Javanese Cultural Orientation

Technology Integration Division

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Profile

Introduction
The island of Java is home to various ethnic groups including the Javanese people whose cultural base on Java is at the core of Indonesia’s development as a nation. Occupying the central and eastern part of Java as well as part of its western coastline, the Javanese form close to 70% of the island’s population. Although their history speaks of a court life associated with richly developed cultural traditions, most modern Javanese tend to identify with the rural villages they live in. In urban areas, class and social differences between rich and poor are more pronounced. Whether rural or urban, however, Javanese people are unified by their language, Javanese, and their religion, mostly Sunni Islam blended with Buddhism and local beliefs.

Geography

Area
Java is one of a chain of islands in Indonesia, the earth’s largest archipelago. With more than 18,000 islands, Indonesia lies between Asia and Australia and spans close to 2 million sq km (772, 204 sq mi) as well as three time zones. The country of Malaysia lies just north of Indonesia.

The home of over 124 million residents, Java is the most highly populated island in Indonesia and in the world. The population density exceeds 1,000 people per sq km. Java is also the world’s 13th largest island, with an area of 132,000 sq km (50,964 sq mi). Its length extends approximately 1,050 km (652 mi) in a general east–west direction, and its maximum width is around 204 km (127 mi).

Java’s boundaries are the Java Sea on the north, Bali Strait on the east, the Indian Ocean on the south, and Sunda Strait on the west. Australia’s tiny Christmas Island is located approximately 300 km (186 mi) south of Java. Neighboring Indonesian islands include Sumatra to the northwest of Java, Borneo to the north, and Bali to the east. The small

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6 This area includes the small island of Madura, part of East Java Province.
island of Madura, part of East Java Province, lies directly north of eastern Java, almost adjoining it.  

**Geographical Divisions**  
Located within the Ring of Fire, a chain of volcanoes circling the Pacific Ocean rim, the Indian archipelago is an area of frequent volcanic eruptions and earthquakes. In Indonesia, formed by volcanic activity, at least 90 of the country’s 400 volcanoes are active. Over a third of these active sites are in Java where the volcanic mountains span the island from east to west. Out of approximately 110 volcanoes in Java, around 35 are active.  

Java’s mountainous interior slopes downward into ridges, plateaus, and lowlands. A coastal plain around 64 km (40 mi) at its widest point runs along the north-central side of Java between the mountains and the ocean. On the southern side of the island, disconnected plateaus merge into limestone ridges that drop steeply to the shoreline.  

The sea surrounding Java is shallow, unlike the much deeper areas around the islands east of the Sunda continental shelf upon which Java lies. In the deepest areas of the Java Sea offshore of Java, the ocean depth does not exceed 100 m (328 ft). Much of the Javanese shoreline consists of shallow marshes and swamps.  

**Volcanic Activity**  
Volcanoes on Java often erupt with violent explosions, sending large clouds of lethal gas and scalding ash down the mountain slope and into villages without warning. Known as pyroclastic flows, the clouds travel as far as 15 km (9.3 mi) or more, moving as fast as 250 km (155 mi) per hour. Their inner temperatures can exceed 500°C (932°F). Volcanic mudflows (lahars) move fast and are also a danger to villagers. Although a warning system has been in place in Indonesia since the 1920s and observation posts are located near dangerous volcanoes, eruptions continue to cause a great loss of life.  

**Climate**  

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Sitting just below the equator, Java’s climate is generally humid and hot year-round. In coastal areas and lowlands, temperatures reach as high as 37°C (99°F). Combined with this heat, the humidity, often exceeding 80%, can make the climate debilitating. In the mountains, the climate is cooler and at very high elevations can drop as low as -2°C (27°F). Generally, however, the temperate mountain climate averages between 8°C (47°F) and 22°C (72°F).

Java has two seasons, dry and wet. The rainy season is between November and April. During this time, the northwest monsoons bring sudden downpours, thunderstorms, and ocean breezes that cool the island. The dry season, between April–May and October, is usually sunny although it does bring a small amount of rain with the southeast monsoons. The average yearly rainfall on Java is around 2,030 mm (80 in).

**Topography**

In Java, the main topographical feature is the chain of volcanoes, sloping into the coastal plain. The volcanic ash from their continued eruptions through the centuries has created a thick, rich soil that covers the island, supporting dense forests. Spanning Java from east to west, many of the volcanoes still breath smoke and erupt periodically, sometimes with great violence. They dominate the island’s landscape.

*Mt. Semeru*

At 3,676 m (12,060 ft), Mt. Semeru is the island’s highest volcano. It sits in eastern Java in the Bromo-Tengger-Semeru National Park, surrounded by calderas, or cavities of volcanoes that have exploded and collapsed. The coastal plain extends from its southern base. Since 1818, Mt. Semeru has erupted 55 times or more, the last time a minor eruption in August 2000 that killed two people and injured three others. For decades it has been emitting 305 m (1,000 ft) clouds of steam and hot ash at 20-minute intervals. Mt. Semeru is also known as Mahameru, which means “great mountain.”

*Mt. Merapi*

Mt. Merapi, 30 km (18.5 mi) north of Yogyakarta, is closely monitored by Indonesia’s Volcanological Survey because it is the country’s most active volcano. It has erupted 68 times since 1548, often with devastating force. A 1994 eruption killed 43 people, and 80 people died in 1979 from landslides caused by heavy rains, activating old lahar (volcanic debris and hot mud) deposits on the volcano’s sides. Mt. Merapi’s eruptions typically involve pyroclastic clouds, but a study of older rock deposits around the volcano indicate that it is capable of erupting in unpredictable patterns. Mt. Merapi

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has been an active volcano for 10,000 years and usually erupts in intervals of between one and five years.\textsuperscript{22, 23}

**Krakatau and Anak Krakatau**

Krakatau, part of West Java province, is an island volcano in the Sunda strait just off Java’s west coast. It erupted in 1883 in one of recorded history’s most calamitous natural events. The explosion blew most of the island apart, forming a caldera 7 km (4 mi) wide. Its sound was heard as far away as 4,500 km (2,796 mi). Krakatau’s eruption caused tidal waves of over 30 m (100 ft) that drowned close to 34,000 people along the Javanese and Sumatran coastlines. It also sent a column of volcanic debris 80 km (50 mi) upwards, causing pyroclastic clouds to travel up to 40 km (25 mi). The clouds of hot ash destroyed everything in their path, including some ships crossing the sea, with toxic gas and fire. For three years after the event, atmospheric volcanic dust circled the earth, its tiny particles refracting sunlight and causing brilliant colors to appear in the sunset. The final death toll from Krakatau’s eruption was calculated at 36,417 people.\textsuperscript{24, 25}

The rim of Anak Krakatau (meaning “Child of Krakatau”) arose out of continued small eruptions from what was left of the original volcano. Although much smaller than Krakatau, Anak Krakatau is active and has been erupting mildly since it appeared in 1928. It has grown to over 200 m (656 ft) above sea level.\textsuperscript{26}

**Mt. Kelud**\textsuperscript{27, 28}

Kelud (also known as Kelut) has been the site of some of the deadliest volcanic eruptions in Indonesia. About 90 km (56 mi) south of the city of Surabaya on Java’s northeastern coast, Kelud’s eruptions tend to be violent but short in duration. In 1919, it killed around 5,000 people when it erupted, casting scalding water out of its crater lake, and at least 30 died as a result of its last eruption in 1990.

In September 2007, signs began to appear of another eruption when lake temperatures began to climb and gas levels increased. Also, the number of Kelud’s volcanic

earthquakes has almost doubled (since before its last eruption in 1990), reaching uncountable levels in mid-October. Scientists have raised the volcano eruption alert to the highest level and warned that the eruption could be bigger than the one in 1990. Authorities have constructed barriers and channels to divert any outpouring of lahar, and they are monitoring Mt. Kelud continuously.

Close to 350,000 people live within a 10 km (6 mi) radius and police have ordered 100,000 evacuated within this radius. Because many have ignored the order and continued to graze livestock on the mountain slopes, police ordered evacuations at gunpoint on 20 October 2007. They also prohibited villagers from returning to tend to their livestock and their crops. Indonesian President Yudhoyono visited refugee centers on 24 October 2007 and asked people who have been evacuated to stay at the shelter, reminding them of the danger of returning to their homes.

**Bodies of Water**

*Java Sea*

Covering an area of approximately 433,000 sq km (167,000 sq mi), the Java Sea is part of the western Pacific Ocean and lies north of Java between Java and Borneo. To its east, near the island of Sulawesi, lie the Bali and Flores seas. On its northwest, the Karimata Strait connects the Java Sea to the South China Sea. The Java Sea is linked to the Indian Ocean by the Sunda Strait off Java’s western shore.

Relatively shallow, the Java Sea lies over the Sunda Shelf, an extension of Southeast Asia’s continental shelf, with a mean depth of 46 m (151 ft). The sea is a popular tourist location, famous for fishing and diving around its many small islands. Marine national parks in the Java Sea include Thousand Islands, a string of small islands that begin off Jakarta, and Karimunjawa, off north-central Java. This archipelago of 27 islands, 20 of them uninhabited, is near the center of the Java Sea.

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Indian Ocean
The world’s third largest ocean, the Indian Ocean covers an area of 73,427,000 sq km (28,350,000 sq mi), around 20% of the total ocean area in the world. It extends from Australia to the shores of East Africa, and from southern Asia and the islands of Indonesia to Antarctica. The Indian Ocean meets the Atlantic Ocean at Africa’s southern tip, and meets the Pacific Ocean near the Malay Archipelago and below southeastern Australia. It connects to the Mediterranean Sea via the Gulf of Suez.

The Indian Ocean is a historic shipping route between Africa and Asia. Its sea routes today connect Africa, East Asia, and the Middle East with the Americas and Europe. In Java, Jakarta is a main port on the Indian Ocean through the Sunda Strait. Piracy is a problem in some areas of the Indian Ocean, such as the Strait of Malacca between West Malaysia and Sumatra. To protect and defend themselves from pirates, some countries carry weapons on their merchant ships.

Sunda Strait
The Sunda Strait lies between the west coast of Java and the island of Sumatra to the northwest. Its width is 32–105 km (20–65 mi), and it connects the Indian Ocean to the Java Sea. A number of tiny volcanic islands dot the Sunda Strait’s channel, including Krakatau, Anak Krakatau, Verlaten, and Lang. Because of these volcanic islands and danger of landslides, earthquakes, and tsunamis, the Sunda Strait is considered an area of potential natural hazards. Besides the 1983 eruption of Krakatau in the Sunda Strait and the continuous small eruptions of Anak Krakatau since 1928, earthquakes have occurred here regularly. Between July and September 2007, there were at least four earthquakes in the strait with a magnitude of 5.0 or higher.

Other natural phenomena have been reported in the Sunda Strait. A highly unusual event was reported by Captain John Newman, crossing the Strait on a voyage from Singapore to New York around 1890. According to him, while sailing on a calm sea, he quickly observed that “the water suddenly appeared on fire” in patches that radiated in all directions from his vessel. He claimed that the apparent fires pulsed, growing dim and then bright, for about 45 minutes before they suddenly disappeared. It is unknown whether the strange event was witnessed by others or confirmed in any way.

The water in the Sunda Strait is relatively shallow. This factor along with other natural hazards has led to the usage of alternate shipping routes. However, development and population centers along the shores of the Sunda Strait have been increasing. Because of the geological instability, early-warning systems have been installed to counter any industrial accidents should a natural disaster occur in the waterway. Also, the Meteorological and Geophysical Agency (BMG) monitors the Sunda Strait.41

*Bengawan Solo River*  
As with most of the smaller rivers in Java, the Bengawan Solo River (also called Solo River) runs northward. It begins at Mount Lawu in central Java and empties into the Java Sea near Surabaya. The river has been dredged to run north at its mouth because of silting in its original channel. At 600 km (383 mi) in length, the Bengawan Solo River (also known as the Solo River) is Java’s largest river.42 Water from the river is stored for irrigation, drinking, and industrial use in a reservoir at the Wonogiri Multipurpose Dam, completed in 1981. The dam controls floods and generates energy for a power plant.43

In addition to its functional uses, the Bengawan Solo River has several anthropology sites along its banks where remains of early hominids have been found.44 East of the small town of Solo, which lies near the river, archaeologists discovered fossil remains of *Homo erectus*, famously known as Java Man. The first *Homo erectus* skull was found in 1891, and a second skull was found in 1936. Researchers believe that these beings lived on Java between 100,000 and 1.5 million or more years ago.45

*Bali Strait*  
The Bali Strait is a narrow body of water between the islands of Java and Bali. Around 2.5 km (1.5 mi) at its narrowest point46 The strait is a popular tourist site for snorkeling, diving, and fishing. It is considered difficult to navigate because of strong currents and turbulent water. The seaport of Banyuwangi lies on the east Java shore of the Bali Strait.

*Biodiversity*  
More than 4,500 plant species are found on Java. Of that number, 325 species are unique to the island, including a sacred flower called *wijaya kusuma*, and 217 orchid species

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found only on Java. Dense rainforests of teak, rubber, palms, and bamboo at lower elevations and elm, maple, chestnut, magnolia, and laurel at higher elevations covered the island until the 18th century. By the late 1980s, however, only one–ninth of the original forests remained, mainly on the mountain slopes. Most of the forests have been converted to rice fields and agricultural lands.

Animal species native to the island include banteng (wild ox), the rare one-horned rhinoceros, and tigers, all now restricted to isolated areas. Other species include wild pigs, monkeys, apes, wild dogs, flying lemurs, and several species of bats. Around 100 snake species, 400 bird species, 500 butterfly species, and many insect species populate the island. Among the birds are owls, peacocks, parrots, cuckoos, herons, and Indonesia’s national bird, the Javan hawk eagle. The reptiles include cobras, pythons, adders, and crocodiles, some as long as 9 m (30 ft). This large reptile, known as the estuarine crocodile, is now restricted to the Ujung Kulon National Park as a result of habitat destruction and hunting.

The warm ocean waters surrounding Java are home to a large variety of marine life including fish, lobsters, crabs, sharks, eels, turtles, and dolphins. Freshwater turtles live in bodies of water on the island.

**Major Cities**

**Jakarta**

Located in Jakarta Bay on Java’s northwestern coast, the nation’s capital, Jakarta, is Indonesia’s largest city and port, with a population close to 8.8 million. Jakarta was

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57 The port, named Tanjung Priuk, is close to Jakarta and considered part of it.
the main post of the Dutch, who named it Batavia. In 1942, when Japanese troops occupied Java, the city’s name was changed to Jakarta. For many years this metropolis has been the port of entry for people traveling to Indonesia and Java. It is both contemporary and traditional, with Western-style skyscrapers in central Jakarta alongside sites such as a Dutch East Indies Company trading post built in the 16th century.

Jakarta’s “old town” is in the northern part of the city and includes Chinese, Javanese, and Arab quarters. Several drawbridges and canals reminiscent of the Dutch colonial period are also found in the city’s northern section. A modern residential suburb is Jakarta’s third section, lying on the southern side of the city.

