me into the meaning and the message of the wayang. Before my life in Indonesia, I had already studied art, I had been dealing with theater for years. I played an active role in the Hungarian street theater in the heroic ages, I also worked in Switzerland in an international contemporary circus, I knew the repertoire of the Western classical theatre, the key plays/performances, canonized directors, artists and dramas. I thought all my previous experiences and knowledge would help me to understand the Javanese *shadow play*. But I was proven wrong.

After a while I progressively started to realize in Java that the limits of obtainable knowledge were finite, reference points were missing, the context was unknown, and the *form language* was unfamiliar to me. Behind the infinite politeness and kindness of the Javanese people lies a "closed, and a hidden-from-strangers'-eyes" kind of community life and knowledge. A system known and understood by everyone, from which the western, "observer" always remains excluded. However, I wanted to become part of it.

I wanted to understand Javanese people. I wanted to get to the deepest depths of the Javanese soul. Through becoming a part of the community, I wished to understand the wisdom of the wayang plays, finally find the answer to how a centuries-old analog artistic form could survive in the digital world, almost unchanged in our days. Where does the strength of Javanese shadow-play stem from, how do Javanese people really think, how do they feel and live, what is the eternal source of its magic?

Many questions to which until then I only knew one way to respond: to observe, and to ask the right questions, to analyze and conclude. However, the everyday events seemed to be inexplicable to me through the habitual forms of apprehension. How

should one logically react to a situation where on the last rehearsal day of a theatre group preparing for the exam-performance at the art academy – just one day before the performance itself – after long hours of discussion, the dean and other professors of the university declare with a smile on their face that there is not going to be any rehearsal on that day let alone any other substantive work, because the feeling (*rasa*) and the energies all around us are not favorable to the creative process?! Or when the neighbor tells us that a nice ghost lives around the banana palms in the garden, we can feel free to feed him/her, or when we get from our music partner a magic belt against bad spirits, to be worn underneath our clothes?! Magic, ghosts, spirits, feelings, energy, universe. And all this as an unquestionable certainty, as the only possible interpretation of reality. But this was neither the aspect, nor the approach we had got used to in Europe, which we were raised in, which we learned, which oriented the way how we think about the world. This is something totally different. A culture gap? The impossibility of understanding?

I was sure that the answers of Jewish-Christian cultural tradition could give to the mysteries of human life, the western norms of civilization identifying progress with excessive consumption and the *logocentric world view* form such a strong heritage that they would make it impossible for me to understand the Javanese way of life and ethical approach. If I really want to have an insight and immerse myself into the world that was unknown and incomprehensible before, I have to start with a clean slate. The suspension of "I", the oblivion of all norms learned and experienced before, giving up the praxis of reaching out for rational explanations and applying a critical approach to questions proved to be the only viable option. Is there a chance at all to understand the Javanese system, Javanism for someone coming from the West?! I had to ask myself whether such thing as understanding exists independently from cultural embeddedness? As Benedict R.O. Anderson argued:

"One of the most striking contrasts between western society and that of Java is the general absence in the first as compared with the pervasive presence in the second of compelling religious mythology. This one could define as a set of uniformity over a whole society, both horizontally through every region and vertically through every social class. Certainly, in contemporary western society there are no religious myths which have this kind of universal grip relevancy. The traditional Christian myths survive largely as imposing, melancholy ruins in the flat landscape of our secular civilization. It is, of course, evident that much of our behavior is still regulated by the residues of Christian norms and values. Nevertheless, these values increasingly lack a convincing imagery of persuasive symbolism to give them urgency. If one refrains from committing adultery it is likely to be because one feels it "wouldn't be fair" or

because one is too lazy, busy or timid, rather than because Paris suffered bitterly for his rape of Helen or because Moses brought down his graven tablets from Mount Sinai. Our morality grows steadily more pragmatic- without poetry or metaphysics." (Benedict R.O. G Anderson *Mythology and the tolerance of the Javanese* Cornell University Press 1965, p. 5).

As we, western people and the evolution of our personality defined by cultural space are characterized by the total lack of religious mythology and the magical sense of community as they were formulated by Benedict, in the insecure and sometimes inconceivable situations we have to face within the Javanese community, interpersonal connections could have offered us points of reference. Nevertheless, the unwritten laws, coding system of the social contacts of Javanese people perfectly reflect and display the signs just waiting for realization. Social achievements Western cultures are proud of, such as the freedom of speech, self-advocacy, outspokenness, openness and sturdiness can lead to seemingly bizarre and offensive behaviors in situations where Javanese and Western people meet. As a friend of Niels Mulder from Yogyakarta claims: "We Javanese are a closed people. We show and tell what we hope will please you, but we'll never expose ourselves, what is inside of us. Your impressions and interpretations are only based on what you have seen and been told but you cannot look behind our posture. We open ourselves to the extent we want to, but You'll never know our true motivations" (Mulder, Niels *Reflection on Southeast Asian Personhood* 2011).

In addition to speaking to friends, acquaintances, teachers about Javanism, during each wayang performance I felt that I would find the ultimate answers in wayang. That through the understanding of wayang I will reach the understanding of Javanese ethics, philosophy, cosmology, system of belief at the same time. That I will be able to make a big step towards the deeper understanding of wayang and partially leave my stance as a Western outsider behind in order to get closer to the community. As reaching the conclusion that Javanism and the research of wayang is one and the same thing for me, being a professional dealing with theater I wanted to know where those universal codes can be found within the treasures of wayang, which carry meaning for both Javanese and Western people? Do universal codes exist at all? I didn't know the answers to these questions at that time. I only knew that I would like to get all the knowledge available about wayang.

I couldn't surely say that I have reached my journey's end which had started back in Autumn 1998. But what is for sure is that in the last 20 years passed since, my relation with wayang has been continuously reshaping, deepening, changing. I created

several wayang performances, I picked wayang as the topic for my master's dissertation, I am preparing for my doctorate, I most often stream live wayang performances and after so many years I am getting ready to return to my second home, Solo.

My admiration and respect for Javanese people is unchanged, and I am still attached to wayang kulit with strong ties. In the future I will try to recall the stages of the evolution of my understanding, the changes occurred in the past which have deeply affected my life while, despite the embellishing distance between Indonesia and myself, I will try not to fall into the trap of "the romantic glance thrown at a foreign culture" (Edward Said).

1. The suspension of knowledge

So we are in autumn 1998, on the *jumat kliwon*, where I see my first wayang kulit in the Pendopo of TBS. I am constantly asking my Javanese acquaintances about the actors, the story, I am trying to follow the events in front of the canvas, interpreting the community life that the audience shares. So, what is happening? People are talking to each other, eating, drinking, laughing, men are smoking, drinking coffee. A fair-ground atmosphere during a theatre play? Some people stand up and go home or get up and sit down on the other side of the folding screen, and as time passes a number of musicians, singers lean on each other's shoulders, the audience huddles together and falls asleep. Meanwhile one single person makes the countless puppets move while conducting the orchestra sitting behind his back, calls out the audience, improvises, makes them laugh, speaks, narrates. Miracle. The next day I ask my maestro a few questions about the dhalang, the stories, the past, the traditions. And I also want to know why all the women have to sit in the shadowy side of the folding screen?

And sometimes he answers with a complicit gaze other times he doesn't, sometimes he asks a question, other times he remains silent, and seldom he shares a little secret with me: where would women sit? Men are obviously seated on the side of the men dhalang and the gamelan orchestra likewise consisted of men, but don't I think that women are the mediators between the visible and invisible world when they are pregnant and give birth to their children? We exchange questions and answers, practice and learn a lot during our classes. On rainy afternoons, he gradually initiates me into the knowledge that was handed on between generations, the techniques on how to manipulate a puppet, the scenes of fight, the introductory songs, the dramaturgic possibilities of improvisation. He speaks about the character of the actors, their missions, their fights, the importance of unity and humility, faith, good decisions, the supporting

powers... During the passing weeks and months of our classes we progressively get closer to the world I was trying to get to know. It is not just about wayang itself, but also about Javanese ethics, philosophy and Javanism which underlie the wayang: about the fact that people consist of two different parts: one part is visible for the others, the *lair*, while the other is the *inner essence*, the *batin*.

Lair belongs to the realm of the five senses and rational thinking, while the inner self, the *batin* is hidden from other people's eyes and is the essence linked to the common roots of all existence, to the One. The *batin* is related to the intuitive inner sense, the sixth sense called *rasa*. Developing the *batin* is a basic need, because a well-functioning intuitive "self" helps people acquire the ability of inner vision and recognition. I got to understand through the talks I had with him what "living an ethical life" means according to the Javanese people. How they understand the role of an individual within the community, how they subordinate their personal interests to the interests of the whole community, how they are able to form a harmonic state of being through the harmonization of the goals of the community, the family and the universe. Why is it important to realize that one is not only responsible for one's own life, but also for the well-being of the whole community? Why are selflessness and humility inevitable, the *Sepi Ing Pamrih*, according to which the individual doesn't bother the members of the community with his/her problems, doesn't do or think of anything that would disturb the harmony of the community. I have also learnt that the kind Javanese people consciously practice and develop their personalities in order to be able to control their negative feelings, to practice tolerance, support, the ability of acceptance and understanding. Why is it essential to realize and accept one's own goals and missions as defined by the community? That one as unique and active part of the cosmos is aware of the laws of self-determination? Every single moment is a moment of decisions – as it is exemplified by the heroes of the wayang stories. One can decide right or wrong depending on whether his or her choice was coming from anger, fear or wisdom and harmony.