Jakarta is the administrative, industrial, commercial, and transportation center of the nation. Industries located here include ironworks, food processing and auto assembly plants, textile mills, electronics centers, tanneries, and chemical factories. The city is home to museums, mosques, churches, and the University of Indonesia. Other landmarks are the National Monument built during the nationalist Sukarno era, freedom statues, orchid gardens, and a recreation park known as Jaya Ancol Dreamland. The Wayang Museum has finely crafted wooden and leather puppets on display, used in the traditional and popular theater known as Wayang puppet shows.

Semarang
With a population of 1.4 million, Semarang is Central Java’s provincial capital and one of the country’s main commercial centers. At this major port, formerly a Dutch administrative center, coffee, tobacco, rubber, sugar, and kapok are exported. The city’s industries include glass and textile production, shipbuilding, and fishing. Diponegro University is in Semarang, and in the old part of town, known as Outstadt, there is a Chinese section with a temple and Chinese market.

The city is located in north-central Java at the mouth of the Semarang River. Java’s first Muslim kingdom, founded in 1511, Semarang lies only 40 km (25 mi) to the east.

Surabaya
Since the 14th century, Surabaya has been the main trading center in eastern Java. Located on the northeastern coast of Java, Surabaya has a population of 2.6 million and is the second largest city in Indonesia.63 The site of the Dutch East Indies naval base in the 18th century when the Dutch gained control, Surabaya today is the home of the Indonesian Navy and a naval college.

Surabaya is also known as Kota Pahlawan (City of Heroes) to commemorate Indonesia’s independence and the battle for independence, which began here.64 Statues honoring Indonesian independence and the war fought from 1945 to 1949 are placed throughout this busy port city.

Yogyakarta
With a population close to 450,000, Yogyakarta is smaller than other main cities in Java but has an important cultural history.65 It is a site of classical Javanese culture where the lineages of Islamic kings can be traced back to pre-colonial times. Located in central Java near the volcanic Mt. Merapi, Yogyakarta is capital of the Yogyakarta special district, still ruled by a sultan who administers from his kraton (walled palace).66 Many old temples remain standing from ancient kingdoms. Borobudur temple, for instance, was built in the 9th century by the Sailendra dynasty, and the Prambanan Temple is a Hindu temple believed to have been built in the 9th century by King Balitung Maha Sambu. An official cemetery for royals from Yogyakarta and Surakarta (Solo) lies 17 km (10.5 mi) southeast of Yogyakarta.

The Yogya Kembali Monument in Yogyakarta commemorates the city as the capital of the Republic of Indonesia when independence was won in 1949. The second floor of this monument holds dioramas (multi-dimensional scenes) that highlight the struggle of freeing Yogyakarta from Dutch occupation. Other scenes show the history of Indonesia’s fight for independence.67

Surakarta (Solo)
Surakarta lies alongside the Solo River, which flows northward to the Java Sea. Similar to Yogyakarta in many ways, Surakarta is a relatively small city, also known for its refined language and arts. In its past, it was Java’s second center (Yogyakarta being the first) of courtly Javanese culture. Founded in 1745, Surakarta is the base of the Mataram Empire, which moved its capital here.

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66 Java is divided administratively into three provinces (West Java, Central Java, and East Java) and two special districts (Greater Jakarta special capital district and Yogyakarta special district). Source: Encyclopaedia Britannica Online. “Java.” 2007. http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-9043427/Java
Surakarta is considered by many to be more traditional than Yogyakarta, where the universities have a large population of non-Javanese students. Several academies of traditional dance and music are found in Surakarta, and it is a center of Javanese craftsmanship, including the production of batik. In this city, the emphasis on Javanese tradition can be seen in many ways. When visiting the royal cemetery nearby, for instance, visitors are required to wear traditional Javanese clothing.

Surakarta has a turbulent past and is known as a center of nationalism. In the 1960s it was a communist stronghold. Later, after Sukarno was overthrown, riots lasting for two days erupted in Surakarta, following the May 1998 riots in Jakarta. Hundreds of homes and businesses owned by Chinese-Indonesians were torched in the riots, leaving the economy disrupted and many people jobless. At least 28 people were killed, and many ethnic Chinese left the country, fearing that they would be targeted. This event signaled the presence of Islamist groups operating out of Surakarta.

History

Prehistory
In the 1890s, fossil remains of early hominids called *Homo erectus* were found on Java. *Homo erectus*, who had migrated to Java and the surrounding islands, lived between 500,000 and approximately 1.7 million years ago. Although these hominids were considered to be a predecessor of *Homo sapiens*, the ancestors of modern humans, more recent dating eliminates the idea of a direct evolutionary link.

Hindu and Buddhist Kingdoms
Early Java evolved from a Stone Age culture into a highly sophisticated Indianized society. Between 2,500 and 500 B.C.E., people from Southeast Asia colonized Java, introducing stone tools and pottery. Around the first century C.E., spice traders began arriving from India, spreading Hinduism and

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72 The term “Islamist” refers to one who practices Islamic fundamentalism, or uses “Islamic ideas in the political realm.” Source: Fluehr-Lobban, Carolyn. *Islamic Societies in Practice*. 2nd Ed. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
75 B.C.E. means “Before Current Era,” which is the equivalent of B.C., or “Before Christ”.

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also Buddhism through the island. They brought the Sanskrit language and other scripts, Indian legal codes, and Indian literature, merging Hinduism with the Javanese culture.

The Hindu ruler Sanjaya established a centralized kingdom on Java which later came into competition with a Buddhist dynasty. Later in the 8th century, the Buddhist Sailendra Dynasty ruled over the Mataram kingdom in central Java, pushing the Sanjayans to outlying areas. Elaborate Hindu and Buddhist temples were built at sites all around the island through the next two centuries. The design of the monument at Borobudur reflects the syncretism of Javanese culture, the blending of Hinduism and Buddhism.

**The Flowering of Javanese Culture**

An 11th century Javan king, Airlangga, presided over a flowering of local Javanese culture on the island, which had begun in the Sailendra Kingdom. By the time Airlangga came to power, Java had been split into fiefdoms from the competition and fighting between kingdoms. Airlangga restored centralized rule, reviving Javanese power, and translated the Indian epics from Sanskrit into Javanese. This began the consolidation and growth of artistic traditions indigenous to Java and also opened up classical literary works to the common people. The kekawin, one of the early syncretized literary forms, were Hindu epics that were adapted into a form of Javanese poetry.

The prominent Majapahit kingdom of East Java, founded in 1293, controlled almost the entire Indonesian archipelago before its decline. Dominating Indonesia’s sea lanes, it was one of the last great Hindu–Buddhist Javanese kingdoms and the first to establish an empire based on commerce rather than agriculture. It was the decline of the Majapahit kingdom in the 14th century that led to the entry of Islam into Java. When Majapahit was conquered by an Islamic state near the end of the 15th century, most of Java’s Hindu–Javanese aristocracy fled the island and resettled in Bali.

**Islam in Java**

For centuries, Muslims from the Red Sea, Persian Gulf, and India had been trading in the Indonesian archipelago and the influence of their religion had spread peacefully. Many Muslims settled in Java, and in the mid 13th century, Indonesian rulers began converting to Islam. By the 15th century, Islam became the predominant religion on Java and throughout the archipelago.

The kind of Islam that the Javanese adopted in this early period, mystical Sufiism, merged with their indigenous religious beliefs. Traditional pre-Islamic elements such as
intuition and mysticism remained powerful in the new religion. Thus, there was no abrupt departure from former beliefs but rather a gradual assimilation of the new.

**The Colonial Era: Portuguese and Dutch**

Aside from Marco Polo, who visited the region in 1292, and a few merchants and monks, the Portuguese were the first Europeans who visited Indonesia. They came to Java in the 16th century only to be overpowered by Dutch traders by the close of that century. In 1619, Batavia (later named Jakarta) was founded by the Dutch and became the administrative, political, and business center of the new Dutch empire.

The Dutch established their empire through a trading company, the United Dutch East India Company (VOC). Their goal was to gain a monopoly over the East Indies spice trade, and to this end, the VOC was authorized to raise armies, negotiate treaties, and wage war for the Netherlands. By the mid 17th century, the Dutch controlled most of Java. They lost their monopoly over the spice trade, however, after free trade was opened in the East following the Dutch–English war of 1780. No longer in control of markets and trade, the VOC declined in power. The Dutch government took over, and what had been a trade empire turned into a profitable colonial empire.

The Dutch ruled Java indirectly by putting in place a bureaucracy whose top ranks were European civil servants and the lower levels were native Javanese. The latter did not receive their positions through a competitive system, however. Rather, the Javanese administrators were chosen from among the aristocratic class; they were descendants of the former royal families in Java. In this way, the Dutch were able to use the Javanese to manage the common people while keeping the Dutch colonial power structure intact.

Dutch colonialism became progressively more tyrannical and institutionalized on Java. After a brief interlude of English rule, the Dutch regained their colony in 1816 and levied oppressive land taxes. This continued a practice that the English had begun, trying to raise money after the old VOC trade monopoly had ended. The Dutch also instituted forced labor, and policies that caused poverty and famine became widespread on Java. The Javanese began to unify and fight back. Between 1825 and 1830, the Javanese fought the Dutch in an uprising known as the Java War, led by Prince Diponegoro. The rebellion, crushed by the Dutch, resulted in the deaths of up to 200,000 Javanese.82

In the early 20th century, the Dutch began providing education, health, and social programs to the Indonesian people. This helped to consolidate Dutch power on outer islands that had previously escaped colonial control, by integrating people into the government structures. However, the programs had a divisive effect in that most

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beneficiaries were the native elite, mostly on Java. Their children, for instance, received most of the educational opportunities. On Java, the new liberal policy also established a transmigration program whereby people would be required to move from heavily populated Java and relocate to islands with fewer people. This attempt to balance the distribution of population was disruptive to both local people and migrants, as well as to the environment. It met with little success.

Nationalism
As education spread among members of the Javanese elite in the early 20th century, Western political ideas about democracy and self-rule also spread. Islamic movements, however, formed the basis of nationalist ideals in Java and Indonesia. Most prominent Indonesian nationalists were from the educated elite, and Islam was their unifying force. After World War II, when Indonesia gained independence, these nationalist leaders were instrumental in leading the new government.

Early nationalist movements included Sarekat Islam, inspired mainly by Javanese and Islamic mysticism. Its weaknesses were a lack of a national agenda and opposition against the Chinese more than against Dutch colonialism. Another movement was the Indonesian Communist Party (Partai Komunis Indonesia, or PKI), which was inspired by European political ideals. Its goal was national independence and most of its support was from urban industrial workers. In 1926, this party attempted a revolution and most of the insurrections took place in Java, where they were crushed by government forces.83

Several effective nationalist leaders came out of this period. The head of Partai Nasional Indonesia (PNI), founded in Java in 1927, was Achmed Sukarno, who would later become president of Indonesia. His associate was the scholarly Mohammad Hatta, later vice president and prime minister of the Republic. Hatta was an organizer for independence while he was a student in Holland. Other important nationalist leaders were Sutan Sjahrir, later prime minister, and Haji Agus Salim, foreign minister in the new government after independence.

Japanese Occupation and Indonesian Independence
Java remained under Dutch rule until the Japanese occupied it during World War II. Dutch officials in Java surrendered to the Japanese in 1942. After three and one-half years of Japanese rule, the Indonesians, headed by Sukarno and Hatta, proclaimed their national independence. It was not until 1949, after more than four more years of fighting and negotiating with the Dutch, that the Republic of Indonesia was formally established.

Java was a part of the new nation, and Jakarta (previously Batavia) was named its capital. Indonesia became the 60th United Nations member in 1950.\(^\text{85}\)

\textit{The Modern Era}

Although a parliamentarian government was established at independence, the activities of over 30 rival parties hindered its functioning. This, along with economic and social problems that were left from the colonial era and the war, helped to slow the growth of the new nation. On Java, plantations and factories stopped operations, capital was scarce, and food production could not meet demand. Nationally, the people were poor, most were illiterate, and there were not enough managers or skilled workers.

Uprisings in the 1950s led President Sukarno to announce martial law and later amend the new constitution to expand presidential power. Ruling from Java and backed by military support, he proclaimed “guided democracy” in 1957. For the next 40 years, he ran the government as head of a cabinet that represented all the important political parties, including the PKI.

The interests of Java and its leaders continued to dominate Indonesia, and resentment grew on the other islands against Javanese domination. Those who lived on outlying islands believed that black marketeering and corruption in Java were harming the national economy, and separatist uprisings took place.\(^\text{86}\) Rebellions took place on Java as well. In Central and East Java in 1964, peasants attempted to seize land and clashed with the government. This was partly in response to Sukarno’s attempts to improve peasants’ economic and social conditions, which had backfired and led to even more instability.\(^\text{87}\) The rebellions were effectively countered by the Sukarno regime.

When the military and the increasingly powerful PKI clashed, the Communists were ultimately defeated. The PKI coup against the military and the government took place in Jakarta and was answered by an anti-Communist purge in which thousands were killed. In Java, tension between Muslims and members of the PKI led to clashes. General Suharto led the military response which restored order and maneuvered the banning of the PKI along with the overthrow of President Sukarno. In 1968, General Suharto became president.

The new Suharto regime quickly addressed inflation and began rebuilding the economy and the country’s stability; Java became a beneficiary. The government encouraged foreign investment and liberalized its laws, imposed monetary controls, and requested foreign aid. Suharto reformed education and upgraded the civil service, which improved life for many in Jakarta. Under Suharto’s “New Order,” the government allied itself with


western nations, including the U.S. Suharto brought a measure of order back to the country under the 30 years of his rule.  

A number of problems continued to plague the nation during the Suharto years. Although many began to see improved prosperity, especially in Jakarta and the cities of Java, impoverishment continued for the majority. Corruption was widespread and became entrenched, creating a system that favored government cronies with contracts and lucrative jobs. Population growth continued to be high on Java, lowering the standard of living. The transmigration program that attempted to deal with overpopulation on Java proved to be inefficient and disruptive of people’s lives. Uprooting people from their homes on Java and relocating them in marginal areas where it was difficult to survive resulted in conflict between migrants and established residents.

Recent Events
The late 1990s signaled major changes for Java and the entire country. In 1997, the Asian currency and economic crisis reached Indonesia and rendered its economy nearly bankrupt. Student demonstrations in Jakarta became violent in 1998 after four students were killed by police, and rioting in the city lasted for three days. Rioters targeted Chinese Indonesians, scapegoating and blaming them for accumulating wealth by benefiting from economic corruption.

The consequence of the crisis for President Suharto was forced resignation. This was followed by a series of elections that led to short-term results. In 2004, retired General Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, who still serves in office, was elected Indonesia’s sixth president in what observers said was a fair, free, and peaceful election.

In recent months police headquarters in Jakarta have been observing separatist groups, especially the Islamist sect Al-Qiyadah al-Islamiyah, founded on Java in 2000. Its members are found in several cities on Java. Members of other Islamic organizations have demanded that the government immediately disband the sect on the grounds that it is spreading false teachings.

Economy
Java dominates the Indonesian economy. Most of the nation’s industry is located on the island, and most foreign investment has been directed to businesses and projects on Java. Of all the Indonesian islands, Java has the most developed economic infrastructure. This situation has its roots in Java’s designation as the center of the Dutch Empire, along with

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the island’s rich productiveness. The Dutch built large plantations on Java and used the island’s resources to make the Netherlands rich.