In order for the harmony to remain stable on the level of the individuals as well as that of the community, everyone has to work on their inner self, on the *batin*. A person blessed with a strong inner self has always control over his or her feelings, perfectly aware of the law of causality, embraces everything happening in the world with patience. A strong *batin* lets you know the right moment to act, which is in perfect harmony with the rhythm of the cosmos. A wise, ethical and harmonic life is reached through the development of the spirit and the inner self. The inner self is in continuous contact with the God living in our heart, therefore life is nothing but a continuous prayer. There is no difference between profane and sacred, everything exists in an

inseparable unity. This is Javanism. These lessons, stories filled our days devoted to the study of the wayang.

We learned a lot about the iconography of the performances, the parables, the symbolism of wayang and about all the complexity that characterizes it. I gradually understood that the wayang is not simply a form of entertainment, but a repository of community knowledge, a "code of ethics", a guide to the life, an essential part of our everyday lives and education. I also learned that the acted stories, the personalities of the characters on display, the paths heroes follow, their doubts, their struggles, the organic unity of good and beautiful are parables for Javanese people that provide them directions. That a wayang is an important social event where long time no seen acquaintances, family members meet, talk, gossip and discuss the questions related to them. Every night I was watching with amazement and jealousy that even the youngest children know and recognize the different characters, actors, and they know the myths, legends passed on orally, which are still present in the community's knowledge. I was also amazed by the virtuoso technique, sound, beauty, energy, steadiness, humor of the great dhalang maestros, Ki Manteb and Ki Anom Suroto, and the way it maintained the attention of the audience for 9 hours. As months passed by I got to understand that every technical movement of the wayang, the place of the tools, the saint bird hanging above the dhalang's head, the Garuda serving as a lam-pion, as well as the tree of life has a spiritual, mystical meaning. The changing of the days and seasons, the human entity and the unity of the world, its harmony, the supporting will of gods, the wise lifestyle focusing on the inner part of the soul are represented in every wayang play. And everything that I thought I knew about the inner forces moving people, about the objectives of art and its function, an individual as a sovereign entity and its relation with the community was challenged. I progressively learned to accept the Javanese ethics, the basic teachings because I knew that the demand for harmony and happiness is a basic human need, it has nothing to do with the development of civilizations, country borders, and national identity. As a Western researcher falling in love with the Javanese culture once said: *"The world-view of the Javanese provides an all-encompassing answer to questions about the ultimate structure of reality. It acknowledges a meta-empirical ground of reality and offers this view not only as a theory, but also as a meaningful human practice."* (Franz-Magnis Suseno: Javanese ethics and worldview Gramedia, Jakarta 1997. p.132.)

Impatience, anger, games people play. We all know the traps of our western life. The wayang was the steady pillar, the holding force, the benchmark, a road-sign. Many – and many times – have asked me since then, and still ask me today why Javanese shadow puppet theatre is interesting for a European apart from its beauty? And I'm

always trying to tell that the knowledge which is the basis of Javanese people's lives, could have once been ours too.

Maybe it would be worth finding the way back to the state of being when we still believed in the eternal laws of the universe, the invisible powers supporting humanity, the intertwining fates of individuals and community derived from the strength of choices, and we still knew that life is not difficult at all if we follow the sound of our heart. But us, western people are used to the fact that the clever brain, the wise self and social expectations or the morality always silence the sound of the heart. Compared to the Javanese people living in harmony in the intersections of the web of the universe, we, western people, believe in logos and rationality instead of God and think that man is nothing else than "an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun" (Clifford Geertz, *The interpretation of cultures* New York, Basic Books 1973).

2. The dilemma of evocation

The experiences in Java, the time with the investigation of wayang and later my studies in theatre directed my attention to an important professional matter to clarify. I hope that the following issues will not only make historians of the theatre as well as all the researchers in the humanities revisit their concepts. I am also convinced that western thinking patterns, the evolution of western sciences and its sets of definitions are in many cases unable to precisely describe culturally different phenomena – in this case the Javanese. As wayang remains in the focus of our analysis, we have to take a look at how European theatre traditions and the scientific life define the wayang? What is wayang? A theatre of sorts? A puppet theatre? A music and dancing event?

It is no coincidence that wayang kulit is a part of the Intangible Cultural Heritage since 2003, as its profusion of forms, tradition, artistic value are unique phenomena. The origins of wayang, its iconography, the role of dhalang, the set of instruments of the gamelan orchestra, the meaning of the tonalities, the social effect of the pieces and the narrative parts were researched by cultural anthropologists, historians of the theatre, music ethnologists, artists, art historians and music historians too.

If we sum up the definitions of "wayang" given by the Javanese, we will see that there is no consensual definition: for instance, Benedict R.O.G Anderson defines wayang as a metaphysical and ethical system (Benedict R.O.G. Anderson: *Mythology and the tolerance of the Javanese* Cornell University Press, 1965. p. 5.), while Prof. Dr. Ben

Arps perceives it as an audiovisual spectacle (Prof.Dr. Bernard Arps: *The sound of space* Mrazek, 2002. p. 316.) and James R. Brandon understands it as a moralizing comprehensive artwork displaying the traditional values of the community (James R. Brandon: *Theatre in Southeast Asia* Harvard University Press, 1967. p.116.- 118.). The definition used and accepted for wayang in Hungary is puppetry or puppet theatre.

Puppet theatre refers to the comedian manipulating a single puppet, as well as to the actor playing with puppets sewed from small socks, but also describes the showmen pulling a ping-pong ball on their fingers. Puppet theatre colloquially means the same as theatre for children or as nice little tales played behind a (folding) screen. The fact that wayang was put in the narrow category of "Puppet Theatre" out of the countless possibilities is problematic, but also whether the wayang – according to the set of definitions formed and constructed by the western social values – is a theatre at all is also a question looking for an answer. As all the topics, concepts and areas, which guided the development of the European theatre history – as the relation between literature and dramatic texts, the interrelation of visual elements, the progression of the *mise en scene*, the artistic creativity, the technical development, the tradition of criticism, the history of reception, adaptations – appear hardly or not at all in the wayang.

Here we talk about an art form which does not require a director, it only has an organizing principle of sorts, no dramaturgist, only dramaturgical parts, no actors, only a single master of ceremonies, the dhalang and the puppets manipulated by the dhalang. Erika Fischer-Lichte's perception on wayang is increasingly valid, according to which the definition of theatricality is only conceivable as an element of an interdisciplinary discourse of cultural sciences (Erika Fischer-Lichte: *A színház mint kulturális model*, Theatron, 1999./3. pp.67.-79.). Based on the above-mentioned and already discussed parts of the nine-hour long performance, we know that the Javanese moral, ethics and metaphysics are presented sometimes in a symbolical, other times in a metaphorical or quite pragmatic way.

For Javanese people, the relation of the micro and the macrocosm, the order and the decoding of signs of the invisible world is a process lived and handed over through generations. The wayang in the perspective of Javanese people is defined as magical acts of the community, as a phylogeny of an individual and the group, as guidance, as a moral parable where the divine One guides the dhalang, the audience and the heroes of the stories.

"To a Javanese Allah created Adam, and from Adam descended the Prophet Mohammed, Batara Guru (Shiva), and Vishnu. Vishnu was first incarnated as Rama in the Ramayana

and later as Krishna – adviser to the Pandavas – in the Mahabharata. And from the Pandavas are descended, generation by generation, the kings and sultans who have ruled Java down into the twentieth century. Thus, the Ramayana and more especially the Mahabharata comprise a vital link connecting the Javanese present to the great mythological, religious past.” (James R. Brandon: Theater in Southeast Asia, Harvard University Press, 1967. p.92.)

The precondition of understanding the wayang is the syncretism which Bradon refers to. The animist ancient-Javanese, the Hindu-Buddhist systems and the Islam had created unity cumulatively and they all live in the magical thinking of the Javanese today.

Without the presence of the ancestry, the pervading invisible order and power, the unquestionable realities of the glorious past, the incarnation of the superior One, no wayang performance is possible.