Under the Suharto “New Order” government, financed mostly by foreign debt, the island’s rapid urbanization and industrialization led to problems between 1968 and 1998. Industry grew and the economy became driven by exports. Many people accumulated wealth, but political corruption and nepotism undermined the entire expansion. The gulf also widened between rich and poor, and between urban and rural life. Of all the Indonesian islands, this was especially true on Java. After 1997, recession caused widespread unemployment in the cities and rising prices which affected people across the entire island. Suharto fell in 1998, and foreign investment dropped, adding to Java’s economic instability.

The government today, still affected by ongoing corruption from the Suharto era, plays a significant role in the national economy. Of the 158 enterprises owned by the state, many are in Java. The government regulates prices on rice, electricity, fuel, and other basic goods. It is also a major employer on Java. However, the salaries of teachers, police officers, bureaucrats, and other government employees, are low, and many are forced to take a second job.

Agriculture
The Dutch experimented with crops on Java and created an agricultural infrastructure. They began planting coffee near Batavia in the early 1700s, which led to the growth of coffee as Indonesia’s primary export in the last part of the century. They also cultivated tobacco, kapok, and sugarcane, all still produced in highland plantations in Java. Rice remains Java’s main crop on small farms, and over two thirds of Java is now under cultivation, primarily growing wet rice in irrigated fields.

The Dutch cultivated cinchona trees, whose bark yields quinine, which is used to treat malaria and fevers. Approximately 90% of the quinine produced in the world came from Java’s cinchona trees at one time. Chemical substitutes have since reduced the demand for this product.

Tea also was a crop that the Dutch exploited on Java, where it grew well on the mountain slopes. Tea requires growing conditions in which temperature, altitude, and rain must combine in precise ways. These conditions were met in Java more than any of the other Indonesian islands. For many years, Indonesia was the world’s third largest producer of tea and remains one of the world’s main producers.
Java’s forests produce wood for export, including teak, bamboo, and rattan, all used for making furniture and other goods. Timber used to be one of Java’s main export commodities. Its production has slowed because of deforestation of the island.

On the eastern part of the island, farmers raise cattle and water buffalo to use as draft animals. In central Java, fish farms in rice fields and ponds are solid sources of income.

**Agricultural Productivity and Population Growth**

The exploitation of Java’s agricultural productivity has benefited the country but it also led to an extreme population increase. First, the growing season is long, producing up to three crops per year, and the volcanic soil is exceptionally fertile and supports a wide range of crops. In addition to this, agricultural productivity was intensified by highly efficient irrigation systems that were built by the Dutch, multiplying crop yield and expanding area of cultivation. As the land became increasingly productive, the population grew. Around 1830, the population of Java was close to 5 million, and today it is over 124 million. In the late 20th century, the land in Java supported over 1,795 people per square mile, compared to 202 for Indonesia as a nation.

**Manufacturing and Industry**

Java has been the nation’s center of industry as well as of agriculture. For many years the processing plants have been mostly located in Jakarta, even for crops grown on other islands. Rubber, for instance, thrives in Sumatra, but has been processed in Jakarta, originally the Dutch administrative center. Thus, manufacturing developed on Java as the Dutch developed the islands.

Most industry is centered in Jakarta and Surabaya. Large industries found in those cities include rubber manufacturing, textile processing, auto assembly, and factories that produce cement, paper, shoes, and soap. Small-scale manufacturing, found in other cities as well as Jakarta, includes silverwork, batik printing, agricultural tools, iron founding, and production of ceramics.

Oil and gas are Indonesia’s major exports, and the main oil fields are off Java’s northwestern coast in the Arjuna fields. Petroleum refineries are located in Surabaya, one of Java’s main ports. Mining also takes place on Java but is limited. Manganese, phosphate, gold, sulfur, and silver are mined in small quantities.

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Exports
Agricultural exports include coconuts, tea, rice, coffee, sugarcane, and cinchona, all products grown in Java. Kapok, used for pillows and blankets, is a major export.

Gas and oil comprised 21.2% of Indonesia’s total export commodities in 2006. Minerals, rubber goods, textiles, and appliances are also significant export products.  

Government
Java is divided administratively into three provinces, West Java, Central Java, and East Java. In addition there are two special districts, the Greater Jakarta special capital district and the Yogyakarta special district. The special districts are considered to be provinces in terms of local government administration.

Each province on Java has a governor who heads a legislature, and together they administer the province. Provincial government is further divided into either municipalities (kotamadya), each led by a mayor (walikota), or districts (kabupaten), each led by a district chief (bupati). Districts are further divided into subdistricts (kecamatan) led by a subdistrict chief (camat), and subdistricts are broken into the smallest governing unit, village groupings (kelurahan). If this were not enough, a bureaucracy exists at each level of government, and the functions often overlap.

Under the 1945 constitution, Indonesia is a republic in which a president and vice president are elected directly by popular vote. The president is elected for a term of five years. Nominations are made by coalitions or parties that have attained a certain level of representation in the House of Representatives or a certain percentage of the national vote.

Ethnic Groups and Languages
Javanese, the local language spoken by the Javanese people in Central and East Java, is one of 583 languages and dialects in the Indonesian archipelago. It is also one of several widely spoken languages in Java. Others include Sundanese, spoken by the Sundanese and Badui people in West Java, and Madurese, spoken by the Madurese in East Java.

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http://www.indonesiavancouver.org/portal2/ff8080810a62220d010a7094c508036f.do.html
103 MSN Encarta. “Java (island).” V. The People. 2007.
http://encarta.msn.com/text_761560516__0/Java_(island).html
Other ethnic groups in Java, mostly found in Jakarta, are Chinese, who tend to keep apart culturally and racially, and Indians. Many Arabs and immigrants from the Malay Peninsula have also settled in Java as well as on other islands of Indonesia.

The official national language is Indonesian (formally called Bahasa Indonesia, meaning “the Indonesian language”). It is a version of the original Malay language, which was transformed and enriched by local Indonesian dialects. Indonesian was introduced as the official language when independence was announced in 1945. Because local dialects and languages are always Indonesians’ first language, Indonesian is taught as a second language throughout the nation. It is used in government, education, business, and the media, and serves to unify the country. The most widely spoken foreign language is English, replacing Dutch after Indonesia became independent.

The Javanese language has three different and complex forms, often mixed in the same conversation. In early years, Javanese was associated with the aristocracy who were the only ones who used it in its literary, written form. It has evolved into different registers, or levels of formality. High Javanese, or Kromo, is used when talking to people of higher class or members of the bureaucratic elite. It conveys status and indicates socially that the speaker is honoring or showing deference to the person to whom he is speaking. Low Javanese, Ngoko, is spoken with intimates or members of the lower class. It can convey informality, emotional expression, and attitudes such as a lack of consideration. A third level of the language, Middle Javanese, or Madyo, is used to address people of equal class, with whom one is familiar but not intimate. It incorporates elements of both Kromo and Ngoko. When speaking Javanese, using the appropriate level of speech and adapting it to various social situations reflects understanding of etiquette and appropriate behavior.

Sundanese
The Sundanese people live in western Java in an area that covers around one-third of the island. They are Muslim, but their religion is also permeated by Hinduism and incorporates a belief in spirits, magic, and ancestor worship. The people employ spirit practitioners known as dukun to promote healing and help in making important life

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104 Javanese is also widely spoken in East Java by the many Javanese who live there.
decisions.\textsuperscript{112} The Sundanese language is the most widely spoken language on Java after Javanese. It is characterized by several dialects, varying in levels of formality.

\textit{Madurese}

The Madurese people live across a narrow strait in eastern Java, on an island which is administratively part of East Java province. Many have also settled in eastern Java, where they have migrated from the island of Madura. They have their own language, related closely to Javanese, and they traditionally practice a strict form of Islam.

In the 17th century, the Madurese had their own royal family and defended their independence from Javanese rule. The Dutch conquered eastern Madura in 1705, but left it to govern itself, divided into four states, each with a regent. At one time it was a supplier of troops for the Dutch.

\textit{Tenggerese}

A small group known as the Tenggerese speak a dialect of Javanese that is close enough to standard Javanese to be understood by outsiders.\textsuperscript{113} It is the only indigenous Javanese culture on Java that has a non-Islamic priestly tradition. The Tenggerese live in the mountains around Gunung Bromo (Mt. Bromo) in east Java.\textsuperscript{114} They are descendents of Javanese who lived in Majapahit, the last kingdom in Java whose people practiced Hinduism and Buddhism. At the beginning of the 16th century, Majapahit was conquered by Islamic forces, and its people fled to the nearby mountains.\textsuperscript{115}

The religion that the Tenggerese have continued to practice is an offshoot of Hinduism. It contains indigenous Javanese elements such as a reverence for nature that includes a ritual ceremony at the site of a volcano and other unique expressions of worship.\textsuperscript{116, 117}

\textit{Chinese}\textsuperscript{118}

Many Chinese people live in Java, where they are an essential part of the island’s economy and culture. They speak Chinese and live mainly in Jakarta, although they also live in other urban parts of the island.

For centuries, the Chinese traded and lived in Java and other islands of the Indonesian archipelago. In the 19th century, their numbers greatly expanded when they were brought to Java by the Dutch to work on plantations and in mines. The newly arrived Chinese workers did not assimilate, since the Dutch adopted a social and legal system of stratification which separated ethnic groups. The lines especially divided Europeans, Indo-Europeans, and foreign Asiatics. The Dutch also adopted anti-Chinese laws that restricted land ownership for the Chinese.

The fortunes of the Chinese in Java have been mixed. On one hand, they have for the most part survived well economically. The Chinese constitute less than 3% of Indonesia’s population yet they operate banks, industries, hotels, restaurants, and shops, making them Java’s wealthiest ethnic group. However, they have had to cope with violence that has erupted against them periodically by those who blame them for poverty and other problems. Because of the violence and discrimination, under which written Chinese and Chinese schooling were banned, many Chinese have emigrated out of the country.

**Badui**

The final ethnic group to be named is the Badui tribe, which occupies small isolated pockets in West Java, south of Jakarta. Living in several villages, the Sundanese-speaking Badui people are animists who live as close to nature as possible. This lifestyle is part of their code of life, handed down to them through generations. It compels them to avoid the use of electricity, modern technology, or manufactured products such as nails, soap, or shoes. In their farming practices, they do not use irrigation because it interferes with the natural flow of streams and rivers. When they plant rice, vegetables, or other crops, they rely on rainfall for irrigation. They build their houses from materials from the forest, make utensils from wood, and eat rice, yams, and small game. To acquire goods they lack, certain members of their tribe go outside their community and sell vegetables or other produce and use the money to buy necessities such as salt or yarn.

At one time, the Indonesian government under President Suharto threatened the Badui way of life by trying to develop and change their culture. The government plan would have set up schools to educate the Badui children into mainstream Indonesian culture. The tribe tried to stop this intrusion by appealing to President Suharto, who intervened and granted them protection for their lifestyle within their own marked borders. Although their numbers have declined, the Badui managed to reach a tenuous point of stability.

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Spiritually, Badui beliefs incorporate Hinduism and an animistic practice known as *Sunda Wiwitan*. In this worldview, gods and ancestors inhabit the “upper world” and the people live on the “underworld,” the sacred earth, which they treat with reverence. Each village is headed by a spiritual leader, who makes decisions for the village and settles disputes. To maintain harmony, if a villager breaks a rule, he or she goes through a purification ceremony and may be banished to another village. The Badui’s religious beliefs are at the core of their lifestyle and their identity as a people. Their religion dates back to the 12th century and survives, despite a lack of scriptures.
Religion

Overview
The predominant religion of the Javanese people is Sunni Islam blended with indigenous beliefs and moderated by the influence of Hinduism and Buddhism. Islam’s establishment on Java did not signal a clean break with the religious past. As other religions had blended, so too did Islam, incorporating local customs. It assimilated, replacing some traditional pre-Islamic roles, such as the role of astrologer, hermit-sage, or court adviser. Evidence of Islam’s merging can be seen in the architectural structure of some Muslim mosques in Java, similar to the architecture of Hindu-Javanese temples. Also, it is not unusual to find Hindu inscriptions on older Muslim tombs.

In Central Java today, the practice of Islam tends to be moderate, especially among the peasantry, who usually avoid any Islamic political connotations. Islam came to Java through trade, which most directly reached those involved in business and commerce. Many of East Java’s merchant-farmers emphasize Islam’s stronger moralistic quality in their religious views, compared to the views of those of Central Java.

The Javanese also practice Christianity, mainly Protestantism. Although the Portuguese propagated Catholicism when they were in Java, it did not reach very far and was followed by Dutch colonization, accompanied by Protestantism. The Dutch government did not try to proselytize the Javanese, but they did allow Protestant missionaries to circulate and convert members of the non-Muslim population. Many among Java’s Chinese population are also Protestant. Christian schools and universities are found on Java, and Christians have held high posts in Java’s military and in business. Since the New Order ended, there has frequently been an underlying tension between Muslims, especially those who associate Christianity with the Dutch, and Christians on Java.

Religious Background
A strong tradition exists in Java of honoring communal knowledge and customs that have been passed through generations. This body of tradition includes not only the Javanese people’s early exposure to Hinduism and subsequent belief in Indian deities, but also

their indigenous animist beliefs. Their environment is seen as being populated with spirits, demons, ghosts, and goddesses. These beings demand respect, which the Javanese express by burning incense at shrines or leaving offerings for spirits. People often seek advice from a local shaman or dukun (mystic) on how to protect oneself from harmful spirits. Beliefs remain strong in protective talismans such as the keri (dagger), and the value of making pilgrimages to sacred places. According to ancient lore, nature is populated with spirits. They are seen in the mountains, volcanoes, water, plants, and other natural elements that hold life force, or semangat. This entire body of knowledge exists in Javanese traditions, including those religions that have been adopted since ancient times.125

Many people on Java, including members of the aristocracy, continue to follow mystical cults as their primary religion. Further, pockets of ethnic groups on Java adhere entirely to the Javanese religious and spiritual traditions that existed before other religions, such as Islam or Hinduism, came to Java.

**Hinduism and Buddhism in Java**
Originally separate but later syncretized, Hinduism and Buddhism found their way to Java as early as the 1st century C.E. They were brought to Java by spice traders from India and Asia who also introduced the Sanskrit language and body of writings, both Hindu and Buddhist. These religions accompanied the growth of competing Hindu and Buddhist dynasties such as the Buddhist Sailendra Dynasty of the 8th century. As time passed, the Javanese kingdoms and dynasties tended to incorporate elements of both religions into their beliefs and cultural symbols. For instance, the famous temple at Borobudur was built to reflect Buddhist cosmology, as shown by its design and relief paintings. Other temples, such as the Hindu complex at Prambanan, are based on Hindu designs. Both temples, however, have “terraced ancestor sanctuaries, highly elaborate versions of those constructed by Indonesian rulers in prehistoric times.”126

**Islam**
Islam is the majority religion on Java and throughout Indonesia, where it generally takes a local form. Islam is also the world’s second largest religion, with over one billion followers worldwide. Those who profess Islam are members of the *Umma*, or community of believers throughout the world.