Humans move to the rhythm of the cosmos just as the dhalang manipulates the puppets to the rhythm of the gamelan music. As it was already discussed, one of the main ideas of the wayang stories is that human life is not independent from the law of the universe, there is a need for a divine guidance, a knowledge of the consequences of the acts, a harmony between the visible and invisible world. So, is the set of definition applicable for the western world applicable to such social and cultural phenomena where individualism, logical thinking, the separation of profane and sacred spaces, the power of the logos is seen differently as in Europe? The history of the European theatre and the theatre studies born in the XX. century, got separated from the study of literature and is thus considered as an independent discipline, using two known and accepted definition for theatre, neither of which is adequate to define and describe the essence of wayang.

The most popular definitions in the western part of the world are that of Eric Bentley who defines theatre as “a personifying B watched by C” and that of Erika Fischer-Lichte, who perceives it as A (actor) embodying X (roll) watched by C. A dhalang gets prepared for a wayang performance. He sits in front of the folding screen as a spiritual, mental and physical leader. Purgation, prays precede the performance considered as a serious spiritual, intellectual and physical effort. “Om. May nothing give hindrance, O spirits of this house, flying over the Earth, Mothers of Generations. Allah, assist me, fulfill my wish, gratify my intentions. Creatures, male and female, look at my work, be pleased, and love by God’s will. Oh, Allah! Oh Allah! Oh Allah!..... O Great Serpent who supports the Earth, O Spirits all here, I ask Your help. Let not the onlookers disperse before I have finished performing my art.....Om. O God of the Soul,

Essence of the One, O God of Light, may the flame of the lamp shine over the world. May those who come be silent, show pity and love, and may they stay to look at me!" (James. R. Brandon: *On Thrones of Gold* Harvard University Press, 1970. pp. 83-84)

A dhalang uses his body and spirit in to transfer the wisdom of the invisible world through sanctified puppets to the spectators in a way that would be worth of his ancestors. Without this spiritual background, there is no wayang performance. Both Fisher-Lichte and Bentley's definition of theatre are inadequate for the description of wayang, so a new definition has to be created.

From a European perspective, the Javanese wayang kulit can be described as follows: A (dhalang) evokes and impersonates Y (infinity, God, cosmic consciousness) in order to personify X1, X2, X3...-X100 (puppets) while C is watching. The evocation not only precedes the process of impersonation and embodiment, but it is also a precondition to it.

This act of evocation makes the performance to become a genuine theater, one that that represents the essence of Javanese morality and ethics. There is no wayang performance without evocation. And although the wayang has changed in terms of its formality during its evolution through centuries, but it has still remained a point of reference for the Javanese philosophy, belief and moral life. The ritual act of evocation created and still creates the archaic sense of value of the wayang kulit for the Javanese people.

As I wanted to check the correctness of my statement, I made a survey research on how the wayang is defined by the Javanese people? The questions "What is a wayang?" and "What is theatre?" were sent to the dhalangs living and working in Java, musicians, art teachers as well as to those who are professionally dealing with the wayang, gamelan music in Europe. Several different approaches and viewpoints prevailed among the returned responses, but in generally speaking, all those who defined wayang as theatre also talked about it being only a form which cannot grasp wayang properly. Answers to my initial questions mostly included the presentation of everyday life, community experience, teaching various art forms and the presentation of Javanism. Many has pointed out and drawn the attention to the fact that unlike European practice of reception, the reception of wayang is not realized in terms of "I", but is rather dominated by "We". They also referred to the definition offered by Prof. R.M. Moerdowo:

"As it is widely known in this country, the wayang is one of the dramatic arts that contains elements relating to community life and all the problems found in it. They are presented

in a symbolic, illustrative and visual way as a story with a deep background, analyzing the physical and spiritual problems of life. The individual as well as social life of human beings are continuously demonstrated with all their problems accompanied by an ideal conception of a secure and harmonious community of life. Man is also faced with the problems of moral standards, and with such basic elements of aesthetics, truth and beauty.” (Prof. R.M Moerdowo, *Wayang: Its significance in Indonesian Society* Pn. Balai Pustaka Jakarta, 1982. p. 63.)

And now let us return to the first problem raised in our study: if wayang is a form of art displaying the values of Javanese people and their society, how can European people understand it at all? What could be done in order not to eliminate differences between the reception of Western and Javanese people? Based on my own experience, inner journey, the result of the suspension of the, “I” and my knowledge I can state that the rationalist praxis of European scientism can be bracketed and you can get close to the real meaning of the wayang kulit. If one deals with this issue during a long spiritual practice, one can have a chance to find the answers to basic questions underlying human existence regardless of geographical position, cultural tradition and skin color. One is confronted with the fact that every wayang performance represents a given order blatantly incompatible with the values of the western world, though not with the human being as such suddenly reveals itself, and that the wayang essentially includes the absolute values present in human history in a way that along with an uncompromising aesthetic perfection, it sets up an unquestionable moral standard.