Islam was founded by the Arab Prophet Muhammad in

the 7th century C.E. Within a century, it had spread through North Africa, the Iberian Peninsula, and parts of Asia. Today, around half of the world’s Muslim population is found in South and Southeast Asia.\textsuperscript{127}

After the Prophet’s death in 632 C.E., the Islamic religion fell into two divisions based on how leaders of the Muslim community would be decided after a leader died. Muhammad had not established this but instead had left the selection of his successor to the religious community. They went outside Muhammad’s family and chose Muhammad’s friend Abu Bakr to be the first caliph, or presider, over the period of ‘God on earth’ (the first caliphate).\textsuperscript{128} The question of rightful succession came up in 656 when the fourth caliph, Ali, who was the Prophet’s cousin, was chosen. Disagreement over whether religious leaders should be of the Prophet’s lineage or independent of it followed and led to war. Shi’a Muslims believed that successors to Muhammad should be family members. Sunnis, who now comprise more than 90% of the Umma, believed such leaders should be chosen through an election or selection process. Their religious practice typically has minimal hierarchical leadership.

Both Sunni and Shi’a Muslims believe that the Holy Koran contains the words revealed by Allah (God) to the Prophet Muhammad.\textsuperscript{129} They believe in living one’s life in accordance with the laws of Allah as set forth in the Koran. To accomplish this, believers must follow the Five Pillars of Faith. These include affirming one’s faith, observing daily prayer, giving alms to charities, fasting during Ramadan, and going on pilgrimage to the holy city of Mecca during one’s lifetime. The Islamic religion encourages Muslims to lead lives that reflect the qualities of honesty, mercy, kindness, and courage.

**The Role of Religion in the Javanese Government**

The government, both local and centralized on Java, recognizes Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Christianity as inclusive parts of the nation’s diverse religious body. Although dissident members of the population have tried to make the nation an Islamic state, they have not succeeded. The government is autonomous and not attached to Islam or any particular religion.

During the Suharto era, it became mandatory to have an identity card that showed one’s religion. Those who did not belong to a government-approved religion were suspected of being Communists. For this reason, many people converted to official religions and on Java, Christianity gained many new adherents.\textsuperscript{130, 131}


\textsuperscript{129} The Koran is distinct from the hadith, which are the sayings of Muhammad.


The two main Muslim organizations founded in Java, *Nahdatul Ulama* (NU) and *Muhammadiyah*, had an important role in the nationalist struggles. Their members were politically active since Islam was the unifying force for the Javanese people who sought independence from the Dutch.\(^{132}\) During Suharto’s New Order regime, only one Muslim political group was allowed, and its power was limited. However, after President Suharto fell, many religious groups emerged and the NU and *Muhammadiyah* became active in elections. The NU leader, Abdurrahman Wahid, grandson of the NU’s founder, became president of Indonesia, and the leader of *Muhammadiyah* took an important national political post. These developments led to a push for Indonesia to become a Muslim state, and tension has been ongoing around this issue.\(^{133}\)

**Influence of Religion on Daily Life**

In daily life, people of different religions mix socially. If they are attending a particular event, any specific religious part of the event would be attended only by those who practice that religion. The social part of the event, however, would be attended by all, regardless of religious belief. Invitations sent out for events that include a religious ceremony along with socializing would specify this in the invitation. In this way, the guests who attend will know in advance whether they will attend the entire occasion or just part of it.

Neighborhoods on Java are mixed with people of different religions. They worship openly at various churches and at different times so that most people generally know their neighbor’s religion.

**Exchange 1:** When do you pray?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier: When do you pray?</th>
<th>kolo manopo paanjenengaan sembaayaang?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local: I pray at noon.</td>
<td>kolo sembaayaang jam kaaleeh welaas seeyaang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Religion also appears on Java in the form of drama and dance, both of which are very popular in the general population. *Wayang kulit* shadow puppet shows, sometimes lasting for hours, express religiosity and are well attended by adults as well as children. The shows act out dramas taken from Hindu epic stories, such as the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*.\(^{134, 135}\)

**Religious Holidays and Festivals**

The Javanese acceptance of religious diversity is apparent in various ways. National calendars in Java and Indonesia list all religious holidays, including Muslim, Hindu-

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Buddhist, and Christian events. Also, the Javanese of one religion will often honor those of another religion by taking them gifts on their religious holidays. In some areas, people celebrate both *Idul Fitri*\(^\text{136}\) and Christmas and leave up their colorful lights to celebrate both holidays. \(^\text{137}\)

**Ramadan**

Muslims throughout the region fast during the holy month of Ramadan during the daylight hours. This abstinence from food, drink, and worldly desires, including sex, is an act of spiritual discipline and faith. It may be preceded by a cleansing ceremony (*Padusan*) to prepare for fasting. Typically, Muslims get up at sunrise to eat a daily meal called *sahur*. They then fast until sunset, when they eat a small meal.

During Ramadan, restaurants owned by Muslims are closed on Java. If non-Muslims own them, the restaurants will remain open discretely, perhaps by covering their signs, out of respect for the Ramadan fast. To acknowledge the significance of Ramadan, visitors should refrain from eating, drinking, or smoking in public or inside a home they are visiting during the fasting period.

The long, tiring fast of Ramadan honors the gift of the Koran, through which the Islamic faith is transmitted to Muslims. During the entire month, Muslims spend more time visiting family gravesites to offer flowers and prayers. They also visit mosques to pray and strengthen their belief. Ramadan officially ends with *Idul Fitri*, or the breaking of the fast.

**Idul Fitri**

At daybreak at the end of Ramadan, family members recite a prayer, and this begins *Idul Fitri*, the feast which ends Ramadan. In this October or November celebration, Muslims visit each other’s homes, exchange gifts, ask for forgiveness of wrongdoing, give alms to the poor, and share a special meal. To get in the spirit of the celebration, adults and children wear bright colors and special articles of clothing.

**Christmas**

Christmas, on 25 December, marks the birth of Christ. It is celebrated throughout Java and Indonesia.

**Idul Adha**

*Idul Adha* takes place approximately two months after the *Idul Fitri* feast, which ends Ramadan. It is a prominent festival observed by Muslims to celebrate Abraham’s submission to Allah. On this occasion, Muslims gather for prayers and feasting. Many families go to a mosque to

\(^{136}\) *Idul Fitri* is a two-day national holiday on Java.

sacrifice an animal such as a goat or a sheep, sharing the meat with the poor.

_Muharram_
The Islamic New Year of _Muharram_ is celebrated in late January or in February. It is also a national holiday.

_Good Friday and Easter_
Good Friday is followed by Easter Sunday, a Christian celebration to commemorate the rising of Christ. It usually falls in April or March.

_Maulud Nabi Muhammad_
Held in April or May, this national holiday celebrates the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad.

_Waisak Day_
This day, a national holiday, marks the birth and enlightenment of the Lord Buddha.

_Pilgrimage (Hajj)_
The pilgrimage to Mecca is a major annual ritual for Muslims. It is strongly supported by Indonesian Muslims, many of whom make the journey. For those who cannot make the long trip, smaller pilgrimages are possible. For example, Muslims may travel on pilgrimage to graves belonging to the saints who were part of Islam’s establishment in Indonesia. The most famous of these saints is Sunan Kalijaga.

_Buildings of Worship_ 
Mosques (mesjid) are located throughout Java and are built differently depending on function. A _jami mesjid_ is a mosque for those who attend prayer meetings held on Fridays. A _musalla_ is used for prayer sessions held between Sunday and Thursday. A _mashad_ is a kind of mosque found in a large tomb compound. Prayer rooms are also set aside for individuals to pray in airport terminals and large hotels.

Modern mosques in Java are usually built in the design of a high dome which covers a prayer hall. Certain features are present inside the mosque. First, a _mihrab_ is a small niche in the wall where directions to Mecca are shown. Next, a raised pulpit called a _mimbar_, often with a canopy, stands atop a staircase. A screen is also in place to offer privacy for those who need it. Last, a Koran sits on a stand, and a pool or container or water is available to perform ablutions. Outside the mosque from a tower, or minaret, a _muezzin_ announces to the community that prayer is beginning and summons them to participate. Alternately, the summons may be made by playing a cassette tape. Those who congregate in the mosque sit on the floor, as there are no chairs.

Java’s oldest mosques (also the oldest in Indonesia) are in Demak and Cirebon. They have multistory rooms believed to be patterned after Hindu shrines such as those seen on

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Bali. Some of the modern mosques in Java, such as Jakarta’s Istiqlal mosque, have been built to hold worshippers who number in the tens of thousands. Many businesses and all government offices are closed on Friday afternoons. This is a special time that has been set aside for prayers.

Very old Hindu temples can be found near Yogyakarta, including the famous Prambanan, built in the 9th century. One of Southeast Asia’s largest Hindu temples Prambanan is a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

Some Hindu temples have been built on Java in recent years, including Pura Mandaragiri Sumeru Agung. It was built on the slope of Java’s highest mountain, Mt. Semeru.

Traditionally, orthodox Hindu temples have been built on or near high places to emphasize the ascendancy of spiritual life over worldly concerns. They may be dedicated to different gods or goddesses and decorated with idols, such as the statue of Nataraja, representing Lord Shiva in a dance pose. This particular posture has deep meaning, signifying “evolution and destruction of the Cosmic universe (Big Bang theory)....The dwarfish demon crushed under the feet represents the demonic ego…”\(^{140}\) Such representations should be approached with deep respect and a meditative attitude.

**Behavior in Places of Worship**

*Mosques*

Before entering a Javanese mosque, visitors should ask permission to enter.

**Exchange 2:** May I enter the mosque?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>May I enter the mosque?</th>
<th>manopo koolo paareng mlebet mesjit?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
<td>ing-gey / paareng</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When visiting a mosque in Java, it is important to dress conservatively, avoiding sheer or tight clothing, and remember to remove one’s shoes before entering. Women should wear garments with sleeves, not tank tops or sleeveless blouses. Their clothing should be loose fitting, whether a long dress or skirt. Skirts should not be shorter than knee length. If wearing pants, a woman’s sweater or blouse should be long enough to cover the tops of the thighs. Men should wear loose fitting pants and a shirt. All clothing should be clean, and neither men nor women should wear shorts.

Before entering the mosque, women are also advised to cover their head using some type of scarf and remove makeup, perfume, or nail polish.

**Exchange 3:** Do I need to wear a chador?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier (female)</th>
<th>Do I need to wear a chador?</th>
<th>manopo koolo keydah ngaang-gey jilbaab?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
<td>ing-gey</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Once inside the mosque, visitors should observe silence as talking, even softly, can interrupt prayers. Also, visitors should avoid walking in front of others praying as this may invalidate their prayers. Women and men generally pray in separate sections, and visitors should be sensitive to this tradition.

_Hindu Temples_
Visitors entering a Hindu temple should dress conservatively, remove their shoes before entering, remain quiet inside, and refrain from touching paintings or statues. Visitors should not interrupt those who are praying or meditating. Also, it is advisable to ask permission before entering.

Visitors who enter either a mosque or a temple should refrain from taking photographs inside the building.

**Exchange 4: May I take photographs?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>May I take photographs inside the mosque?</th>
<th>manopo koolo paareng moto wonten nglebet mesjit?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>mboten peekaanto</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Traditions

Traditional Economy and Jobs

Agriculture
For centuries, trade and agriculture have been the traditional sources of income for the Javanese. Both have had a solid foundation in the island’s rich national resources, including the fertile soil, the forests, and abundant rainfall. For more than 2000 years, the center of Javanese agriculture has been the cultivation of wet rice (sawah). It has been used as a source of food and also a source of income through trading.

During the colonial period, the Dutch colonists exploited the island’s resources and built an empire based on agriculture. To accomplish this, they forced indigenous people on the island (pribumi) into agricultural roles by using them as slave laborers on their plantations.141 Rice was such a great source of wealth that peasants were also forced to pay taxes in the form of rice, delivering a portion of their rice crop to the VOC (United Dutch East India Company).142 Today, growing rice along with the cultivation of other crops such as sugarcane, kapok, tea, coffee, and rubber remains a traditional occupation for the Javanese and others on the island.

During the colonial period, the Dutch brought in another labor force, the Chinese, who became firmly and traditionally entrenched in the business sector of the island’s economy. The Chinese, adapting to laws that segregated them within Java and prohibited them from owning land, became clerks, entrepreneurs, and “merchant middlemen.”143, 144 To survive, they cultivated administrative and supply contacts which linked them to banking and the business community. Although the majority of Chinese in Java today are traders and small shopkeepers, they continue to hold influential jobs as business and power brokers, controlling a very large part of the island’s economy.145

Handicrafts

Woodcarving
Handicrafts in Java have included wood carving using bamboo and teak. This artistic expression dates back centuries. Wood carvings have been made into statues of ancestors, spirits to protect homes, and many other designs. Today in north-central Java, the

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woodcarving center of the island, intricately carved chairs, sofas, room panels, and doors characteristically show both Balinese and Islamic influence in their designs.\textsuperscript{146}

**Textiles**
The dyeing, spinning, and weaving of yarn into cloth is an age-old artistic and income-producing tradition among the Javanese. Special hand-made cloth is used for traditional Javanese costumes, including those used for royalty. Unique weaves of cloth are found today in northern Java, near coastal centers of trade.

Batik textiles have also been a source of income for many Javanese. It is not known if this tradition developed in Java or was brought there by traders and visitors from India. In any case, the term \textit{batik} first appeared in Java during the Islamic period. The process of making it is complex, beginning with white cotton or silk cloth on which a design is drawn. The clothmaker then puts wax on areas that are not to be colored, and the cloth is dyed. Rewaxing and dyeing are repeated, waxing and coloring new areas each time so that the color is variegated, until the desired effect is achieved.\textsuperscript{147}

Batik cloth was in great demand in Javanese royal courts and among well-to-do Chinese, Javanese, Dutch, and Arabs who lived in cities. As batik is used for traditional dress, the cloth is a commercial industry today. The cost varies widely, depending on artistry, degree of labor intensiveness, and quality of the basic fabric.\textsuperscript{148}

**Greetings**
When greeting a local person, it is important to smile and extend politeness to show respect for the culture. In Indonesia, greetings are dignified regardless of who is being introduced. Greetings should not be rushed as that would be a sign of disrespect, and every effort should be made to remember the names of those introduced.

**Exchange 5:** Good morning!
| Soldier: | Good morning! | soogeng injaang! |
| Local:   | Good morning! | soogeng injaang! |

Visitors who are introduced to family members should first greet the elders and they should ask about the health of the family. In addition, visitors should address people using their academic or honorific title. Honorific titles include \textit{Haji} (male) or \textit{Hajjah} (female) for Muslims who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca. \textit{Pak} (Mr.), \textit{Bapak} (Sir), or \textit{Ibu} (lady), is used for those without an academic or honorific title.

Exchange 6: Hi, Mr. Ali!

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier</th>
<th>Hi, Mr. Ali!</th>
<th>haalo, paa aalee!</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local</td>
<td>Hello!</td>
<td>haalo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soldier</td>
<td>Are you doing well?</td>
<td>raa-a seyhaat, to?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
<td>eeyo, pang-estooney</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When inquiring about the family’s health, the women in the family should be included. In Javanese culture, unlike in many Muslim cultures, asking about the wellbeing of the women in the family is acceptable. Further, it is considered polite to acknowledge a woman who is standing among the people one is addressing.