3. The ultimate understanding – How can wayang be performed in Europe?

From what has been said above the question whether understanding the wayang helps to integrate it into the traditions of western theatre logically follows. In other words: can wayang be adapted to the European stages? And, if so, how?

I had been dealing with the question for many years. The obvious gap between the contemporary Javanese wayang and the contemporary European stage made the question irresolvable for a long time. It was feared that any attempt of wayang could at best appear on a European stage as an exciting cultural experience, an exotic miracle, a “cultural monkey” locked up in a cage in the zoo. As it is true for every theatrical form in the Far East, without decoding the cultural and theatrical signs a performance can only offer aesthetic enjoyment, but under no circumstances can it become a moral or intellectual challenge. As to the adaptability of wayang, besides

the form and the content, time is also a difficult issue. Although the nine-hour long Mahabharata of Peter Brook presented in Avignon in 1985 was on tour for years in Europe, it still cannot be stated that the spectators could find a traditional wayang performance as interesting as a Brook adaptation. Even in the latter case the fact that the story, the plot, the heroes of Mahabharata forming the basis of wayang stories are almost totally unknown to the European spectators is quite problematic. Not to mention that the heroes presented in wayang are far from being interesting to the postmodern theatre. How would the story of a Judistira having lost its empire on dice look like on a European stage dominated by traditions of Greek dramas and great king-dramas? Depending on the era and/or the directorial concept Judistira would be betrayed by his wife, or his son would end his life with a classical parricide. Or the four siblings would first fall out with each other over the legacy and then one of them would turn out to be a traitorous killer. Or one could imagine a version where Judistira divides against himself, gets mad, sells and denies his past. Incest, revenge, cruelty, parricide, treason, betrayal, existential anxiety, neurosis, breakdown, emptiness. All these dramatic situations – well known for European spectators – are non-existent in the wayang. They have been presenting and representing the same values for hundreds of years. Camaraderie, family, community, engrossment, belief, inner power, intellectual and spiritual greatness, asceticism, purification. Some would say this is boring. Where is the intellectual challenge, the postmodern social criticism, the political theatre, and the reflexive practice?

The shadow is still used in European theatre to represent the unearthly world or a dreamworld, an abstract space or an absurd situation comedy. But without any doubt, the most exciting contemporary reading is the analytical theatre organized along the shadow aspect of personality by Jung.

Although I have seen traditional wayang performances in Europe, none of them triggered cathartic experiences in the spectator, it didn't open up intellectual perspectives beyond pure exotism. In both cases a shortened version was performed, and in one case the dhalang – an experienced puppeteer working a lot in America and Europe – added harsh and obscene scenes into the story. When I asked him why he had done that, he answered that this was what western people like; rudeness, aggression and overt pornography. It is without doubt that all wayang performances include erotic elements – especially if the puppeteer flirts with the singer, or if Arjuna in present as an erotic icon. But rude, overt pornography is present neither in the everyday life of the Javanese, nor in the wayang plays. I felt distressed when I understood that this is how many people see us...

4. Wayang in Hungary

I have been wondering for years how a wayang performance, deprived of its traditional context, could be staged, especially given the fact that the spectators are totally unaware of the puppets' personality traits. Indeed, the puppet of Arjuna is not only the visualization of the most heartbreaking member of the 5 Pandawa siblings, but, "being Arjuna" is also the symbol of charming, sexy, but noble, decent masculinity. The puppet of Bima is not only the mightiest sibling, but "being Bima" is the symbol of brute force and determination as well. So how could these decontextualized puppets be used on the Hungarian stage?

After several attempts and a long search for solution I have decided that some content has to be omitted, as the whole message simply cannot get through even if flyers are handed out before the performance. So, puppets have to be manipulated by using the techniques of wayang, the personal traits of the characters have to be kept, but it is better not to insist on the original character traits.

The question also demanding a solution was how can a performance be created – worthy of wayang, reuniting generations – in a country with theatrical traditions, where puppetry is destined for children.