Exchange 7: Is this your wife?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier</th>
<th>Is this your wife?</th>
<th>manopo maneeko seymah paanjenengaan?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
<td>ing-gey</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In general, conversational exchanges should not be overly direct, but simply friendly and polite. Expressing anger in public or raising one’s voice, even in joy, is unacceptable.

Exchange 8: How are you?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier</th>
<th>How are you?</th>
<th>kaados poondee kaa-apaar paanjenengaan?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local</td>
<td>Fine, very well.</td>
<td>saa-ee saa-ee kemaawon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Shaking hands with one’s right hand is preferred when meeting Muslim men. Handshakes should be soft-handed and often last 10 seconds. When greeting Muslim women, men should not offer to shake hands. Instead, they should simply nod and issue a spoken greeting, or follow the female’s lead. If she offers to shake hands, a light handshake grasping only the fingertips is appropriate. Otherwise, it is not.

In general, when meeting a member of the opposite gender, it is safe to greet with a head nod and a spoken greeting. Alternately, visitors can use a local form of greeting for either sex by placing the palms of both hands together at chest level (in a prayer position) and nodding the head.

It is also common and acceptable to use English greetings such as “good day” or “good afternoon.”

Exchange 9: Good afternoon!

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier</th>
<th>Good afternoon!</th>
<th>soogeng seeyaaang!</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local</td>
<td>Good afternoon!</td>
<td>soogeng seeyaaang!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When leaving a group of people in the late afternoon, a visitor can use conventional English expressions, and the Javanese will clearly understand.

Exchange 10: Good evening!

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier</th>
<th>Good evening!</th>
<th>soogeng ndaaloo!</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local</td>
<td>Good evening!</td>
<td>soogeng ndaaloo!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
If it is late at night, departing guests can also use common English phrases such as “good night.”

**Exchange 11: Good night!**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Good night!</th>
<th>soogeng ndaaloo!</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Good night!</td>
<td>soogeng ndaaloo!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Muslim men who are relatives or close friends commonly hold hands or hug each other. This should not be interpreted in light of American culture, which could be judgmental in a negative way. In Javanese Muslim tradition, such close gestures between men imply kinship or friendship and nothing more. Javanese women also are emotionally expressive with each other, holding hands or kissing on the cheek. Again, such gestures are an indication of friendship or kinship. They are also reserved for close friends and relatives, not to be used as forms of greeting by visitors.

**Hospitality and Gift-Giving**

When entering a Javanese home, visitors should observe the customs and behavior of the host and of others around them. For instance, guests are most likely obligated to remove their shoes before entering a home. Also, guests should be sensitive to eating customs such as the Muslim restriction against eating pork.

Visitors should acknowledge the hospitality of their host in a friendly and polite manner.

**Exchange 12: I appreciate your hospitality.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>I really appreciate your hospitality.</th>
<th>maatooR noowoon, saampoon paareng ngrepotee paanjenengaan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>It is nothing.</td>
<td>saamee-saamee</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is not customary or necessary to bring a gift when invited into a Javanese home. If, however, a visitor particularly wishes to offer a gift, it can be a small article from one’s home country, such as an interesting souvenir. Guests should be aware that since Muslims do not drink alcohol, alcoholic beverages should never be offered as gifts. Similarly, pork products should not be taken to the homes of Javanese Muslims.

If invited to a local person’s home, a guest should wear clean, conservative clothing. Appearance and dress are seen as indicators of good manners, and clothing that is sheer, revealing, sleeveless, tight, or short definitely reflects bad manners.

When offered coffee or tea by a host, it is advisable to politely accept this hospitality. This is true even if a guest does not normally drink the kind of tea or coffee being offered. Rejecting the host’s hospitality indicates poor manners and could be seen as a personal rejection of the host. A guest in the household should compliment the host or hostess on the quality of the food.
Exchange 13: The food tastes good.

| Soldier: | The food tastes so good. | masaa-eepoon echo saanget |
| Local: | Thank you. | wah mboten, byaasaa kemaawon |

Also, it is imperative to use only the right hand to hold utensils or to pass the food at the dinner table. This is also true when presenting a gift, use only the right hand. It is considered rude to use the left hand for these purposes.

If seated next to another person, during the conversation before a meal a guest might wish to ask if the person seated nearby is married. Conversations are not continued during meal times, as it is impolite to talk while eating.

Exchange 14: Are you married?

| Soldier: | Are you married? | manopo paanjenenga saampoon kaakoongaay seymah? |
| Local: | No. | dereng |

Leaving food on the plate shows impoliteness so care should be made to finish the food served on a plate. After the meal ends, it is a good rule of thumb to follow the lead of others who are leaving the dining table, remembering to compliment the host or the person who cooked the food.

Exchange 15: The meal was very good.

| Soldier: | The meal was very good. | maasaa-aaneepoon echo saanget |
| Local: | Thank you very much. | wah mboten, byaasaa kemaawon |

Dress Codes

On Java, local people dress casually for everyday activities, adapting their clothing choices to the hot, humid climate. Women wear western-style skirts and brightly colored blouses or dresses with the hem length reaching the knee or below the knee. Shorts are loosely fitted and are knee-length, not short. Blouses have sleeves (usually short), and the clothing is never sheer, provocative, tight, or revealing in any way. Moreover, everyday wear for women is conservative, casual, and comfortable. If a visitor is uncertain as to what to wear, asking is a good policy!

Exchange 16: Is this acceptable to wear?

| Soldier: | Is this acceptable to wear? | manopo paatoot ngaang-gey maneeko |
| Local: | Yes. | ing-gey |

Javanese women often dress in traditional casual clothing, wearing colorful batik sarongs that wrap around the body, exposing the arms and reaching to the ground. Alternately, they may mix the style, wearing a loose blouse with a long batik skirt wrapped around the
waist. Traditional Muslim head scarves, wrapped around the head and neck, are often seen.

Javanese men wear western-style jeans, slacks, or shorts and casual t-shirts or colorful shirts with short or long sleeves, depending on the temperature and the occasion. For business attire, men usually wear slacks and a dress shirt or, more conservatively, a suit and tie.

Casual dress codes are similar for Javanese men and women in other respects. Both women and men wear tennis shoes or thongs on their feet. When working outdoors such as in rice fields, men and women wear a cone-shaped hat that shades their faces and protects their heads from the heat.

For very formal occasions, the style of dress varies. Javanese women often wear a kebaya, a long-sleeved fitted shirt that reaches to the waist or the knee. It may be closed at the neck with a brooch or with buttons. The fabric of the kebaya is usually embroidered silk or brocade. After Muslim styles of clothing became more popular in the 1980s, kebayas made of other fabrics, including cotton, became popular. To accompany the kebaya, a long scarf or kedhung is worn on the head, symbolizing the wearer’s identification with Islam.

When uncertain as to how to dress for a particular occasion, a visitor may wish to ask a local person for advice.

**Exchange 17: How should I dress?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>How should I dress?</th>
<th>koolo saa-eneepong ngaang-gey raasoo-aan manopo?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Wear loose-fitting clothes which cover your body.</td>
<td>ngaakem raasoo-aan ing-kaang long-gaar, ing-kaang nootoopee baadaan paanjenengaang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For formal events, Javanese men often wear a black jacket covering a white shirt, and a floor-length jarik made of batik, wound around the waist. Men may also wear a keri, or short ceremonial knife symbolizing manhood, tucked into their waistband. Another traditional ceremonial style for men is the beskap, a black formal jacket with a high neck. Traditional shoes that accompany this garment are called selop, flat in design and made of shiny black leather. Rather than wearing the beskap, a man may choose a formal satin or silk shirt in a batik design, worn over black pants. Black leather shoes also complement this particular style.

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The Javanese of Central Java wear formal wedding attire that is different from that of Javanese in East Java. In Central Java, where the royal courts were located, Javanese men and women today emulate styles of wedding apparel worn by royalty. Kings and queens in Central Java typically wore black velvet into which golden thread had been embroidered. Following this practice, a black traditional wedding gown or long shirt elaborately embroidered in gold is often worn in Central Java. It covers a long formal gown that reaches the floor. In East Java, the wedding dress may be black, or it may be a different richly hued color.153

Less formal wedding dresses are also worn on Java, depending on region, personal choice, and local tradition. Such garments have a wide range of designs, made of different fabrics and colors.

A *keri* tucked into a waistband is a part of men’s formal wedding wear. For weddings, the *keri* is adorned with red roses and fresh jasmine.154

**Cuisine**

In Central Java, the food tends to be sweet. A favored specialty is young jackfruit (*gudeg*), sometimes curried and served with rice.

**Exchange 18:** The dish is very good.

| Soldier: | The dish is very good. | jaangaaneepoon echo saanget |
| Local:   | It’s young jackfruit dish, a famous dish form Yogyakarta. | opooneeko goodek, masaaken terkenaal saaking yogyo |

Other sweet dishes are green rice-flour balls filled with palm sugar (*kelepon*) and pancakes made with coconut milk and then topped with banana, jackfruit, or chocolate. This dish is called *serabi*.

Meat is part of the Javanese diet. Chicken cooked *satay* style (over a grill), lamb, and beef are popular.

**Exchange 19:** What is the name of this dish?

| Soldier: | What is the name of this dish? | maasaa-aan maneeko naamineepoon manopo? |
| Local:   | This is Satay. | opooneeko saatey |

Pork is widely eaten except by Muslims, whose religion restricts them from eating pork. Fried chicken (*ayam goring*) is a favorite dish in Central Java, along with beef stew (*rawon*) and chicken cooked with coconut curry and pepper (*opor ayam*).

A visitor might want to inquire as to how a dish was prepared.

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Exchange 20: What ingredients are used?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>What ingredients are used to make Satay?</th>
<th>baahaaneepoon maneeko kaang-gey ndaamel saatey?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Chicken marinated in the spices and peanut sauce.</td>
<td>daaming aayaam deepoonkom boomboo saatey, kaalyaan saambel kaachaang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vegetarian dishes of Central Java include a dish called *nasi liwet* that combines rice, unripe papaya, coconut milk, shallots, and garlic, served with chicken or eggs. Spinach and bean sprouts cooked in peanut sauce (*pecel*) is a popular dish, as is pressed rice and vegetables cooked in peanut sauce (*lotek*).

The food of East Java is similar to that of Central Java, except more fish is eaten on the eastern side of the island. One popular fish recipe is called *pecel lele*, deep-fried catfish. Rice accompanies it, as it does so many other main dishes on Java. Other well-known East Javanese dishes include *bakwan malang*, soup of meatballs, noodles, and won-ton; *arem-arem*, a mixture of coconut, peanuts, sprouts, pressed rice, tempe, and soy sauce; and *pecel*, a spicy sauce made by mixing peanuts, chile, and tomatoes together. This dish is separate from the Central Javanese dish by the same name.

**Artistic Traditions**

*Wayang*

A tradition with deep roots in Java’s Hindu-Buddhist tradition is *wayang* (“puppet” or “shadow”) theater.156, 157 *Wayang* can refer to different kinds of dramas. *Wayang topeng*, the oldest form of this theater, is a drama acted out with the performers on stage wearing elaborate masks. *Wayang orang*, another form of theater, is a well known dance drama that was a ritual in Javanese kingdoms where it was performed at royal coronations.

*Wayang Kulit*

The most popular kind of shadow drama among the Javanese is *wayang kulit*, or shadow puppet theater. This form of *wayang* uses intricately painted flat puppets made of leather, each a work of art in itself. Sitting behind a white cloth screen illuminated by an oil lamp or electric light, the puppeteer (*dalang*) manipulates the puppets to tell a story. He also conducts an orchestra (*gamelan*) behind the screen, creates special sound effects, and speaks the story in two languages, that of the audience and the ancient aristocratic Kawi language. The latter is the language the puppet protagonists use as they act out a drama taken from two Hindu epics, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*.158, 159

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By the 11th century, the wayang kulit was established on Java and it has remained a popular cultural art form with religious overtones since that time. The dramas revolve around broad metaphors, expressed in images that can be translated to political and cultural meanings outside the specific story. The stories reflect themes of good and evil and always remain unresolved at the end. Transmitting Javanese values, traditions, mysteries, and ideals, the popular wayang kulit dramas often last all night long. Audience members of all ages come and go, converse during passages that are slow, and move around. Sometimes they change positions from the front of the screen to behind it where they can watch the puppeteer and the gamelan.

Non-Religious Holidays

National Public Holidays

New Year’s Holidays
On 1 January, New Year’s Day is celebrated and in January or February (depending on the year), the Chinese New Year (Imlek) is celebrated. The Chinese New Year was once banned, but it is now celebrated throughout Java and the entire country.

Although the Balinese New Year (Nyepi) is celebrated on the island of Bali, its proximity to Java implies that some Javanese are involved in the celebration through family connections. Also, it is a national holiday marking the end of the Hindu lunar (saka) calendar, and many Javanese are Hindus. On the day that precedes Nyepi, flaming torches, gongs, and drums are used to chase evil spirits away. Only on Bali, businesses are closed and people stay home. This is to ensure that any roaming evil spirits will not find people on the streets, and so will depart.

Independence Day

Hari Proklamasi Kemerdekaan, or Independence Day, took place on 17 August 1945. Independence is celebrated on this day with parades and a variety of special events in Jakarta and other areas.

Festivals
Festivals take place all over the island. One major Javanese event is the Festival of Borobudur in June, an event with its roots in Buddhism. It begins with a large dance and includes activities such as white-water rafting, folk-dancing competitions, and handicraft exhibitions.

Near Yogyakarta, three Gerebeg festivals are held yearly. They are marked by colorful, large parades that feature Central Java’s court traditions. Participants dress as court retainers and palace guards, walking behind elaborate floats, some with “decorated mountains of rice.” The parades are accompanied by gamelan orchestral gong music.

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Social Events

Weddings

Although some marriages are arranged among the Javanese, this practice is weakening. Family involvement would usually be restricted to introducing a couple, both of whom then date each other and decide whether to call it off or move towards an engagement. For the most part, the choice of a life partner to marry is based on similarity of background. Partners make their own choices, weighing background attributes such as education, beliefs and principles, and religious beliefs. They also marry based on compatibility.

Actual wedding ceremonies in Java are religious, not civil, and the religious ceremony almost always precedes the reception party. The celebration party is likely to be well attended, since inviting many people is a sign of wealth and prestige. It is appropriate to congratulate the bride and groom.

Exchange 21: Congratulations!

| Soldier: | Congratulations on your wedding! | ndereh peengah |
| Local:   | We are honored you could attend.  | maatoor noowoon raawooheepoon |

The reception party may be a traditional ceremony called *selamatan*. Here, with incense burning in the background, guests participate in formal prayers and eat special foods such as rice, shaped into cones, surrounded by an array of meat dishes. *Gamelan* gong music is usually part of the ceremony.

Guests at a wedding may want to wish the bride and groom well in their future life together.

Exchange 22: I wish you happiness.

| Soldier: | I wish you both happiness. | mookee-mookee paanjenenga kekaaleeh taansah beengah |
| Local:   | We are honored.            | maatooR noowoon |

At the actual wedding ceremony (not the reception) in parts of Central Java, the bride is often not present. The groom sits at a table with witnesses from both families and a priest sits opposite, the bride’s father at his side. In front of these witnesses, the groom promises the bride’s father that he will care for his future wife, after which the bride’s father publicly agrees to the wedding.