So I found a tale that includes a range of interpretations with multiple layers, which is able to perform the tale's ancient functions, in a way that the children understand one level of the tale, while adults can interpret the performance at another level of interpretation. Finally, I have chosen a Javanese tale, which is on the one hand a beautiful, eventful story about love, at the same time it is a creation myth on the rain and the monsoon, and in a more subtle sense a beautiful allegory of the inner peace and harmony to find, about the struggle between the mind and the spirit with the manifestation of the ego: with fear, lust for power, greediness, gluttony and the complicity of silence. The dramaturgical arc of the beautiful Jasmine flower and the Rain King followed the dramaturgy of classical tales. The story had to be divided into dialogues in order for the play to be understandable and to avoid trying the spectators' patience. At the same time, I was worried about the fact that even if they understand the story and the plot, they will never understand the original meaning of the puppets' moves. The same applies to the European spectator while watching a traditional Javanese dance. The spectator admires the beauty, refinement of the dancer and the moves, but understands neither the story, nor the meaning of the dancers' moves. A rather unconventional idea struck me, namely of merging the two fields of interpretation by complementing the classical wayang with a parallel dance performance, where

the dancers simultaneously animate the characters of some puppets and parallelly perform their – very similar – moves, while the story, the event, the passion, emotion, gesture hidden behind the moves are exactly understandable and traceable due to the narration. The heroine of the fable I have chosen and staged was princess Jasmine flower, and the wicked main character was Nasiman, the servant's evil son. They were impersonated by flesh and blood actors. When the two central character puppets were moving behind the folding screen, the actor being in sync live with the move of the puppet in front of the folding screen animated the ongoing scene. The folding screen – according to a three-part altar-piece - became a triple-aisle space, in whose middle part the shadow play was presented, while in its two-side aisle the dancers accompanied the performance. As to the musical accompaniment, gamelan pieces were combined with contemporary elements and some motives of the Hungarian folk music tradition. The actors were playing in traditional costumes. The tale was all along narrated, and – accordingly to the wayang traditions – in different keys as well. Similarly to the classical wayang plays, in most cases there it was possible to watch the performance from both sides of the folding screen, and the puppeteer was working in accordance with the drum/kendang throughout the performance. The show was presented during 3 years in many places and to a variety of publics, there was even a performance for blind and visually impaired people.

Did we manage to create a performance which obtained the original objective: to give an insight into the deeper meaning of wayang beyond pure aesthetic pleasure? I do not know. Based on spectators' feedbacks they have surely understood – regardless of their age – the dynamics of the plot, they could identify the actors, they realized that the dancing puppets they see are meant to represent the two protagonists, and most importantly: they were all rooting for the Rain King to win the heart of his love.

Beyond the dramatic wayang adaptation, I also made experimentation with wayang in a different direction. In the "Wayang Experimental" performance we examined the textures which can be created by the shadows cast by the puppets illuminated from different angles. Unlike for traditional performances we used one steady and two moving light sources to create visual textures. I asked the big classical gamelan orchestra accompanying the performance to improvise starting from the vibration caused by these movements. Through establishing the organic unity of the music and the visual content I wanted to follow the wayang tradition according to which the orchestra and the puppeteer create the performance in constant and continuous interaction with each other.

With the improvisation, the confluence of textures and by offering a plot without narration my intention was to make western people experience the wayang's time structure. The improvisation of the orchestra and the movement improvisation created a dream-like state of mind. The performance was staged outdoors and the stage itself was surrounded by trees. As to its ambiance, it was similar to the Javanese traditions in many ways, as the spectators did not stop eating, drinking and talking to each other, just as it had happened during the nine-hour long Javanese performance. My intention was to find out which elements adopted from wayang can be understood by the European spectators in the framework of an improvised performance. The spectators' feedbacks clearly reported on the unusual time experience, and a more diverse, more experience-based, more impressive reception different from the usual reception.

We created a similar performance with the students of the Academy of Drama and Film in September 2015, when I held a course on wayang as an invited lecturer. With the students coming from different fields of theatre work – stage manager, costume designer, dramaturg, stage designer, wire-puller, actor, cameramen – we were looking for an ideal what dramaturgical and visual framework for a text-centric and contemporary music centric performance. In this experiment, the wayang puppets were only characters appearing on the canvas without any reference to flesh and blood people. With the students coming from different fields of theatre, we were trying to find out which images, contents and audio signs of the wayang could be reorganized into a new symbolizing system by transposing them into a new context. At the end of the course a sort of inner journey, a self-analytic process of the puppeteers appeared on the canvas. As opposed to the Wayang Experimental, here we had more puppeteers and only a single steady light source. Behind the folding screen each puppeteer was performing with their own puppet, one after the other or several people at the same time

Currently I am teaching a course requested by the Dharma Gate Buddhist College and I am undertaking a research project with my students, which will be followed by a creative process. We are elaborating the story of Sutasoma written by Mpu Tantular in the 14th century and translated by Kate O'Brian. In the first part of the course, besides the technical and theoretical knowledge of wayang, we focus on extending and deepening our knowledge of Javanese ethics and philosophy. The textual analysis of Sutasoma is preceded by an extended reflection on the history of philosophy: we look for the messages and transcendental elements common in Buddhist philosophy and in Javanese teachings. This learning process is followed by the textual analysis of Sutasoma. The text complemented with the translator's comments has so many

possibilities of interpretation that we had to set a framework for interpretation in advance. The next stage of the joint work is the elaboration of the means to present and render visible the teachings hidden in the text, using the classical elements of wayang. The biggest challenge was to find the actuality of the story and the form language. My aim here was not to create a reconstruction of a traditional wayang performance, but rather to unveil the hidden message of the story and the eternal dilemma of the hero exploring intellectual and spiritual paths, and to create a modern, contemporary performance displaying some elements of the traditional wayang.

I hope to contribute to the increase of the number of the artists and researchers studying and using the wayang (even if they are only familiar with its form language).

In the age of virtual communities and IT spaces more and more people are needed to preserve and continuously reproduce the messages and wisdom of communities cohesive on both physical and intellectual levels. Even if we can only provide outdated analogue answers to questions exposed by the digital world, let us make these answers be humanistic and in harmony with the thousands of years old laws of the universe.

Annexes

The beautiful Jasmin flower and the Rain King. Director: Polett Dus



The beautiful Jasmin flower and the Rain King. Director: Polett Dus



The beautiful Jasmin flower and the Rain King. Director: Polett Dus



Wayang Experimental. Director: Polett Dus; Contributed by Tamás Kovács



Wayang Experimental. Director: Polett Dus; Contributed by Tamás Kovács



The Oriental Business and Innovation Center (OBIC)

Mission and objectives

The Oriental Business and Innovation Center (OBIC) was established by the Budapest Business School, University of Applied Sciences and the Hungarian Central Bank in 2016. The OBIC's overall goal is to improve the competitiveness of the Hungarian economy by contributing to a better understanding of the South-East Asian region. It is the goal of OBIC to employ its cutting-edge knowledge and efficient operation to become a leading institution in oriental business studies not only in Hungary, but in the broader Central European region. As such, it is also a very important institution dedicated to the implementation of the international strategy of BBS. Target countries are India, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, People's Republic of China, the Republic of Korea, Singapore, Vietnam and many others in the Asia Pacific region.

Why?

After the 2008-2009 economic crisis hit Europe and Hungary, it quickly became clear that sluggish economic growth in Western Europe and North America does not generate sufficient demand to maintain economic growth in the Central European economies. Thus, the Great Economic Crisis brought about a need to diversify trade and investment relations in Hungary. In principle, this need for international diversification, coupled with the evolving international economic environment, can open new prospects for economic exchange and knowledge-sharing between South-East Asia and Hungary, despite the geographic distance. The new "Eastward Policy" of the Hungarian government is just one governmental initiative to which Budapest Business School can provide feedback, by broadening the economic, political, and cultural knowledge base through strengthening the exchange of ideas, scholars and students

Activities

To achieve its objectives, OBIC uses a variety of tools and instruments along the following lines:

- OBIC promotes courses of Asian languages, as well as intercultural and business training programs at the Budapest Business School.
- The Centre also sponsors inbound and outbound research mobility grants, and it helps provide opportunities for BBS students to travel to Asian countries as well.
- OBIC is dedicated to research promotion and it attempts to organize events (conferences, workshops) related to the region in the following fields: international business management, international relations, finance, accountancy, commerce, catering and tourism.
- OBIC closely cooperates with the International Director of the BBS and takes part in the ambitious internationalisation and networking efforts of the university.

Historical background

The predecessor of the Faculty of Commerce, Catering and Tourism (Budapest Business School) was the Academy of Commerce established in 1857. Expanded by the Eastern Academy of Commerce in 1899, that was the first college of commerce in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in the Central European region. Experts of commerce and banking were trained at this school, special attention was paid to the history, culture and economic development of the Middle East countries, the Balkans, and the Far East (Japan and China). Not only courses in history and economy were emphasized during the programme, but besides German and French, languages of the East (Arabic, Russian and Turkish) other Western languages (Italian, Spanish) and those of the Balkans (Serbian, Greek Bulgarian) were taught at the Academy as well. In 1896, excellent graduates of the Eastern Academy received travel grants to countries in focus. After WWI, the Eastern Academy merged into the Faculty of Economics of the Budapest University.