In other areas of Java, the bride attends the ceremony along with the groom. Both parties agree to the wedding in front of their family members and witnesses. In a common custom at the end of the

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165 Lineone.net. “Javanese Weddings reflect parents’ lifetime roles.” No date http://website.lineone.net/~suryo/suryowed.html
ceremony, the groom crushes an egg that has been placed under his foot, and the bride then cleans his foot.\textsuperscript{166} His crushing of the egg symbolizes fertility, and the bride’s willingness to clean his foot symbolizes her commitment to care for him.\textsuperscript{167}

\textit{Funerals}
Funeral rites are different depending on the individual’s religion, and beliefs vary widely as to the fate of a person’s soul after death.\textsuperscript{168} Many across Java believe that the soul is unaware of its own death and cannot make its ascent to the land of its ancestors until after a \textit{selamatan} mortuary feast is held. The purpose of such a feast is ritual veneration of the dead.\textsuperscript{169} Most Javanese live in rural areas where individuals are part of closely knit communities and clans. The death of one person affects the entire community, that mourns through a funeral feast or other group ritual activity.

At a funeral, a visitor can extend his condolences to the family of the deceased.

\textbf{Exchange 23: My condolences}

\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline
Soldier: & I would like to give my condolences to you and your family.  \\
Local: & ndereh beylo soong-kaawo  \\
\hline
We are grateful.  \\
maatooR noowoon  \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\textbf{Muslim Funerals} \textsuperscript{170}
In a traditional Muslim funeral, the body is buried as soon as possible after death so that decomposition of the body is not delayed. Islamic law also requires that the body be bathed and covered before burial.

Male members of the family carry the wooden casket on their shoulders as they walk to the burial site. Sometimes the deceased is covered with a shroud rather than a closed coffin. The men in attendance cover their heads as a sign of respect for the deceased.

Family members toss or shovel earth onto the coffin after it has been lowered into the ground. After the funeral ends, guests go to the home of the deceased’s family to express condolences and share their grief. The period of bereavement continues for a period of three days, and during this time family members pray for the deceased in their home.

During this period, visitors can also express their concern and best wishes for the survivors.

\textsuperscript{166} Lineone.net. “Javanese Weddings reflect parents’ lifetime roles.” No date  
http://website.lineone.net/~suryo/suryowed.html  
\textsuperscript{167} Telegraph.co.uk. “Glamour, grace and instant facelifts.” September 2001.  
http://www.bmj.com/cgi/content/full/309/6953/521
Exchange 24: Please be strong.

| Soldier: Please be strong. | ing-kaang taabah |
| Local: We will try. | ing-gey |

Do’s and Don’ts

Do’s
Do use your entire right hand only to summon a person. Keep your palm down and wave downward.
Do use only your right hand to eat, shake hands, or pass an object.
Do remove your shoes before you enter a mosque or temple.

Don’ts
Do not stare at or make advances to women in public or private.
Do not engage in overt expressions of affection with the opposite sex.
Do not touch someone on the head, unless the person is a small child.
Do not receive a present or pass an object to someone with your left hand. The left hand is considered unclean.
Do not point to anybody with a finger. Use the entire right hand instead.
Do not point upward with the middle finger. It is obscene in the U.S. and equally so in Java.
Do not use obscene or indecent language within earshot of Javanese citizens. Many may be familiar with American slang.
Urban Life

Urban Jobs and Workforce

The cities on Java and throughout the country began to grow rapidly in the 1970s and 1980s, even though most Javanese continued to live in rural areas. Industrial jobs began opening up during Suharto’s “New Order” (beginning in 1968) when the economy was becoming export-driven. As cities transformed into centers of industrial production, people flocked to the cities for jobs. Nationally, the urban population rose from 17% in 1971 to 31% in 1990. This marks an average annual growth rate of 5%. In 2005, the urban population consisted of 48% of the nation’s total, showing a steady growth rate since 1990 of 4.4% per year. In contrast, the population growth rate for the entire country from 1990 to 2005 was 1.4%.

In Jakarta, Indonesia’s largest city and an area where many Javanese live, the growth has been especially marked. Jakarta, including metropolitan areas and suburbs, grew from 11.5 million in 1990 to 16 million by 2000. Even though Jakarta’s “city proper” (the area within the city limits) did not grow much between 1990 and 2007, the city including its metropolitan area is growing exponentially. Migrants continue to relocate into the suburbs and adjacent areas of informal housing, known locally as desakotas (city villages). Researchers believe these transitional areas between rural and urban life may be an emerging pattern of urbanization.

Although the main reason behind the migration to the cities was rural unemployment, migrants did not necessarily fare much better in Jakarta or other large cities. If they lack solid job skills, a college degree, or capital, they have usually ended up working in the informal sector, scavenging for items to use or sell. Those who possess a college degree

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or job training have found it possible to get jobs in companies large enough to offer employment benefits. Those who have only a high school diploma, however, have usually only found employment in factories or small companies that do not provide benefits. They might also end up working in the informal sector doing work as short-term laborers or street vendors.\textsuperscript{178} Even these low-paying, unstable jobs have often proved to be hard to get.

Alongside large scale poverty in the cities, Java’s urban areas (especially Jakarta) are home to the powerful Indonesian ruling class. Jakarta and Java’s other large cities such as Surabaya, Bandung, and Semarang are the nation’s wealthiest and most developed areas. Members of the urban ruling elite who live here and administer business and government constitute a very select group. Becoming a part of this exclusive club is only possible if one has family connections, professional or political connections, or a wealthy, aristocratic background. Once entry is gained, members become part of a paternalistic chain which travels downward socially as those at the lower rungs extend their loyalty upward. In this way, social position is advanced and solidified.

Between the urban poor on Java and those who possess extreme wealth, an urban middle class developed, traditionally holding jobs in the commercial and government sectors. In the early 20th century, many among this developing middle class emulated social patterns of the earlier Javanese aristocracy whose patterns of thought and behavior have been instilled in Javanese society through centuries of princely rule. Although the ruling principalities had disappeared within 20 years following independence (except in Surakarta and Yogyakarta), their influence lingered on. The patterns they left behind included paternalism, grandiose displays of wealth, rule by charismatic power rather than law, and deference to those who hold elevated status.\textsuperscript{179}

\textit{Bribery and Paternalism}

Among the middle and upper class, bribery accompanied by loyalty to one’s constituents is a way of life and a way to gain jobs and influence. In fact, it extends throughout Javanese urban society. When Javanese commoners interact with government officials, they necessarily exhibit deference, often in the form of payments or bribery. It is expected and institutionalized within society. If a government bureaucrat who is poorly paid controls the access to residential or business permits or to large contracts, for instance, he is in a position to accept bribes in exchange for access. Bribery is a fundamental part of the operations of police departments, the judiciary, and powerful commercial interests.\textsuperscript{180}

Daily Urban Life, Living Conditions, and Pastimes

People who live in the cities live much the same as those in rural areas. Since Jakarta and other large cities are virtual melting pots, a wide variety of social traditions exist within neighborhoods. Because the cities are crowded, people tend to know a great deal about their neighbors’ social and religious backgrounds from observing the traditions they practice. They also can tell their neighbors’ ethnic backgrounds by the kinds of houses they live in.

People in cities socialize easily with one another, frequently calling or visiting friends and neighbors.

Exchange 25: What is your telephone number?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>What is your telephone number?</th>
<th>peenten nomer telpon paanjenenggaan?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>My phone number is 1325477.</td>
<td>nomer telpon koolo stoong-gaal, teego, kaaleeh, gangsaal, sekaawaan, peetoo, peetoo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Besides socializing, urban dwellers have many other pastimes. They spend time after work watching TV, which is installed in most homes. Many attend movies. Chinese kung fu movies are popular, as are Bollywood and American films. Young urbanites go to gyms, shopping malls, and bars in Jakarta.

Those who have regular jobs work a 9–5 schedule, and they use public transport or their own motorbikes to commute. Urban residents seldom walk, as public transportation is efficient and accessible, supported through government investment.

Communication is easy in Jakarta and other large cities, as there is an extensive telephone network.181

Exchange 26: May I use your phone?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>May I use your phone?</th>
<th>manopo koolo paareng ngaampil telpon paanjenenggaan?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Sure.</td>
<td>ing-gey / aangsaal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Housing can be hard to find in large Javanese cities as there are not enough units to accommodate all the migrants who have moved there. Most urban people live in small homes made of bamboo or stone and wood, set very closely together. Designs vary, according to ethnic group and social class. Wealthy owners have bought old Dutch colonial homes and renovated them. Many such homes have roman columns, high-tile roofs, and servants’ quarters, all popular with the Dutch.

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In Jakarta, living conditions are difficult because of the city’s rapid growth. The piped drinking water system, which reaches only half of the city’s population, is inadequate and costly.182 Residents without piped water, and some with it, rely on water from underground sources for washing and bathing, causing the sources to become depleted. This has led to land sinking, making it more susceptible to flooding, and an increase in the intrusion of seawater into the aquifers. Another reason the city has deteriorated is because of an inadequate sewage and waste treatment system.183 A large-scale sanitation project, headed by the Indonesian government and the World Bank, was set to improve the sewage system in Jakarta during the 1980s. However, disputes between agencies and a poor design led to the slow building of an inadequate system, which has been since labeled by the World Bank as unsatisfactory.184

**Education**

Education on Java was historically centered in urban areas, available only to the Dutch ruling class or the children of natives who ruled for the Dutch. Those who lived in cities adopted more refined and courtly language levels and behavior, in comparison with the customs seen in rural areas.

At the time of independence, few schools or universities existed on Java, so the government began to build an educational infrastructure. In 1973, President Suharto used oil revenues to construct or repair around 40,000 primary schools in Indonesia, completed by the late 1980s.185 Today, urban Javanese have more choices compared to those who live in rural Java, but schools are in place throughout the island.

The government provides public schooling for a low fee.186 At these schools, boys and girls study together for six years of primary school. The curriculum in elementary school beginning in 1975 included instruction in Indonesia’s philosophical foundation, the

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Children six years of age and older learned its core principles: faith in one God, democracy, national unity, humanitarian conduct, and social justice. After completing elementary school, students progress to vocational school or junior high and high school. At the level of senior high school, students can choose from among veterinary, forestry, or agricultural programs. Vocational schools offer training in music, legal clerking, hotel management, and other fields.

Students who can afford the cost can choose to attend a university, several of which are found in Java’s cities. They include the oldest university in the country, University of Indonesia in Jakarta, founded in the 1930s. The oldest since independence is the Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta, founded in 1946. Two universities are also located in the city of Bandung on Java.

Because public school facilities are often poorly equipped, many parents send their children to private urban Christian or Islamic boarding schools. Such schools serve a diverse population, including Chinese Indonesians who have been discriminated against and denied entry into government universities.

The teaching style favored in Javanese and Indonesian public schools at all levels has been rote learning delivered in authoritarian lecture styles. This means that students are seldom questioned or responded to at individual levels. Instead, they listen to lectures, take notes, and accept the teacher’s views without active questioning.

Many urban Javanese who could afford it have gone abroad to attend universities in other countries where broader research opportunities are available. Foreign universities have often had the advantage of being better funded as well, offering a greater range of educational choices and teaching styles.

The national literacy rate for adults was 77% in 1991, which broke down into 68% for females and 84% for males. By 2007 it had risen to 90.4% overall, 86.8% (est. 2004) for females and 94% for males.

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Health Care

The urban public health care system that exists today on Java has its roots in medical treatments that the Dutch implemented on their plantations for their workers. The government later built urban hospitals, clinics, and midwifery centers. By 1939, a public health infrastructure had been developed.\(^{193}\) Private Muslim and Christian agencies also helped to fund and build hospitals and treatment centers.

Today it is easy to find clinics or hospitals in Java’s cities since that is where most of them are concentrated. Medicines are easily available at well-stocked pharmacies, and no prescriptions are needed.\(^ {194}\)

Exchange 27: Is there a hospital nearby?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier: Is there a hospital nearby?</th>
<th>manopo wonen greeyo saaket wonen chelaa mreekee?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local: Yes, in the center of town.</td>
<td>wonten, wonten tengah keeto</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to its public hospitals and clinics, the modern health care system includes urban, government-run community health centers (Puskesmas) and privately run clinics.\(^ {195}\)

Exchange 28: Is Dr. Mahmoud in, sir?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier: Is Dr. Mahmoud in, sir?</th>
<th>manopo doktar mah-mood wonten, paa?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local: No.</td>
<td>mboten wonten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Puskesmas, usually staffed by physicians, are at the top of a three-tier system. They provide maternal care, child care, immunizations, and general outpatient care. They also have programs to control communicable disease. Puskesmas are located in urban areas although they also have mobile clinics for outreach into rural areas.\(^ {196,197}\) In addition to the Puskesmas, there are health sub-centers staffed by nurses and visited by physicians, as well as service posts where monthly clinics are held.

Of the 1,111 general hospitals operating in Indonesia, 581 of them are located on Java.\(^ {198}\) Eight hospitals in Central Java, including three in Semarang and two in Surakarta,

recently opened clinics that offer testing and counseling for people who have been infected with HIV/AIDS.\(^{199}\)

In addition, the hospitals offer comprehensive health care.

**Exchange 29: Can you help me?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>My arm is broken doctor, can you help me?</th>
<th>taangan koolo tookel doktar, manopo paanjenenga saaget ngopaatee?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Yes, I can help you.</td>
<td>ing-gey, koolo saaget ngopaatee</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Universities in Jakarta have medical programs, but training is limited by inadequate facilities and a shortage of researchers. Most doctors who teach also work in private practice to supplement their incomes and do not have time to conduct research.

Many people on Java cannot afford the cost of medical treatment. Responding to this need, the government provides subsidies to the poor, who can receive free medical treatment in government facilities.

The government established family planning programs during the Suharto years. Government offices set up the Indonesian National Family Planning Coordinating Board (BKKBN), which expanded a private network of clinics that dispensed birth control free of charge. The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) worked closely with the BKKBN for over 35 years. Under this partnership, the Indonesian government developed “one of the world’s most successful family planning programs.”\(^{200}\) Family planning programs have been most successful in urban areas, where the birth rate has dropped noticeably.

In urban areas, traditional medicine and spiritual healing have wide appeal because of the low cost and belief in their effectiveness. *Dukun* are Javanese healers who treat people for physical and emotional illnesses, using herbs and incantations. They have extensive knowledge of herbal remedies, many of which were used in Javanese royal courts, and sometimes blend herbal treatment with western-style medicine. The *dukun* blend and sell special medicines and bottled tonics, relied on by many to treat illnesses.

**Transportation and Traffic**

Bus service is the main form of transportation in Javanese cities. Most urban people rely on it and never have to wait long for a bus because so many are in service.


Different kinds of buses are used, depending on roads and class of travel, and they are usually very crowded. Luxury air-conditioned buses travel the well-paved roads, and economy-class coaches run on established routes in the cities and countryside, making more stops than the luxury buses. In cities, smaller minibuses are also used, following standard routes. Smaller still are the bicycle-rickshaws with three wheels, called becak, which are frequently used as a kind of taxi service in cities. Motor-operated three wheelers are called bajaj, and are used mainly in Jakarta.

Train service can be found in the cities. Trains are used mainly to connect between cities or between the city and smaller towns in the countryside.

Regular taxis operating on a meter are easy to find in the large cities on Java. It should be noted that cab drivers expect tips. When using a cab, the traveler should ask in advance how much the fare is and whether the cab driver will go to the desired destination.

Sometimes it can be difficult to get a cab because the cities are so crowded. It is always an option to ask someone if he is willing to share a cab.

Few people in cities own cars because of the cost. Instead, they buy motorbikes, inexpensive to maintain and operate, and use them to get around in and between cities. The bikes are easy to navigate in traffic and use only small amounts of fuel, making them more affordable than cars.

It is easily possible to rent a car in Java. Car rental agencies are located near airports and major hotels in large cities.

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Drivers should plan their trip ahead, study maps, and know which roads to take. It is easy to get directions from maps or by asking local people. Drivers should also consider the possibility of mechanical breakdowns and ask the car rental agency in advance what to do in case this happens.

If the car breaks down while driving and the driver does not know where to go for help, he should simply ask someone where the nearest mechanic is located.

Roads in Java are used not only for vehicles but also for pedestrians, food carts, and non-vehicular traffic. There are no lanes or street signs, and drivers regularly violate the law. There is a continual crowded mix of vehicles, speeds, and unpredictable activity on the roadways. For these reasons, driving is dangerous and leads to many accidents.

Restaurants and Marketplace

Restaurants
In cities, restaurants appeal to a versatile range of modern and traditional tastes and eating styles. If a diner orders a meal and is not certain of all the ingredients in it, the waiter is available to answer questions.

Virtually all restaurants offer a variety of drinks, including traditional drinks such as coffee or tea.

Diners may want to know whether a particular kind of meal, such as breakfast, lunch, or dinner is being served. Depending on the time of day, they have to adjust their eating expectations.
A group of people dining at a restaurant may wish to pay their bill separately or put it all on one tab. Regardless of the manner of payment, diners should expect to pay cash and have it available when they ask for the bill.

Exchange 38: Can I have my total bill, please?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Can I have my total bill, please?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Yes sir!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hotel restaurants and expensive, upscale restaurants generally take credit cards. Otherwise, credit cards are seldom accepted.

Tipping is not the normal practice in Indonesian or Javanese cities. It is not expected for service when dining in restaurants.

Marketplace

When buying goods from vendors who sell crafts or souvenirs, bargaining is the norm. Advertised prices are usually more than the seller expects to receive for the product, and vendors expect customers to bargain for a fair price.

A buyer will want to examine an item closely to be sure that the quality matches the price he or she is willing to pay.

Exchange 39: May I examine this close up?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>May I examine this close up?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Sure.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The customer should begin by asking the seller’s price rather than offering a sum of money. When negotiations have concluded and the seller’s offer is accepted, he or she is obligated to conclude the purchase, not reconsider. To back out of a finalized sale would be seen as extremely rude behavior, or as bargaining that was not done seriously or in good faith.

On the other hand, a buyer can shop around and return to a certain store later, after comparing prices.

Exchange 40: How much longer will you be here?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>How much longer will you be here?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Three more hours.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Food can be purchased at street stalls and from food carts in the cities. Patrons can buy snacks, tea, coffee, iced drinks, and complete meals from these outdoor eateries. The price is fixed and cash is always required; credit cards are not accepted as payment.

It is a good idea to establish in advance the kind of currency a seller will accept.
Exchange 41: Do you accept U.S. currency?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Do you accept U.S. currency?</th>
<th>manopo koolo saaget ngaang-gey aarto namereekaa?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>No we only accept Rupiahs.</td>
<td>mboten saaget, naamoong saaket ngaang-gey ropeeyah</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also, a buyer may have a currency denomination that seems too large for the cost of the item being purchased. In that case, asking whether the seller can give change is advisable.

Exchange 42: Can you give me change for this?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Can you give me change for this?</th>
<th>manopo koolo saaget eejol maneeko kaalyaan aarto recheh?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>mboten saaget</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the cities, ATMs and banks are available to get the correct denominations of money for a purchase. Stores are also a source for change, but only if one buys something from them. Otherwise, the cashiers are unlikely to change a large denomination into smaller ones.

Dealing with Beggars
Beggars in Javanese cities are quite aggressive, and it is best to ignore them if others are around. The alternative is giving money to a large group of beggars, for if they see someone handing out money, they will pursue the source with intent.

Exchange 43: Give me money.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local:</th>
<th>Give me money.</th>
<th>koolo nyoowoon aarto</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Soldier:</td>
<td>I don’t have any.</td>
<td>koolo mboten gadah aarto</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some beggars are professionals, but others are simply very poor. If a visitor does give money, it should be given when others are not around and just a small amount. However, it is best to avoid distributing money altogether.

If someone is insistent on making an unwanted sale, the target of the sale should politely decline the offer.

Exchange 44: Please, buy something from me.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local:</th>
<th>Please, buy something from me.</th>
<th>koolo paanjenengaan toombaasee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Soldier:</td>
<td>Sorry, I have no money left.</td>
<td>mboten, artaa koolo saampoon telaas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Urban Crime
In urban areas, poverty is widespread and stealing is very common. It happens in crowded places, such as on buses, where thieves will use a knife to slash a purse, bag, or backpack and remove valuables. They will also simply steal purses outright or break into
rooms. Sales scams are common, in which salespeople will misrepresent the goods they are selling, claiming the value is higher than it is.

Gang violence is becoming an increasing problem in large cities such as Jakarta and Surabaya where each gang has informal jurisdiction over a certain territory. It is a common practice for businessmen to pay money to gangs for protection. Many of the thieves who steal from hotel rooms or in public places are gang members working together.
Rural Life

Rural Economy
The economy of early inhabitants in Java was agricultural, with the cultivation of wet rice (sawah) at the center of production for more than 2000 years. The terracing and flooding of rice fields have been cooperative efforts, organized within and between small villages, each headed by a regional chief. Rice production was the measure of the Javanese villagers’ land-tax commitment that was instituted by the Dutch during the colonial period. This policy led to rice shortages by the 1840s because local farmers were forced to divert their time to growing export crops and turn them over to the Dutch for tax payments. Even so, rice growing has been central to Java’s economy, and today, it remains a traditional occupation for the rural Javanese.

Most people in the rural areas work on farms.

Exchange 45: Where do you work?

| Soldier: | Where do you work, sir? | paanjenenga ngaamboot daamel wonten poondee, paa? |
| Local: | I am a farmer, sir. | koolo teeyaang taanee, paa |

Java’s agricultural productivity was used to build the Dutch empire and has enabled the island to support a large population. Because the island’s volcanic soil is so rich, fields produce 2–3 crops a year without loss of fertility in the soil. This growth factor has been complemented by the irrigation system built by the Dutch, which enlarged the crop-bearing area and multiplied the land’s yield per acre of farmed land. In West Java, the Dutch used indigenous people on the island (prięmi) as slave laborers on their tea and rubber plantations. They also initiated marketing practices throughout the island that the Chinese middlemen and junior administrators developed and sustained. These agricultural practices led to an economy that exploited the local people but supported the expanding population. Between 1830 and 1870 alone, the population on Java grew from 7 to 16.2 million people, ultimately supported by relying on the island’s rich resources. The population explosion led to a reaction by the government that, beginning in 1905, started taking steps to reduce Java’s overpopulation by relocating people to other islands.

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The elaborate Dutch irrigation system continues to contribute to the island’s growing capacity. Although rice remains Java’s primary food crop, rice production has fallen because development on Java has been claiming agricultural lands.

Some farmers own the land that they farm, and others work for large landowners.

**Exchange 46:** Do you own this land?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Do you own this land?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the lowlands, farmers on small farms have traditionally grown cassava, corn, soybeans, sweet potatoes, and peanuts. These crops are still grown today for cash and local consumption. Other crops grown for this purpose include sesame, citrus fruits, bananas, durian fruits, mangoes, and vegetables.

Both large and small farms on Java grow crops that are used for export. Income-producing crops that the Javanese export include kapok, sugarcane, and coffee. Coconuts, grown by small farmers, are used to produce a wide range of saleable items. Coconut oil, which is exported along with other forms of the coconut, is used to make margarine, soap, glycerin, and other products. Tea, also exported, is grown principally on the western side of the island on large plantations, many owned by the government.

Timber was formerly a main Javanese export and trade product, logged from the many dense forests that spanned the island. Because of deforestation, timber production has slowed considerably, although teakwood remains one of Java’s exports.208

**Ethnic Distribution**

Although different ethnic groups are found on Java, the Chinese and Madurese are the two main groups besides the Javanese that reside in the Javanese area. The Chinese live mainly in the cities of Central and East Java, and the Madurese are widely dispersed throughout East Java and its offshore island, Madura.

**Chinese**

The Chinese, who make up only around 3% of the country’s population but dominate most of the business economy,209 play a significant role in rural Java. They continue to function as middlemen and merchants for growers and small farmers, providing transportation and arrangements to take the goods to market. As small traders and shopkeepers, they are a source of supplies and

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credit. They function as an important economic link for rural people.

The Chinese live mainly in the cities of Java but also in many of the small or medium-size towns that dot the countryside. After the riots in Jakarta in 1998 resulting in attacks on Chinese neighborhoods, thousands of Chinese left the country and have not returned.\(^{210}\)

**Madurese**

The Madurese occupy large parts of eastern Java and the island of Madura, just off Java’s northeastern coast (part of East Java province). In response to a need for seasonal laborers, they began migrating to the island of Java to work on large coffee and sugar plantations in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.\(^{211}\) Many among this group have also migrated off Java to other places in Indonesia such as Sumatra, Kalimantan, and Sulawesi. Their relocations have often met with harsh opposition, especially in West Kalimantan and on Borneo.

In eastern Java, the Madurese people retain their own culture and language and practice a stricter and more traditional form of Islam than is found in the rest of the country. Historically, their culture was stratified along rigid class lines, but this structure has been modified with the passage of time.

Although many Madurese live in Surabaya, where they occupy the lowest levels of employment,\(^{212}\) the majority have spread through the countryside of eastern Java.

**Exchange 47:** Do you know this area very well?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier: Do you know this area very well?</th>
<th>manopo paanjenenga aapaal daa-erah mreekee?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local: Yes.</td>
<td>ing-gey</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

They are also concentrated along Java’s north coast, where they are employed as small traders, farmers, and fishermen.

**Transmigration**

In 1980, Java, including the islands of Madura (part of East Java) and Bali, held 63.6% of the country’s population but only constituted 6.9% of its total land mass.\(^{213}\) Java’s population density is among the world’s

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highest, a fact that has led to attempted redress by the government.

When the Dutch ruled Java, they started migration programs (Transmigration) that moved approximately 650,000 people primarily from Java to Sumatra. Building on this program, the Indonesian government moved large numbers of Madurese settlers to Kalimantan in the 1960s. Between 1969 and 1989, the Transmigration Program, sponsored by the Indonesian government, moved around 730,000 families to less populated islands. The move reportedly had little effect on overpopulation on Java, but destructive effects on the targeted sites. Results included deforestation, a lack of social support for migrants who no longer had village networks and family to rely on, and land disputes with displaced landowners.

In some cases, land disputes turned to war, such as that between the displaced Dayaks on Kalimantan and the Madurese, erupting into conflict in the late 1990s. The Madurese had been granted deforestation rights over the Dayak lands by the Indonesian government and cleared the land for cultivation of palm oil. Not only was the rainforest cut down and the Dayaks’ land sold, but the local tribes found themselves no longer able to practice their traditional agriculture. The Dayaks rebelled, burning plantations, shops, and houses and attacking the Madurese migrants. Many Madurese were killed, and the Indonesian government forces were unable to stop the violence. Conflict has occurred in several other areas where people from Java have migrated through the Transmigration Program.

The Indonesian government has scaled back the Transmigration Program, still claiming that overall, families benefit from the program. The government also claims the program reduces overpopulation on Java and develops areas that are undeveloped. Critics, however, charge that migrants have usually not drawn anything positive from the migration. They have often been sent to areas where living facilities are practically nonexistent and the thin layer of jungle soil is infertile, unable to support crops. Often, migrants who have no farming background are sent to farm the land and end up stranded with no way to support themselves. Critics also claim that the Transmigration Program has failed to reduce population on Java and that family planning programs have been far more successful. They decry the environmental degradation and displacement of indigenous populations that it causes, clearing forests for new sites and removing native people from their land.

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Although the program has been voluntary, promoted by limited government support, many people have been strongly coerced to migrate according to some officials. Many Javanese families became migrants after they had experienced natural disasters on Java that destroyed their homes and land. Although some people from the cities migrate, most of the migrants are from poor farming areas on Java.

**Rural Health**

Rural areas lack the same level of investment in medical services that urban areas receive. There are fewer well-equipped hospitals and clinics in rural Java and also fewer physicians. Consequently, mortality rates are higher in rural areas because the poor rural population does not have adequate access to health care. The services they can reliably obtain may not extend beyond maternal and baby visits, inoculations, and family planning.

At the village level, government clinics are not permanently staffed and may be open for only part of a month when visiting medical teams come to the site.

**Exchange 48: Is there a medical clinic nearby?**

| Soldier: Is there a medical clinic nearby? | manopo wonten kleeneek kaseyhaataan wonten chelaa mreekee? |
| Local: Yes, over there. | wonten, wonten mreeko |

In the absence of professional medical personnel in villages, local trained health volunteers are available to help with routine illnesses and injuries.

Larger regional health clinics and subcenters funded by the government may serve two or more villages. They offer services such as maternal and child health care, and are staffed with a nurse, midwife, and doctor; however, the doctor may not always be present. Instead, the doctor may be on a rotating schedule of visits.

Outside medical resources are needed when natural disasters strike, such as the May 2006 earthquake centered in Central Java. The quake killed an estimated 5,800 people and injured over 37,000. Medical volunteers are available to help with routine illnesses and injuries.

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Outside medical resources are needed when natural disasters strike, such as the May 2006 earthquake centered in Central Java. The quake killed an estimated 5,800 people and injured over 37,000. Although local emergency services responded immediately, hospitals in Yogyakarta and other cities on Java could not handle the large number of injured people. Indonesian health officials set up 14 mobile clinics to visit villages, treating and identifying the injured. Relief agencies such as Doctors without Borders intervened and, alongside other international teams, set up field hospitals and provided surgery, physiotherapy, and post-surgical care.220

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Rural Education
Before independence, there were few schools on Java. After 1950, the government made mass education a priority and established schools throughout the island.

Exchange 49: Is there a school nearby?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier: Is there a school nearby?</th>
<th>manopo wonten sekolaahaan wonten chelaa mreekee?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local: Yes.</td>
<td>wonten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rural schools are not well equipped, and teacher salaries are so low that many have to work second jobs to earn enough money to live on.

Private Islamic and Christian schools have been established in the countryside. They combine religious subjects with secular education. The Islamic schools are autonomous, being funded independently, and offer education that is sometimes cheaper than that of public schools. Other private schools are more expensive than public schooling.

Many rural parents take their children out of school to help their families with housework or work in the fields.

Exchange 50: Do your children go to school?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier: Do your children go to school?</th>
<th>manopo pootraa-pootraa paanjenengaan sekolah?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local: Yes.</td>
<td>ing-gey</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Before the economic crisis in the late 1990s, school enrollment for children between 7 and 12 years of age reached 90% nationwide.221 The percentage dropped in Java and in the country during and after the crisis, reflecting the economic stress families were under.

Village Life and Gender Roles
Rural Javanese tend to identify with their villages more than with a clan or lineage. Villages, usually located next to a road or near a mosque or rice field, may include people of different religious, ethnic, or clan backgrounds. Although aware of such differences with neighbors, villagers often are collectively unified by their common work in rice fields, which requires organized work and cooperation. Neighbors watch out for each other and work together through neighborhood associations whose members meet regularly.

Rural community ties can be based on other factors besides common labor. In eastern Java, poor peasants often identify with conservative, orthodox Muslim landowners, crossing class lines to do so. Conversely, religious belief or ethnic background may be a divisive

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influence. Peasants and small landowners, for instance, have in the past unified to oppose Islamic fundamentalists or Chinese merchants. 222

Men are the head of the family and make major decisions, and labor is both shared and divided. Although rural women exclusively do housework and take care of the home and children, they work in the fields alongside men. The farmwork is divided, however, with men being responsible for plowing and women for planting. Both help with the harvest. If the question arises of migration to another island through the transmigration program, the male head of household makes the decision. Women in the family receive little or no preparation for the relocation. Many have found themselves in the position of having to find work locally in their new environment after government support runs out. In some cases, their husbands have had to leave their families for extended periods to find work elsewhere, leaving the women in charge of the family, far from their relatives and former village networks.

Some rural women work outside the home, mainly in the informal sector. Here, they can earn money by cooking and selling food, cleaning, or doing some form of specialized labor.

When people who are not from the local area visit a village and stay overnight, they are required to report to the local authority.

**Exchange 51:** Does your leader live here?

| Soldier: | Does your leader live here? | manopo pameempeen paanjenengaan maang-gen wonten mreekee? |
| Local:   | Yes.                       | ing-gey                                                  |

This person of authority, usually male, could be either the head of a neighborhood association or the chief or head of the village.

**Exchange 52:** Can you take me to your leader?

| Soldier: | Can you take me to your leader? | manopo paanjenengaan saaget ngeteraaken koolo kepaang-geeh pemeempeen paanjenengaan? |
| Local:   | Yes.                           | saaget                                                  |

A neighborhood association is the smallest organized unit in a village, and its members attend monthly meetings. The person in charge interfaces with people from the government on issues that will affect the community, such as family planning. He then passes this information on to the local residents who meet monthly.

**Transportation**

Rural dwellers have access to buses, motorbikes, and motorbike taxis. They often use motorbikes that they own or rent to transport their crops to market. For traveling

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between towns or from towns into remote areas, travelers often use a minibus that seats a small number of people. These vehicles have different local names, depending on the region, and they follow a standard route, stopping anywhere requested to let people and their belongings off the bus.

People who live in rural Java are connected to cities by a developed network of highways and railroad tracks. There are many medium-size towns throughout the island where rural people can catch the train if they wish to travel to cities or go to the airport in Jakarta. Economy-class trains have wooden seats, are crowded, and move slowly. The main lines have other levels of service, including business class, offering a guaranteed seat with more comfort and space. Executive-class service has air conditioning and a more luxurious environment.

Roads in remote rural areas are marked by potholes, narrow lanes, and an absence of road signs. As in the cities, it is also dangerous to drive in rural areas, for the roads are used by people walking, leading animals, or riding bicycles or three-wheel becaks. Horse-drawn carts use the roads and animals frequently cross in front of traffic. Much of the traffic is slow-moving, and some is very fast. Driving a private car is risky and requires full concentration to avoid accidents.

**Who’s in Charge**

Rural governance has a village hierarchy and revolves around administrative districts, each with 5–6 villages. The government appoints district officials and pays them a salary. Some districts, however, follow more traditional patterns and have a chief elected by the people. He may be the chief of a village or have broader authority over a district. The chief has the right to a plot of land in lieu of a salary. This system, whereby a chief is elected rather than appointed, is disappearing on Java, being replaced by government functions.

The authoritative person who can help visitors in rural areas is the district chief, or at the village level, the local chief.

**Exchange 53:** Respected leader, we need your help.

| Soldier: | Respected leader, we need your help / advice / opinion. | paa, koolo sedaanten betah paambeeyaant-too paanjenengaang |
| Local: | Yes. | ing-gey |

This leader is almost always male and may be tied to whoever heads the organization of mutual labor exchanges that sustains rice growing and management of the rice fields.223 If, however, a village contains a large number of landless peasants, they typically have a patron type of relationship with landowners, and the person in charge will be a landowner.

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Family Life

Family Roles and Responsibilities

Even though Java is the most modern and developed of all the islands in Indonesia, traditions are followed there which date back a thousand years. Among these long-held values are those which surround family and religion. The family is still the center of life for Javanese people, and families remain patriarchal, with the head of the family having authority over family members. The nearest social unit to the family is the village, whose members traditionally rely on each other in the same way that family members provide a network of support for each other.

Parents, children, and the children’s grandparents sometimes live together in the same extended family household.

Exchange 54: Is this your entire family?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier: Is this your entire family?</th>
<th>manopo maneeko kloo-aargee paamjenegaan sdaanten?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local: Yes.</td>
<td>ing-gey</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If a Javanese couple marries and cannot afford to move into a separate household, they will often stay with the parents of the bride or groom. The decision as to which to stay with depends on the size of the parents’ home and also which parents need help more from their children. Often this is just a temporary situation. Married couples, when they can afford to do so, set up independent households, usually situated close to their parents or other relatives.

Kinship ties within families are divided between the husband and wife’s families. Clan-based social groupings exist in some areas on Java and on some of the other Indonesian islands. The Javanese family structure, however, is not based on the concept of a lineage that functions almost as a corporate entity in some areas of the Muslim world. Javanese families are not occupied with keeping track of biological descent and tracing their family ties back for generations.

Status of Women, Elderly, and Children

Women

The division of labor in Javanese households falls along gender lines. Women are responsible for running their household and teaching and disciplining their children. Even if a woman holds a job outside the household, her primary role is still to care for her family.

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Men are the traditional breadwinners, the ones who work outside the home and provide the family with income. They also are in charge of public transactions, although Javanese women manage the finances. Women will lend a strong voice to decisions such as whether to make purchases for the home or for family-related services or goods. Those women who are employed in small shops or batik stores handle commercial negotiations and function as market traders.

Among rural families, women frequently work outdoors, gardening, planting, doing household chores, and caring for animals. Alongside this, they may be employed and earning money from doing piecework in their homes. Even if a woman does work outside the home, however, she still retains her responsibilities as wife and mother.

In accordance with Islamic law, Javanese women have inheritance rights. They are in line to inherit money or property from parents, but they are traditionally awarded less than men. If no will is in place when a parent dies, the children decide how to divide any assets, and the boys or men in the family receive the greater share.

**Elderly**
The elderly in Java do not receive Social Security and traditionally live in extended families, where family members care for them.

They may have a retirement plan if they worked for a large company, but this is not the case in most rural areas. Here, most elderly people do not have pensions and have only family members to rely on for support.

Respect is extended to elderly people by both children and adults. Family members tend to the needs of their parents and grandparents and include them in the family’s social life. They ensure that family members who are most vulnerable are not left alone.

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If elderly people need medical care, they have the choice of going to a government clinic that has inexpensive outpatient care. These clinics are set up for minor illnesses, however, and don’t specialize in more advanced medicine. Older people frequently end up going to herbalists and acupuncturists to be treated for illness of any kind. Chinese doctors are typically the ones who handle these kinds of treatments. If the herbalist or acupuncturist is an M.D., the cost of treatment is expensive. Otherwise, such alternative care can be relatively inexpensive, compared to the cost of regular medical care.

Children
Children are loved and indulged in Javanese families, although their life stage transitions as they grow up can be abrupt. For example, a mother might wean a child by leaving it with a relative, so that the child experiences a sudden loss of its mother and has to adapt. At the same time, parents and relatives extend love and consideration to babies and children. They are seen as being in need of protection, needing shelter from emotional trauma. Mothers hold their babies continually and nurse them whenever the child is hungry.

After children are weaned, they are cared for and indulged by older siblings.

Exchange 57: Do you have any brothers?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Do you have any brothers?</th>
<th>manopo paanjenengaan kaagoongaan kaangmaa ootaaee aadee jaalee?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
<td>ing-gey</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Children are taught by their mothers how to use the proper style of speech, as the Javanese language is divided into three different levels of formality. The children must learn the different ways to address people, including the most formal if they are speaking to their fathers or people to whom they owe respect and deference. When addressing their mothers, they use less formal language. In the process of absorbing these language rules, children learn how to determine status in others and adjust their behavior accordingly, using deference in the proper manner. As they grow older, they learn to use politeness in language to negotiate their own status with others. Differences in class and status, which necessitate learning Javanese language rules, are more apparent in cities, but they still exist in the countryside, varying by region and circumstance.

Marriage, Divorce, and Birth

Marriage
Under the laws of Islam, the majority religion among the Javanese, marriage is based on a contract initiated by a man and a woman’s father or legal guardian. The contract is

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negotiated and specifies the qualities that a good Islamic husband should possess, such as sanity, economic solvency, and physical presence (he’s not absent).\footnote{Harvard Law School. Islamic Legal Studies Program (ILSP). Nakamura, Hisako. “Conditional Divorce in Indonesia.” July 2006. http://www.law.harvard.edu/programs/ilsp/publications/nakamura2.pdf}

In Java, lineages count little for choosing a marriage partner. Economic and social standing, however, count a great deal and are part of the Javanese view that marriage is a way to advance one’s social status.

After marriage, women become the center of the home and domestic values. They are responsible for bearing and raising children. Men become the heads of household who mediate with the world outside the home.\footnote{Everyculture.com. “Culture of Indonesia.” c2007. http://www.everyculture.com/Ge-It/Indonesia.html}

Husbands and wives do not demonstrate their affections publicly. This trait is in accordance with the Javanese principle of maintaining social harmony by controlling one’s natural impulses. It is okay to show emotions inside the family, but public conduct should be subdued, indirect, and respectfully polite. Further, if there is conflict between a married couple, it should not be directly exposed or confronted. Instead, both parties stop speaking to each other and use their parents from each side of the family as 3rd party mediators.\footnote{The United Nations University. Zeitlan, Marian F. et al. “Strengthening the family – Implications for international development.” 1995. http://www.unu.edu/unupress/unupbooks/uu13se/uu13se0a.htm#marital%20relationships}

Marriage in Java has shown a trend of being affected by economic downturns. In 1998, Indonesia experienced a currency crisis with the result that prices rose, wages dropped, and poverty increased. A study found that women’s rate of marriage increased in Indonesia immediately after the crisis, particularly in the areas that were hardest hit economically. The study concludes that more women married because it gave them a measure of economic stability that they could not find elsewhere. Further, it is believed that they married men from communities that were less hard-hit than their own, thus changing the normal marriage patterns.\footnote{California Center for Population Research. University of California, Los Angeles. Nobles, Jenna, and Alison Buttenheim. “Marriage in Periods of Crisis: Evidence from Indonesia.” October 2006. http://www.ccrp.ucla.edu/ccrwpseries/ccrp_017_06.pdf}

**Divorce**

In Indonesia, divorce is based on the majority religion, Islam, as it has developed uniquely in the country. Although divorce rules in Java adhere to Islamic law, in some ways they are more supportive of women than in other parts of the Islamic world.\footnote{Harvard Law School. Islamic Legal Studies Program (ILSP). Nakamura, Hisako. “Conditional Divorce in Indonesia.” July 2006. http://www.law.harvard.edu/programs/ilsp/publications/nakamura2.pdf}
Divorce is in general discouraged under Islamic law, but it is legal and not difficult to obtain in Java. It involves a simple process of dissolving the marriage contract, most often by repudiation (talaq), in which the husband states that the marriage is ended.233 Another form of divorce in Indonesia (and Java) is conditional divorce (ta’liq al-talaq), in which a condition is stated in the marriage contract that will cause divorce if enacted.234 Ta’liq al-talaq has taken a particular form in Indonesia in that it is used to protect women. It does this by setting up contingencies for divorce based on whether the husband defaults on a certain condition. If he does, the wife can divorce him. This is different from the way it was traditionally set up in the Middle East, where it was used to establish preconditions for the wife and the husband could divorce her if she defaulted. In Java, it is just the opposite, and the wife is protected if her husband defaults on his agreement.235

A couple can divorce for several causes and it may be initiated by either party, not only the husband. Any violation of the marriage contract is grounds for divorce.

For Javanese who are Catholic, divorce is possible but harder to obtain, involving a long and drawn out process. The Catholic Church is opposed to divorce and, compared to Islam, has more restrictions against divorce.

Women are discouraged from filing for divorce because in Java, the father of any children of the marriage does not have to pay alimony or child support. The children usually stay with their mother after divorce, and the difficulty of rearing a child with no financial support from the father is extreme. Thus, women try to avoid being in this position.

Islamic law in Java requires that every attempt be made to save the marriage. Before divorcing, a husband and wife should try to resolve their differences by seeking mediation from relatives on both sides of the family. If this fails to solve their problems, then a divorce may proceed. Once the divorce is filed, three months are allotted the couple to attempt reconciliation. If after three months there has been no reconciliation, the divorce goes into effect and the marriage is over.236

**Birth and Birth Ceremonies**

In Java, the birth of a child is an occasion for great celebration. A Javanese ritual known as selamantan (meaning “safe-guarding”) takes place to celebrate a birth as well as to memorialize a death.237 It involves the burning of incense, the intonation of prayers, and

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feasting. Typical foods prepared are rice that has been colored and shaped into inverted cones, served with side dishes of meat prepared in different ways.

A ceremony is also held before the child’s birth, when the mother is around 7 months pregnant. Family members, friends, and neighbors gather to wish the family well and celebrate the impending birth. It is believed this will help to make the child’s delivery successful.238

Large families have traditionally been seen as prestigious in Javanese culture, although this view is weakening with the advent of successful family planning programs. In poor villages and households, children represent a source of assistance. They can help the family with farm work, housework, and caring for younger brothers and sisters. Children are also seen as part of a social security network which ensures the parents will be cared for in their old age.239

**Exchange 58:** Did you grow up here?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier: Did you grow up here?</th>
<th>manopo paanjenengan aageng vonten mreekee?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local: Yes.</td>
<td>ing-gey</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For Javanese families, whether a newborn child is male or female does not matter. Girls as well as boys are cherished and loved.240

**Naming Conventions**

On the 7th day after a child is born, the parents hold a naming ceremony.241 In Java, children have only one name. They are not given a second name unless the parents have been educated abroad and taken up other customs. Parents who have gone abroad for their education often pick a reputable second name, such as “Suharto.” Tradition accords that even if a person has two names, the second does not constitute a last name in the sense of being a family name.

People in prominent positions often take a second name. For instance, the wife of a government official could use her husband’s first name as her second name.

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